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HARMSWORTH
HISTORY OF THE WORLD

First Edition, in Eight Volumes, published 1907-1909

New and Revised Edition, in Fifteen Volumes, published 1914.



THE PYRAMIDS OF ABUSIR AS THEY APPEARED IN THE TIME OF THEIR BUILDER, KING NE-UESER-RA, ABOUT 3600 B.C.

This beautiful reconstruction is the work of Herr Borchardt, the well-known German Egyptologist, who was assisted in the by permission of Messrs. Hachette of Paris from his "Grab-Denkmal des Konigs Ne-user-ra

FRONTISPIECE, VOL VI

HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

WRITTEN BY THE FOREMOST HISTORIANS OF OUR TIME AND ILLUSTRATED WITH UPWARDS OF 8,000 PICTURES

ASSOCIATE EDITORS
A. D. INNES, M.A. • ARTHUR MEE
J. A. HAMMERTON

NEW AND REVISED EDITION
IN FIFTEEN VOLUMES

VOLUME VI.

AFRICA

LONDON
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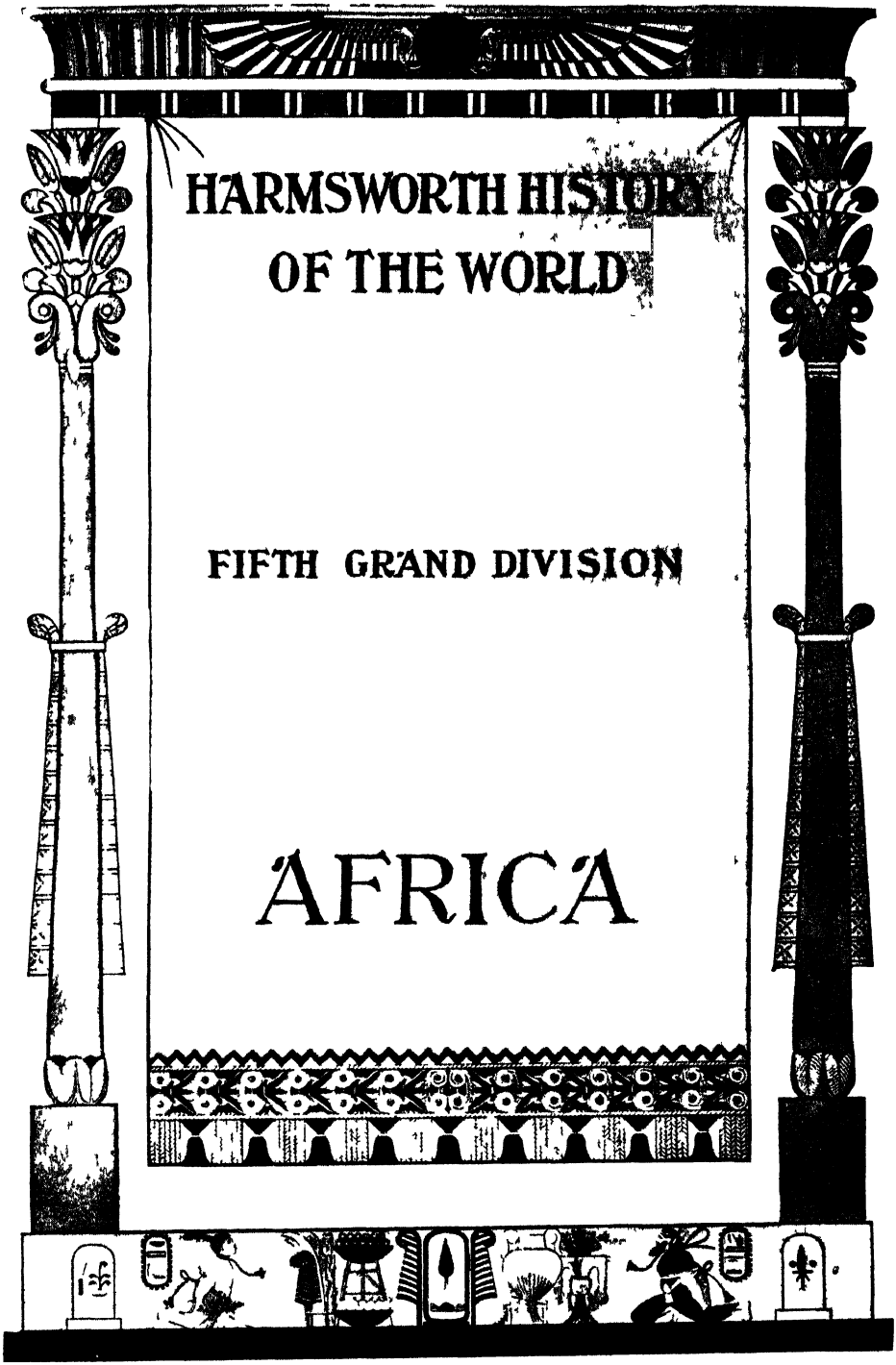
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HARMSWORTH HISTORY
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FIFTH GRAND DIVISION
AFRICA

1907



FIFTH GRAND DIVISION

AFRICA

The African Continent forms a geographical region so definite and intelligible that it has been taken by itself as forming our next Grand Division. On the like ground, since it is virtually bisected by the Equator, it has been divided into two main portions- the north and the south

The northern portion falls into four clearly marked sections Egypt, the regions bordering on the Mediterranean, the Sahara, with the Sudan (that is, the belt which stretches eastward up to Abyssinia—included in this section—and westward to the Atlantic, inhabited by races only partly negro), and the next belt, almost pure negro, whose southern border is roughly the Equator.

The division of South Africa is less obvious, since, except in the far south, which is not negro but Hottentot, almost the whole land is covered by kindred tribes of Bantu negroes. Here the territorial division is no longer fundamental, its place is taken by the natural division into an account of the native peoples and states, and of the modern development of a European ascendency

The two first divisions of Northern Africa, Egypt and the Mediterranean littoral, are so closely connected, historically, with the main stream of civilisation from the earliest times, and later with Mohammedanism, that it might have been included with the Near East Division, under the title of the "Semitic Area", but it was felt that such a division would have been less readily grasped by the average reader than that which has been adopted





PLAN

AFRICA- THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLES
By Dr. Heinrich Schurtz

EGYPT
By Stanley Lane-Poole, H. R. Hall, and Carl Niebuhr

NORTH AFRICA
By Dr. Heinrich Schurtz

SOUTH AFRICA
By Dr. Heinrich Schurtz and Arthur D. Innes

For full contents and page numbers see Index



AFRICA: THE LAND



AND THE PEOPLES

THE CHARACTER OF THE CONTINENT AND ITS NATIVE RACES

BY DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

ETHNOLOGICALLY and historically, Africa falls at once into two main divisions; on the one hand, we have the lands on the north of the Sahara, including Egypt; on the other hand, we have the main bulk of Africa, which lies to the south of that line of desert. As a matter of convenience only, the portion which lies north of the equator is here treated under the heading of Northern Africa.

The equator almost bisects the continent, and the larger portion of its area lies within the tropic zones, so that Africa is the hottest quarter of the globe. This fact undoubtedly accounts for many peculiarities in the African races. Their dark complexion, so often considered the brand of Cain, is certainly due to the climate and the burning sun, though science may be unable to explain the details of the process. Whether primitive man was fair or dark is an insoluble question. This much, however, is beyond doubt; as the light complexion of the Aryan points to his origin in the cool regions of the globe, so the dark colour of the negro is evidence for the fact that this family of the human race was developed in the same hot climate which forms its environment at the present day.

The African climate is hot and, generally speaking, dry rather than damp, although exceptions to this rule are by no means rare. Its northern portion contains the greatest desert in the world—a mighty barrier, forming the boundary which divides tropical Africa from the civilisation of the old world. Arabia is really a portion of this desert, divided from the continent by the waters of the Red Sea gulf. The desert is broken by the Nile valley, which forms a narrow strip of civilisation amid the surrounding desolation; the river would form a convenient means of communication with the interior of Africa were it not for the rocks which bar its passage in mid career, so that the verdure of its banks disappears in places where the river is forced to pass these obstacles in rapid and cataract However, the desert itself is passable for the adventurous merchant at several points. It is also inhabited, in spite of its desolation, by peoples who have exercised a considerable influence upon neighbouring civilisations. The history of the Sudan—the belt which stretches from the Upper Nile to the furthest West Coast, south of the great desert—is to be explained only by a knowledge of the Sahara and its peoples.

The hypothesis that the Sahara is merely the bed of a prehistoric sea can no longer be maintained; it is a district of very diverse characteristics, and its general desolation is due solely to the absence of water. But even this scarcity is not everywhere so terrible as earlier descriptions would lead us to suppose. Upon occasion, rain seems to fall in every part

of the desert, and of the total area about 2 per cent. may be oasis and quite 16 per cent. pasture and prairie land; hence we find nomadic races tending their flocks in districts which have been characterised as entirely uninhabitable. The percentage of arable and pasture land is highest upon the west; in proportion as we advance eastward the drought increases and the population diminishes. Thus the Sahara, in spite of its desolation, is the dwelling-place of important peoples, differing one from another in race, although their environment has stamped them ineffaceably with the same marks of character. Its races also show similarity of habits; they are restless nomads, forced by the poverty of their lands not only to wander, but also to be constantly fighting for the pasturage and fruitful lands of the oases. Poor, warlike, and eager for booty, they have never been content merely to subdue and plunder the settled inhabitants of the oases or to rob the merchants travelling through their districts with precious goods; they have also proved a danger to the fruitful frontier lands of the desert. The north, with the snow-crowned Atlas and its hardy mountaineers, has seldom attracted them; Egypt, fortunately for herself, was protected by the Libyan desert; but the negro lands upon the south lay open and defenceless before them. Upon these districts the peoples of the steppes and of the desert have descended again and again, until a zone of conquered states and mixed populations was formed, lying as a broad strip along the south of the desert. This district is the Sudan, of which the Egyptian Sudan, not infrequently referred to in Britain as the Sudan, is only a portion.

Rainfall of the Sahara

The Sudan is distinguished from the rest of Africa both by the character of its inhabitants and by its geographical nature; it again falls into several more or less similar divisions, but these are of no very high importance, as a glance at the geography and the configuration of Central and Southern Africa will show.

Physical Features of Africa

The special characteristic of the whole of this quarter of the globe can be at once made plain in figures. The average height of Africa above the sea-level is probably about 2,000 feet. This is considerably in excess even of the average height of Asia, although Asia has the highest mountains and the most extensive tablelands in the world. The force of this fact becomes plain as soon as we remember that Africa has a very few regular mountain ranges, and cannot display that backbone of lofty peaks which is a special feature in almost every other continent. She does not owe her high average in this respect to the possession of separate mountain systems; instead, the larger part of the whole country forms a tableland, from which particular peaks rise here and there—a tableland which only in places, especially upon its edges, rises into a true mountain range.

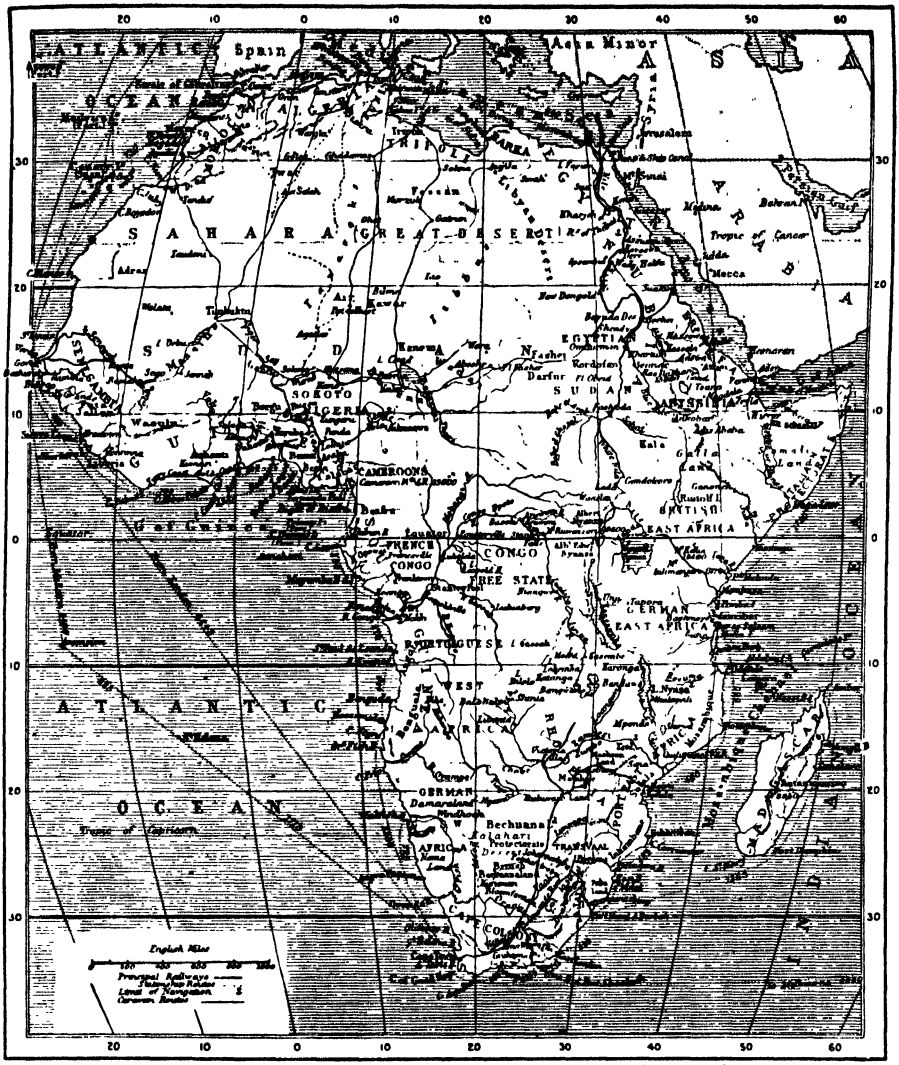
The inhospitable and exclusive nature of the continent is the immediate result of its configuration. Behind the scanty harbours of the fever-smitten coast-line tower these highland heights, impassable in many places for the individual, and much more so for the trader's caravan.

In Africa the rivers partake of the hard repellent character of the continent. In the interior they certainly form extensive waterways, which will become of great importance in course of time; but their descent from the highlands to the coast is a succession of rapid falls and whirlpools, so that even when the mariner has entered the river mouth, he cannot pass the coast-line.

Rivers of Africa

But while the configuration of Africa offers no facilities for penetrating the interior, the interior itself is devoid of those natural clearly marked barriers which assist in the formation of separate nationalites. There are no long mountain ranges dividing the country into distinct provinces; no gulfs running into the heart of the land and separating one settlement from another.

This uniformity of configuration has ensured uniformity of population. Peoples have been continually driven in rout, like the dust before the wind, by the onslaught of warlike invaders, and the tribes that have settled again and again upon these broad plains have invariably tended toward a greater uniformity, while the refugees collect in every place which affords some protection, in the inaccessible mountains or in the swamps and islands of the rivers. Thus, in the interior of the continent constant movement and commixture has ever been the history of the black races; the inhabitants of the plains bordering upon the prairie and the



AFRICA: THE FIFTH DIVISION OF THE HARMSWORTH HISTORY OF THE WORLD

Unlike the preceding Grand Divisions of our History, the Fifth is devoted to one entire continent. It sets forth the story of Africa and its peoples from our earliest accounts of the "Dark Continent" down to the present time. Egypt, though geographically only a small part of the great continent, is historically of greater importance than all the other territories of Africa, and is here dealt with, of course, from the historical point of view.

desert succumbed to the attacks of the desert tribes, and states were founded upon this mixture of different nationalities, in which conquerors and conquered gradually coalesced to form new races. But the districts in which individual tribes could escape the levelling influences of migration and commixture are very scattered and very small in extent. Such isolated districts are the cradles of those individual peoples who are content with the natural conditions of their home, and long retain their special characteristics and peculiarities, even after they have found their territory too small and have gone forth on a war of conquest. In Africa, typical swamp-races are to be found, such as the Dinka on the Upper Nile; there are hardy tribes of mountaineers in Kilima-Njaro and on the slopes of the Kamerun Mountains; but all these little tribes are too scanty in numbers to have exercised any definite influence upon the inhabitants of the African plains. Nor has Africa any

of those extensive islands which in other parts of the world have been the birthplace of distinguished nationalities, such as England in Europe or Japan in Asia; Madagascar is the only great island. The sole marked exceptions to the law of assimilation are the sons of the desert; however long a tribe may have been settled in the Sudan, it preserves, while it maintains its exclusiveness, those characteristics which have been stamped upon it by a nomad life in the thirsty plains—the lean, nervous frame, the lighter complexion, and the flashing eye. But upon admixture with the negro tribes of the Sudan some even of these peculiarities gradually disappear, and, again, a mixed race is formed, in which the negro element preponderates.

The Mixture of Races

In order to comprehend these details some consideration of the several districts of Africa is indispensable. The Mediterranean North may be left aside in view of its special ethnological and historical situation; let us then begin with the Sudan.

By the Sudan in a general sense we mean all that district bordering upon the south of the Sahara—that is to say, the district of transition which divides the desert from tropical Central Africa, and forms a zone of mixed populations and civilisations. It is impossible to lay down any hard and fast boundary on the north of the Sudan, for on that side the fruitful soil becomes gradually poorer and poorer, until it fades away into steppes and deserts; similarly upon the south there is no natural line of demarcation between the pure negro districts and the Sudan districts under the influence of Islam.

The entire zone of the Sudan is a unity, not so much by reason of its orographical or hydrographical characteristics, as in virtue of its climatic, and therefore of its ethnological, features. As it is the meeting-point of two climates, so it is also of the two peoples belonging to these climates, the light brown Hamite and the dark-skinned negro. The east is the most mountainous portion of Africa, and is at the same time rich in the possession of great lakes. A central highland with mountainous frontiers and wide depressions in which the great lakes have been gathered may be distinguished from the lower steppes of the tablelands lying farther to the east, Somaliland and Gallaland. Farther southward the mountains fringing the central plateau come down so near to the sea that room remains only for a strip of coast line more or less narrow. Like Somaliland, the tableland of the interior has, in general, but a scanty rainfall. Where the surrounding mountain ranges tower aloft, where isolated volcanic peaks rise from the plateau, or where the steep sides of the depressions catch the cloud-laden breezes from the west, there rain falls more abundantly, and vegetation grows in tropical luxuriance. Hence it is that about the deep inlet opposite Zanzibar, which is chiefly exposed to external influence, a fruitful mountainous country extends behind the coast; to this succeeds a dreary region of steppes, and finally, about the great lakes the rainfall again becomes more frequent and regular, and agriculture is consequently more extensive. The mountains on the eastern frontier, among which should be considered the volcanic peaks of Kenia and Kilima-Njaro, are higher and more important than those of the west; in truth, the highland of Abyssinia and its mighty elevations form merely the northern forerunners of this high range. From this description of the Sudan it becomes obvious that the Atlantic seaboard must not be included in that great zone of mixed populations and Mohammedan politics which we comprehend under the name of the Sudan, but that we have here a district of true negro population, as is proved by anthropological evidence, and by the nature of its civilisation.

Peoples of the Sudan

Desert, Mountain, & Seaboard

In the extreme north of this district, in Senegambia, special circumstances have to be taken into account; for Senegambia borders immediately upon the desert, and is therefore, to a certain extent, subject to those influences which produced the ethnological conditions of the Sudan; hence it remains a doubtful point whether or not this country is better included in the Sudan. Another special characteristic of Senegambia is the fact that the two great rivers, the Senegal and the Gambia, make communication possible far into the heart of the country, which consequently loses much of that exclusiveness which is characteristic of the larger portion of the Guinea coast.

The northern boundary of the district is determined by the course of the Senegal and the frontiers of the plateau of the

West Sahara. The southern boundary cannot easily be defined. In Senegambia we have a fairly well-watered country, stretching unusually far northward to the very edge of the desert—a fact to be explained by the existence of the Futa-Jallon mountain system, which collects the moisture of the breezes from the coast and transmits it by numerous rivers, partly to the coast, and partly to the Niger.

The coast line between Senegal and Gambia belongs by origin to the sandy district on the southern border of the Sahara, but has been increased to an extensive plain by the alluvial deposits of the rivers. Further south the mountains run closer down to the sea, and the plains on the coast, which become appreciably narrower towards the south of Senegambia, are further diminished in size about Sierra Leone. The conformation of this plain is, however, totally different from that of the more northerly plains with their boundary of monotonous sandhills; numerous rivers widen into broad estuaries, swampy peninsulas and islands are formed, and at low tide banks and strips of land appear for a moment before they are again covered by the returning sea. Here we have a district eminently fitted to shelter the wrecks of persecuted peoples, and here the influence of the Sudan definitely ceases.

Features of the West Coast

The Grain Coast is not so broken, though the plains are not wide, for the spurs of the highlands run close down to the sea. That coast formation, however, soon begins, which is characteristic of Guinea as far as the Bight of Biafra, known as the Lagoon Coast. Instead of the huge delta-shaped estuaries and the islands lying at their extremities, we have a sandy and generally even strip of land stretching away, upon which the rollers of the Atlantic thunder, and which is broken only at rare intervals. Only here and there, especially in a large part of the Gold Coast, does this kind of coast formation disappear, and the hilly country come down to the sea.

At the Bight of Biafra the Lagoon Coast terminates, and in its stead begins the huge swampy delta, formed by countless river mouths, which the Niger has built up in the sea; further onward the coast takes a southerly turn, and we have a district of broad estuaries, the land of the "Oil Rivers." But just at the point where the coast line bends round, between the mouth of the Calabar and the estuary of the Kamerun rivers, rises a mighty mass of volcanic mountains, the Kamerun, of which Clarence Peak, in the opposite island of Fernando Po, is a continuation. Farther inland rises the tableland of Central Africa in terraces: at this point and farther southward it catches the warm west wind and occasions the growth of the wildest primeval forest, forming a zone of almost impenetrable thickness; in the depths of this forest the remnants of the shy dwarf peoples have found a refuge. Such is the formation of the coast line almost as far as the mouth of the Congo.

In the Region of the Congo

South of the Congo the vegetation of the coast becomes scantier, and almost disappears as we pass on to the steppes of South Africa. The formation of the coast line, behind which the highlands rise in successive terraces, remains in its main features the same as in Upper Guinea, except that the plains upon the coast in the district south of the Congo are considerably narrower than they generally are in the north.

The coast of Lower Guinea is broken by the mouth of a mighty river, the Congo, which is deep enough to admit ships of considerable draught. But the passage is soon barred by a series of rapids and cataracts. For centuries the short navigable distance through the plains upon the coast was the only known part of this great river, until Stanley's expedition informed Europe of the enormous area covered by the Congo river-system with its multitude of navigable tributaries.

About the point where the eastern source of the Congo, the Luapula, first crosses the equator, the river rushes in a number of cataracts, the Stanley Falls, over one of the terraces of the highland of Central Africa. Now begins the central and navigable course of the Congo; it makes a gigantic curve far to the north of the equator, and then sweeps southward again, passing at length over the lower falls already mentioned before entering upon its short course to the sea. The central division of this broad stream, richly studded with islands, traverses the immense forests of Central Africa which extended from about the point where the Ubanghi enters the Congo almost to the western sources of the Nile. This thickly wooded Congo

The Real Heart of Africa

basin forms the real heart of Africa. Here, until very recently, the true African tribes remained wholly undisturbed by foreign influence; here the remarkable races of dwarfs have maintained themselves in largest numbers. During its course through this district the Congo receives numerous tributaries, such as the Aruwimi and the Rubi on the right bank, and the Lomami on the left. The position, however, of the Congo relative to its mighty tributaries is peculiar, and forms a special feature of the whole district. These secondary rivers run almost parallel to the main stream, receive all the waters which flow down toward it, and then deliver them into the Congo itself. Cases in point are the Ubanghi upon the north, and the Luapa and Lulongo on the south, and especially the Kassai, which, with its numerous tributaries, absorbs almost all the water south of the Congo valley.

The Congo's Mighty Tributaries

The sources of the Kassaï and of its southern tributaries lie beyond the forest region of Central Africa: at this point begins a savannah district, interrupted here and there by forests, and finally passing into the steppes of South Africa. Geographically this most southerly portion of the Congo valley has certain affinities with the Sudan, and from an ethnological point of view parts of it are not unlike the frontier zone of the Sahara. Within the Congo valley there never was any approach to anything like a uniform native state, whereas in this district important states existed till lately, such as the famous kingdom of Lunda and others to its east and south.

The valley of the Zambesi, the river of the east, is of primary importance as forming a transition district from the well-watered tropics to the deserts of South Africa; the peoples permanently settled about this river have always been under the influence of the shepherd tribes of South Africa. As it descends from the highlands of the west coast into the lowlands of the interior and enters the depression which divides the tablelands of East and South Africa, it forms numerous waterfalls and rapids, including the Victoria Falls, the biggest in Africa. It is important, too, as a boundary line—a protecting barrier, behind which peoples might find a domicile and a temporary refuge from the attacks of the warlike shepherd tribes of the South. But it was not a barrier which remained permanently impassable.

Importance of the Zambesi

In South Africa we have a new zone before us, again the scene of ethnological convulsion, which, like the Sahara, exercises a powerful influence not only upon neighbouring districts, but also, mediately or immediately, upon the far interior of the country.

Those bold and simple features which characterise the configuration of Africa generally are to be found in their entirety in this southern portion. South Africa is a tableland, the edges of which attain the height of mountains, running in some places close down to the coast, and in others leaving room for plains upon the seaboard of varying breadth. On the eastern side these mountains are higher and of more massive structure than those upon the west. The consequence is that the east, which is further benefited by the prevailing winds blowing from that quarter, is much better watered than the west, which, with the exception of the southernmost region, possesses only periodical streams. The Orange River certainly runs out on the west coast, but rises in the eastern mountains, as do all its tributaries. The district with the smallest rainfall, which is therefore the driest and the most desolate, is the interior, the Kalahari desert.

Features of South Africa

The mode of life and the character of the inhabitants of South Africa correspond to the special peculiarities of each district. In the centre are the wandering Bushmen; on the west, shepherd tribes of comparatively scanty numbers; in the east, the numerous warlike Kaffirs, half cattle-breeders, half tillers of the soil, the most important native race of South Africa. Finally, the southern extremity was the home of a race which did not belong to the black peoples, the Hottentots, who were driven forward by successive waves of migration, and finally found a home in the remotest corner of the continent.

On the north-east, the mountains bounding the tableland retire far enough from the coast to leave room for a broad, low-lying plain, through which the Limpopo, the chief river of South-east Africa, runs down to the sea, as also does the Zambesi at a more northerly point. Here the nature of the country and of

its inhabitants more nearly resembles that of the tropical districts.

Thus within Africa three main zones may be distinguished—a mighty region of steppes and desert upon the north, a smaller region of steppes in the south, and, lying between these two, tropical Central Africa with its vast forests and rivers. These three great zones correspond to the three main ethnological groups of Africa—the light races in the north, the yellow Hottentots and Bushmen in the south, and in the heart of the continent the black negro type. Each group has conformed to the special nature of its environment. They have grown up influenced by the characteristics of their habitat; and when we have learned the special nature of their country some of the secrets of their mysterious origins stand revealed before us.

As void of vegetation we may note the peaks of certain mountains, and in particular the vast area of the North African desert. We have already seen, however, that the Sahara is not so black as it has been painted. Even in the most barren districts the least drop of moisture will produce one or other of the sturdy desert growths with which the much-enduring camel may satisfy its hunger.

Vegetation is richer in the thirsty valleys, and even becomes luxuriant so soon as a mountain thunderstorm has filled the watercourse with its rapid torrent. Moreover, in the western portion of the Sahara, districts are to be found which for part of the year are covered with green verdure; and in the oases under the groves of date-palms other more delicate nut-bearing plants flourish.



MAP OF THE RACES AND RELIGIONS OF AFRICA
The peoples of Africa may be divided into three groups: the light races of the north, including the Hamite peoples; the black negro type in the centre; and the yellow Hottentots and Bushmen in the south.

The savannah, with its thick grass and scattered trees, forms the commonest and most characteristic landscape of Africa. This feature of the country, together with the extensive high tablelands, is so widespread that the interior of Africa presents but few obstacles to the fusion of peoples which has constantly taken place; whereas the conformation of the coast line offers almost insurmountable obstacles to penetration into the interior. Hence we may trace one of the special characteristics of African history—constant movement in the interior of the country, but little interchange of influence between the interior and the coast.

The savannahs are connected with the treeless steppes, and the steppes with the desert, by almost imperceptible gradations. Again, the transition from the savannah to the forest is by no means invariably abrupt. In the grass-grown plains the groves become thicker and thicker, the lakes are surrounded with the characteristic "gallery woods," and thus the steppes gradually change into woodland, and the primeval forest begins, broken with open clearings and grassy glades.

The huge primeval forests are the second great feature in the vegetation of Africa, which is of importance for the development of the population. The main portion of this forest growth fills the eastern side of the Congo basin, reaching almost to the western sources of the Nile and, in a westerly direction, nearly to the mouth of the Ubanghi and Lake Leopold; northward, the whole of the forest district does not extend far beyond the valley of

the Congo; southward it passes somewhat beyond the valley of the Sankuru. Beyond these limits the savannah country begins, although there is no lack of close forest, especially in the Western Congo Valley. A second forest district begins upon the Upper Nile, and continues up to the ethnographical boundary of this remarkable district. The forests upon the edge of the African tablelands may also be considered as a third group of primeval forests which rise with the coast line in terraces to the level of the interior, the moisture giving every opportunity for the forests to take root in the declivities. Thus in Guinea, especially in the Kamerun and Gaboon districts, a broad strip of forest divides the interior from the coast; a similar belt, though not of uniform depth throughout, is a feature upon the East African coast for a considerable distance. Where these woods which border the tablelands have been strongly developed we may consider them as the most important of those obstacles which shut off the interior of Africa from external communication.

The Forest Primeval

The primeval forest is inhospitable alike to the European and to the true negro. Only upon the border line between forest and savannah, where the gloomy shadows of the woods are broken by broad glades, can the negro make his plantations, fell the giant trees to clear fresh spaces, and penetrate this uninhabitable zone more deeply as the pioneer of agriculture. There are, however, peoples who belong to these forests and keep body and soul together within their depths; dwarf tribes, who wander through the forest lands of the Congo basin and of the interior of the Kamerun and Gaboon district.

Compared with the forest and savannah, those districts in Africa overgrown with scrub are of small importance, though in other countries, especially in Australia, they are an important feature in the landscape, and may be a serious obstacle to communication. They are most extensive in Somaliland and in South Africa, and may be considered as a special and by no means useful variety of the steppe.

Africa's Predatory Animals

When we turn from the general to the special influences exercised by the natural world upon man, we have, first of all, to consider the "influences of opposition"—that is to say, the dangers with which the existence of harmful animals and plants threaten mankind. In this respect Nature has dealt kindly with Africa, as compared with other countries; the reason may be found in the fact that the African climate is for the most part dry. At any rate, the number of victims to beasts of prey or to snake bite is far smaller in Africa than in India. Predatory animals naturally exist in largest number in those districts which are richest in game, and therefore especially in the plains of East and South Africa, whereas West Africa, which has but few wild animals, can sustain but few beasts of prey. When the game upon the plains has been driven out or exterminated, and man appears with his flocks and herds, then the war against predatory animals is naturally prosecuted with vigour, and man generally proves victorious in the struggle.

Of much greater importance is the influence exercised by poisonous insects and by those minute organisms to which the spread of epidemic diseases must be ascribed. Even in this respect Africa is better off than some districts of Asia, the breeding-place of those devastating plagues which may desolate a whole continent; and, moreover, the population of Africa is, upon the average, far more tenacious of life than any other of the races of mankind. Contagious diseases have found their way to Africa from other continents; but they have proved far less destructive than in Polynesia or in South America.

Influence of Epidemic Disease

By far the most important of the local diseases of Africa is the swamp fever, or malaria, a defence against invaders, invisible, it is true, but more formidable than any other, for Europeans are especially liable to its attacks, and in most cases succumb sooner or later. It will, perhaps, ensure the black races in the possession of the larger part of tropical Africa. The negro does not, indeed, enjoy complete immunity. Even Africans who have passed from a healthy district into a malarial zone do not escape the attacks of this disease. Thus we have a factor to be reckoned with in the internal history of Africa; by this influence migration must often have been checked, and the pursuit and extermination of a conquered people hindered. In a country which provides support for

so many shepherd peoples as Africa those enemies become highly important which strike at the very basis of man's existence by imperilling the safety of his flocks and herds. The larger beasts of prey are often of relatively small importance compared to the destructive powers of smaller foes. Among these the tsetse fly is known to be one of the most fatal possessions of Africa. Putting all exaggeration aside. it remains perfectly certain that this diminutive winged organism, whose bite is harmless to man but deadly to cattle and horses, makes cattle-breeding impossible in places, and thus restricts the wanderings of the nomadic tribes. The area of its distribution begins nearly upon the northern frontier of the Transvaal, and continues towards German East Africa. The fact that the Transvaal boundary was pushed no further northward and that no Boer states were formed north of the Limpopo, is due chiefly to the destructive agency of this insect, which killed horses and oxen upon every attempt at settlement, and thus checked all advances northward.

Ravages of the Tsetse Fly

The tsetse fly is confined merely to certain districts and does not extend its ravages beyond these; the contrary is true of another destructive insect, the locust, and of a destructive epidemic disease, the rinderpest, probably not indigenous. Political changes can generally be retraced to causes of this nature; tribes are weakened by the destruction of their sources of support, become incapable of resisting their enemies, and are shattered and destroyed, or forced to give up their land and so seek new and less fertile districts.

At the outset of our enumeration of domestic animals we are confronted by the difficult question of their origin. Some of them are very probably of African origin, in particular the donkey, assuming the supposition to be correct that the wild ass of Eastern Africa is the ancestor of our patient beast of burden, which certainly seems to have been first domesticated in the Nile valley. The African elephant also appears to have been tamed in ancient times by the Egyptians, as also was the dog. The dog is found in every continent as the companion of man, so that only by careful examination into the characteristics of the different breeds could we gain information upon their respective origins. It is noteworthy that the dwarf tribes in the primeval forests of Africa keep a special breed of hunting dogs: other races use the dog for food.

The other domestic animals have certainly been introduced from other continents—as, for instance, the camel, which seems to have been entirely unknown in Africa before the period of the great migrations in Western Asia, about 2000 B.C. This is a fact of no small historical importance: it is the camel which now makes communication possible between the Sudan and the north coast of Africa; consequently the want of this "ship of the desert" in earlier times must have hampered communication, and this helps us to explain the absence of relations at that period between Mediterranean North Africa and the negro districts.

Historical Importance of the Camel

The horse is of importance only in the north and in the Sudan; cavalry is the strongest arm of the service of the Sudanese potentates, and brought destruction upon the heathen negro races who were exposed to its attack upon the open plains. It first reached Northern Africa with the invading Semitic tribes of the Hyksos, who occupied Egypt about 2000 B.C. In South Africa the introduction of the horse by European agency has transformed certain Hottentot races into tribes of mobile riders; but in this case the tsetse fly has in places prevented the northward advance of the horse and his owner.

In West Africa sheep pasturing has spread among the natives as far as the southernmost point, and also in the Sudan and the north-east of the continent; the pig, originally brought to the west and south coasts by Europeans, is now to be found far in the interior. Of much greater importance than either pig or sheep is the ox, which was also introduced, though it seems to have been domesticated within the Black Continent from a very early period. It is the chief means of subsistence to many great tribes; there are even typical nomad peoples to be found in Africa who devote the same tender care to their herds, and make their welfare the motive of their every thought and deed, as did the old Indian Aryans in the case of their "sacred cows." It is the ox that makes the steppes

Care and Use of the Ox

habitable enough to be the cradle of those great tribes whose attacks upon the fortunes of their agricultural neighbours form so large a part of African history. With the exception of a few scattered districts elsewhere, the Congo basin—that is, the forest zone of Central Africa—is the only district where the ox is also entirely unknown.

Meats Prohibited as Food

While we are considering how far the possession of cattle and of poultry for food made existence possible we must not forget the fact that everywhere customs universally recognised, or special prohibitions of certain meats, precluded all possibility of using certain animals for food. Thus the pig was excluded from Mohammedan districts; poultry, which are to be found almost everywhere in Africa, were in many cases not eaten, and even the eggs were despised. Among many nomadic tribes the ox was so highly reverenced that the owners contented themselves with the milk of the cows. Similar prejudices prevent the eating of this or that kind of game, and on a large portion of the East African coast fish are never touched.

Whatever the importance of hunting and cattle-breeding among large portions of the population of Africa, the existence of the negro is based upon the cultivation of certain plants useful to man, agricultural operations being performed in the simplest fashion with the mattock, or hoe. The African is most teachable in this respect: he has adopted a large number of plants from other tropical countries, and has gradually imparted them to races dwelling further inland. Africa itself is not particularly rich in such plants. The most important, and probably the first to be cultivated, are those like *Panicum distichum*, *Holcus sorghum*, and *Eleusine*, from which the negro is able to brew intoxicating liquors. Beside these, there is the maize, which was introduced from America, and the manioc root, from the same continent. European grain corn, in its several varieties, will grow in the tropics only upon the higher mountain districts, which are in Africa no very prominent feature; it is cultivated successfully, however, in the sub-tropical districts up to the far interior of the Sudan. Rice, on the other hand, a true tropic plant, is gathered on the east and west of the continent in the better-watered valleys. Earth-nuts and special kinds of beans and peas are probably indigenous. The banana, which is a staple food in places, especially in Eastern Africa, becomes scarce elsewhere, and seems to be sporadically distributed. The date palm, a native of Western Asia, is found only in the deserts of the North and their frontiers; the coco palm is confined to the coasts. On the West African coast, the trade in palm oil and the fruit of the oil palm is rapidly increasing, and is likely to become a permanent source of income, as it does not usually involve the destruction of its source: on the other hand, the collecting of indiarubber in the woods upon the coast has lately received a considerable impetus, but is so unsystematically carried on that it will probably decline. It is only quite recently that plantations of any size have been made under European direction, a movement which may revive the trade to some extent.

Growth of Exotic Plants

In consequence of the great uniformity of the African continent, the conditions essential to successful agriculture are rarely so different in neighbouring districts as to offer any obstacle to the spread of population. Moreover, the number of plants for cultivation is large, so that for every piece of ground, even when offering only moderate possibilities, the proper kind of plant or grain is easily procurable, and the negro, generally speaking, is a cultivator by no means to be despised. The desert peoples, however, upon their invasion of the fruitful Sudanese districts, had to give up their diet of dates; and this sudden change of habit produced dangers and inconveniences to them, which may be considered as tending in some slight degree to protect the inhabitants of the Sahara frontiers.

The Negro as a Cultivator

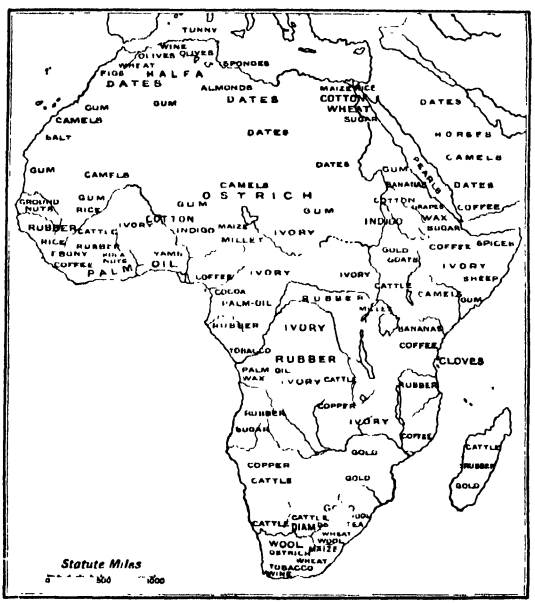
We have now to inquire what position is occupied by the negro, the inhabitant of tropical Africa, in a general scheme of the human race as a whole. Physically, he belongs to a separate and special type of humanity, whose characteristics are familiar. It is only in point of language that the race does not form a distinctive unity. The theory that the negro is of Melanesian origin may be dismissed. Although we may readily admit the probable existence, in some remote age, of a connection by land between Africa and the negro districts in the East, the

overwhelming presumption is that the negro developed in the tropical regions which are still his principal habitat.

A shade of colour distinguishing the negro from other African races is the colour of the skin, often enables us to recognise the mixture of a fair Hamitic element with indigenous dark-skinned negro races, though in itself colour is not always satisfactory evidence ; for even within the pure African tribes greatly varying shades of colour are to be found, a result undoubtedly due to varying conditions of climate. "Among the dark races colour varies with habitat and mode of life, and the type alone remains constant." Yet, on the other hand, it appears that the dark complexion is the most easily transferable of all the racial characteristics, as is seen in the case of commixtures of negroes and fair races, and no amount of subsequent commixture appears to weaken the depth of colouring. At any rate, a case in point is to be found in the Arab-Nigritic bastards, almost the sole representatives of Araby on the east coast and in the Sudan. In darkness of complexion they are in no degree inferior to the purest negroes, while at the same time their sharp-cut profile betrays their Semitic origin. Still, cross-breeding between negroes and Europeans appears to produce quite different results.

Height and breadth are also important evidences of origin. Thus the small stature of certain Central African races points to the existence of a strain of dwarf blood ; the dwarf peoples themselves must be sharply distinguished from the negroes chiefly on account of their difference in stature. Slightness of build, on the other hand, is a distinguishing feature of the desert tribes, and is often continued long after emigration into fertile districts. In South Africa, among the Hottentots and Bushmen, this slender build is often combined with rugosity of skin, and also with excessive fatness in certain parts of the body—steatopygy, or obesity—a characteristic which is also found among the races on the Upper Nile and on the steppes of North-east Africa.

The formation of the head, which is highly characteristic in the case of the negroes, is invariably an important feature, though too little attention has been paid to it in the past. Investigators have generally contented themselves with skull measurements, and though this is a valuable inquiry, yet it has led to no definite result, as it affords information only upon one part of the head, and that comparatively unimportant. As it is by their physiognomy that the mixed Arab races can be most sharply and definitely distinguished from the pure negroes, so only by examination of those marks which the countenance displays will the investigator be able to discern other fusions of races going back to prehistoric times. Together with the dark complexion, the hair is another racial feature of the African which often enables us to note a strain of negro blood in tribes which are generally considered to belong to other races. On the other hand, if we find negroes with hair diverging from the woolly type, we may presume an earlier commixture with some other nationality. Next to these physical characteristics comes language. Philology teaches us



MAP OF THE NATURAL PRODUCTS OF AFRICA

Africa is not remarkably rich in cultivatable plants of native origin, but many plants from other tropical countries are grown. Among the most important are maize, corn, rice, the palms and rubber trees. The mineral wealth of the continent is chiefly confined to the south.

one great fact—that the nigritic populations are connected by the common tie of language. All the races that live south of a certain line—with the exception of the utterly different Hottentots and Bushmen—speak the Bantu languages, which are very closely related to one another, and are to be distinguished by special characteristics from the other great families of languages in the world. This line begins on the Atlantic coast about the old northern boundary of the German Kamerun, then continues in an easterly direction to the Victoria Nyanza, leaving the states of Unyoro and Uganda on the south. In East Africa itself the line has been much broken as the result of recent migrations; however, Bantu peoples are found as far north as Tana.

The Tie of Language

From the special group of Bantu-speaking races we are obliged to exclude the negroes of the Sudan, and also those of the Guinea coast. Though the languages of these negroes do not belong to any one family, we must consider them as the second great division of the African races. It is thus obvious that a division upon purely philological principles would be erroneous, seeing that, anthropologically, the pure negro of Guinea and of the Sudan is inseparably connected with the Bantus. If this fact is not strongly emphasised, the whole foundation of African pre-history will appear in a false light. None the less, the distribution of the languages of Africa is a matter of high importance for the history of the continent. For the extension of the Bantu languages is undoubtedly the result of a long period of development and of important historical events.

Anyone who examines dispassionately the present condition of such uncivilised races as those, for example, of Australia will recognise that we have to admit the multiplicity of primitive languages as the first step in our investigation; within small and isolated races there is a constant tendency to form separate dialects. Hence we may assume that in African antiquity a large number of different languages were in use. The last stages of this state of affairs are now apparent in the distribution of the languages on the coast of Guinea and in part of the Sudan. Upon the great tableland to the south a change gradually set in, the process of which is in close connection with long wars, displacements, and fusions of the inhabitants of that district. In course of time, one people imposed its language upon all the others; but who were that people, and how can we picture the whole process to ourselves?

Languages in African Antiquity

We are helped to the answer to the second of these questions by an important fact, which shows us that those forces which brought about the spread of the Bantu languages are at work elsewhere in Africa at the present day. In the Western Sudan a district of uniform language is being formed, and we can follow the formation very closely. Here it is the Hausa language which is gradually defeating and overpowering the other tongues, so that it is already predominant over a large part of the Western Sudan and is yet further extended as the language of commerce.

The people known as Hausa are a motley mixture sprung from different sources, and their language is the sole tie which makes them a unity and enables them to extend their influence. In like manner we must conceive the process of extending the Bantu languages, though with one great difference necessitated by the lack of civilisation in Central and Southern Africa; the Bantu dialects must have been spread more by military conquest than by peaceful trading. Such a process must have involved great disturbances. It is not, however, necessary to suppose that the original Bantu-speaking race overran, subdued, and colonised the whole district. The whole process may have been carried out very slowly, lasting through thousands of years; in many cases, peoples may have helped to spread the Bantu languages who had themselves received it from others, and in this way the tongues may have been passed from race to race in the most varied way. From this point of view the linguistic uniformity of Central Africa may be considered as the result of opposition to those seething movements of the outer world which, for a very long period, form the history of Africa, and are a consequence of that lack of obstacles to communication within the interior which is characteristic of the continent. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

Spread of Bantu Languages





AT THE DAWN OF HISTORY

BY H. R. HALL, M.A.

THE archæological excavations in Egypt since about the year 1895 have given us a totally new idea of the beginnings of Egyptian history. At that time, the name of Sneferu, the last king of the third dynasty, stood alone, a solitary figure on the threshold of Egyptian history. The admirable history of Heinrich Brugsch-Pasha, "Egypt under the Pharaohs," which was for all the text-book of the annals of Ancient Egypt, could tell us of no real historical fact, of no real historical personage, before Sneferu. Carved on the rocks of Sinai, his figure stood, striking down the barbarian Menti, a warrior-king of old, with the possible exceptions of Sargon and Naram-Sin in Babylonia, the oldest historical person known to us. Mena, the founder of the Egyptian monarchy, there was indeed, but he was a purely legendary figure. Tjeser Khet-neter and Send of the third dynasty were known to us, the one as the possible builder of the Step pyramid at Sakkara (*vice* Ata, of the first dynasty, whose claims were always most shadowy), the other from the later slab from the tomb of his priest Sheri, which was brought to England by the Aleppo merchant Tradescant in the seventeenth century, and placed in the Ashmolean Museum, of which it still forms one of the oldest possessions. But of none of these three was anything beyond legend known: Sneferu and his contemporaries, Nefermaat, Rahetep and Nefert, whose beautiful statues are perhaps the most valuable possessions of the Cairo Museum, and others, were the most ancient Egyptians whom we knew. Yet a mere glance at the artistic works of Sneferu's time sufficed to show that Egyptian art did not begin with them. It could not be supposed that Egyptian sculpture sprang, perfected, out of nothing, like Pallas, "all armed," from the brain of Zeus; there must have been a long history of development before these fine works of the Pyramid builders came into being. And the Pyramids themselves, these monstrous stone barrows of perfect mathematical accuracy of form, could hardly be the conceptions of architects who lived a bare half century after Sneferu. Yet of this earlier history of culture-development we knew nothing.

Egyptology Ten Years Ago

What We Did Not Know

All this is now changed. The excavator, trained and made ready by a decade of work in other and less important fields, turned in the fullness of time to sites which, if hidden records remained, would, it was felt, reveal to us the most ancient age of Egypt. And the brains and money which enabled the work to be done were almost exclusively British and American. The French alone can share the credit of the achievement with us. It was the work of the Anglo-American "Egypt Exploration Fund," directed by Petrie, Mace and Maciver at Abydos and al-'Amra, of the exclusively British "Egyptian Research Account" under Petrie and

Quibell at Koptos, Nagada, Tûkh, and Hierakonpolis; and of the Frenchmen De Morgan and Amélineau at Abydos and in many other ancient necropoles of the earliest period throughout Egypt, that gave us our new knowledge of Archaic Egypt. And recently the American expedition of the University of California, directed by Dr. Reisner, has added new facts to our knowledge. To summarise this new knowledge as succinctly as possible will be the object of this section.

British and American Excavation

The best general summary of the results of the new excavations that has hitherto appeared is that contained in the first volume of Dr. E. A. Wallis Budge's "History of Egypt," published in 1902. Of course, "much water has flowed under the bridges" since 1902, but nevertheless, if we leave out the inevitable modifications that twelve years' more work and consideration have rendered necessary, Dr. Budge's description still remains the handiest that we possess of the archaic civilisation of Egypt.

The fact that so good a general description of the new discoveries could be written in the year 1902 shows how swiftly these discoveries were made. One followed immediately upon the other; each season's work provided a mass of new material. In fact, the years 1897–1902 were epoch-making for Egyptologists. Perhaps the new discoveries may really be said to have begun somewhat earlier, with Professor Petrie's work at Koptos in 1894.

Of the French investigators the work of M. Amélineau at Abydos is different in kind from that of the others. His was a private venture, and from circumstances over which, we can well understand, he had little control, the scientific results from Abydos were of small value till Professor Petrie took over the site, and began his yearly publication, under the auspices of the Egypt Exploration Fund, of the series of volumes which gave us our first connected idea of the earliest Egyptian dynasties. Previously to Petrie's work at Abydos, that of Mr. Quibell at Hierakonpolis had given us our first conception of the peculiarities of archaic Egyptian art, and our first names of the oldest kings of Upper Egypt. At Abydos Professor Petrie found many more monuments of these and other new kings, and for the first time marshalled the facts in order.

Oldest Kings of Egypt

It must be understood that the newly discovered antiquities fall into two main classes: those of the primitive Neolithic Period, and those of the Archaic Period, properly so called, the age of the beginnings of the Egyptian monarchy, from the first to the third dynasties inclusive. Apart from these, we have also the newly identified relics of the Palæolithic Age in Egypt, centuries before the Neolithic Age. Its relics are the worn flint implements which are found upon the surface of the desert plateaus on both sides of the Nile. With the users of these Palæolithic implements, the most ancient human inhabitants of the Nile Valley, our survey begins.

These primitive people were in point of culture contemporaneous with the European man of the Quaternary Period; but whether they were not really later in point of date is not yet settled. The climate of Egypt in their time did not differ radically from that now obtaining in the Nile Valley. The dryness of the atmosphere, due to the existence of the high deserts on each side which is nowadays so characteristic of Egypt, and ensures an almost perpetual summer in that favoured land, cannot have been much less in Palæolithic days than it is now. We have to dismiss from our minds all ideas of a heavy rainfall, with watercourses descending to the Nile from forests crossing the mountains and desert, where now not a blade of vegetation is to be seen. We can suppose only that the rainfall was rather heavier than it is now, so that the desert-torrents, which now once in two or three years after rain descend through the stony wadis to the cultivated land, were then far more frequent. That these wadis were originally carved out by the action of torrents is undoubted—they present all the characteristics of dry watercourses.

The Primitive People

Then there was, of course, no cultivated land. The valley of the Nile was a marsh. The inhabitants lived on the desert slopes and on the plateaus. On these are now found the relics of their presence in the shape of their flint implements, lying just as they were left thousands of years ago by the Palæolithic flint-knappers who went up on to the desert to make their weapons out of the countless pebbles of flint and chert which cover the surface of the ground. Regular factories of these flints have

been found just as they were left, with spoilt fragments, broken as well as perfect weapons, lying around. The flints are of the well-known European types of St. Acheul, Chelles, and Le Moustier. Considerable attention has been devoted to these implements of recent years, and though their Palæolithic character was at first doubted, there is no doubt now that they are the African fellows of the flint implements found in the gravel deposits of England, France and Belgium [see page 238]. Other traces of Palæolithic Man in Egypt there are none.

Ages passed away before the primitive Egyptians gradually passed, like the rest of the world, from the older to the newer age of stone. When we reach the Neolithic Period we see an enormous advance in civilisation. The flint weapons of the Neolithic Egyptians are probably the finest known. None hitherto found in Europe or America can compare with them in accuracy and beauty of finish. They mark the apogee of the art of flint-knapping. Naturally, they must be placed late in the history of the Stone Age in Egypt. For at the time they were made the Egyptians were already preparing to pass into the age of metal, and in the succeeding "Archaic" Period, properly so-called, we find them in the "Chalcolithic" era of human progress, when copper and stone are used indifferently and side by side. Copper is already found sporadically in the later graves of the Neolithic people.

Beauty of Egyptian Flints

For it must be remembered that our knowledge of the Neolithic Egyptians is derived almost exclusively from their graves. The last resting-places of the Palæolithic people are naturally utterly unknown to us; perhaps they ate one another, but we know nothing of how they disposed of their dead. It is otherwise with their Neolithic successors. They were buried, usually in the cramped position characteristic of primitive nations, in shallow, oval graves packed closely together, on the lowest desert slopes near the cultivated land. Sometimes they were placed in pots, sometimes they were covered merely with a reed mat. Ready to the hand of the dead man were his flint weapons and tools, his pottery to contain the funeral meats with which the love or fear of the living had provided for his sustenance. With the body were also buried articles of personal adornment, such as combs, or slate palettes on which to grind face paint. Small dolls or figures of men and women are also found.

From this sketch of the objects found in these graves it will be seen that the Neolithic Egyptians had progressed far beyond the civilisation of Rudyard Kipling's "Ug," in which their Palæolithic predecessors had lived. They were no longer naked savages killing each other and their fellow-beasts, the lions and jackals, with rudely-fashioned lumps of stone. In fact, with them Egyptian civilisation has begun. We have spoken of the excellence of their flint weapons. Not less excellent was their pottery. Made without the aid of the wheel, which was not yet invented, it yet attained a perfection of form which makes the fact that they were built up solely by the hand of the potter almost incredible.

Beginnings of Egyptian Civilisation

The commonest type of this pottery is a red polished ware with black top, due to its having been baked mouth downwards in a fire, the ashes of which deoxidised the hæmatite burnishing, and so changed the red colour to black. Later in date are red and black wares with rude geometrical incised designs, filled in with white [see page 235]. Later again is a buff ware, either plain or decorated with deep red wavy lines, concentric circles, and elaborate drawings of boats sailing on the Nile, human beings, ostriches, and so forth. With this ware the prehistoric pottery reached its apogee; thenceforward it degenerated throughout the Archaic Period till, in the time of the fourth dynasty, fine wheel-made pottery of a deep red colour came into use. So enormous have been the finds of prehistoric pottery of late years that these ancient crocks are to be seen in nearly every museum. The dividing line between the Neolithic and Archaic Periods is not by any means clear. Roughly we might place it where history begins, with the unification of the whole country under the earliest kings of the first dynasty. Yet this point of division does not coincide with the real division between the two stages of culture. Perhaps it makes rather the central point of the Archaic Period, when the growth of civilisation had progressed so far that a unified "culture-

Where History Begins

state" could be founded, rather than the division between the older and the more developed civilisation. We can see that the older culture was very different in many ways from the later. Archaic Egypt is, in spite of its archaic character, the Pharaonic Egypt which we know, with king, nobles, and commoners, officials and artists, priests and scribes, just as we have them in the days of Thothmes and Rameses.

Egypt's Archaic State

Neolithic Egypt has none of these; its people were more like North American Indians than anything else; they were simple hunters and primitive cultivators, and much of the remains of their culture would not necessarily be put down at first sight as Egyptian at all. Yet in them we see the germs of the later Egyptian state. Writing was not known to them, yet individual signs which afterwards became Egyptian hieroglyphs, were; we have one—the oldest hieroglyph known—the symbol of the god Min upon a slate "palette" from al-'Amra.

The use of metal weapons was not known to them till near the approach of the Archaic Period. But we cannot say when they actually passed from the pure Neolithic to the Chalcolithic period of culture any more than when they first began to write in the true sense of the word. The whole elaborate structure of the later Egyptian religion was unknown to them, yet we can see that many of the gods of the later Egyptians had been gods in Neolithic Egypt also—above all, the animal objects of popular worship, the beasts and birds who were afterwards identified with higher deities or became their "sacred animals." We can see that these were the tokens of different Nilotic tribes in Neolithic times, and they are so represented on the early pottery. Yet we cannot say when the Egyptian state-religion, as such, first took the form and shape which we find it has assumed in the Archaic Period, and which it ever afterwards preserved. In fact, we cannot draw any hard and fast line of division between the two stages of culture. As we examine their relics, we find the primitive culture developing and merging imperceptibly into the Archaic civilisation before the unification of the kingdoms. At al-'Amra, more particularly, we can trace this development best as regards burial customs, from the simplest pot-burial to small brick chambers, between which and the brick royal tombs of the first dynasty there is but a step. Dr. Reisner's discoveries at Nag 'ed-Dêr, opposite Girga, have notably supplemented Maciver's results at al-'Amra.

Origin of Egypt's Religion Unknown

We can, then, see that the stone-using Egyptians gradually increased in civilisation until their various tribes combined to form larger entities, which eventually coalesced into two chief states—Northern and Southern Egypt—which had capital towns, Buto in the north and Nekhen, the Hierakonpolis of the Greeks, in the south. Of these two, the southern kingdom was the more purely Egyptian. As we shall see in the next chapter, the Delta was probably never so truly Egyptian, nor is it now, as the Sa'id, or Upper Country. Mediterranean tribes akin probably to the Cretans lived on the shores of the Delta. The Egyptians called them the "Hau of the marshes," the signs of which name, reading Hauhenu, were in later times misread as Ha-nebu, which could be translated as "Lords of the North" or "All the Northerners," and early appears, using another word for "North," as Meht-nebu. This process may be rather obscure to those who are not familiar with the possibilities of an ideographic mode of writing, but the meaning would be perfectly clear at once to a Chinaman or Japanese. Afterwards this name, Ha-nebu, pronounced something like "Huenim" in later Egyptian, became the regular late-Egyptian word for "Greeks," Ouecienin. The Hau of the marshes were abominated by the developed Egyptian religion, and none of the magical charms of the "Book of the Dead," by the help of which a man, when dead, could force his way past all the unknown dangers of the other world to the fields of the blessed, might be communicated by a pious Egyptian to one of the outcast Hau. Yet ethnology and archæology both combine to tell us that the sea-people of the Egyptian coast, and even their congeners over the sea in Crete, were in all probability not racially very different from the Egyptians.

Nile Delta Not Egyptian

The many resemblances between the early Ægean civilisation and that of Egypt may prove ultimately to be due far more to a common African origin of the two cultures than to the mutual influence which was exercised in later

times by the one over the other. More than this we can hardly say at present.

Other elements which must have modified the Deltaic Egyptians from the earliest times are the Libyan on the west and the Semite on the east. No doubt the Libyans were closely connected with the Nilotes, and so with the Mediterraneans; and in Palestine, where at that time the Semites had probably not yet settled, there no doubt existed a primitive population of Mediterranean origin. In the eastern desert, however, in Sinai, and perhaps also in the Wadi Tumilat, the land of Goshen, true Semites already lived.

Their culture, such as it was, was distinct from that of Nilote or Libyan. Behind them, in the far Mesopotamian basin, lived the peculiar people of the Sumerians, un-Semitic in blood and speech, to whom the Semites owed all that they ever possessed then of culture. It can hardly be doubted, as we shall see later, that this Sumerian culture exercised through the Semites considerable influence over that of the Northern Egyptian kingdom. The original knowledge of the cultivation of cereals may well have come to Egypt from Mesopotamia, and it is almost certain that brick architecture was directly transmitted to the Egyptians from the Sumerians. Other points of resemblance between the Archaic Egyptian culture and the Sumerian may be noted, such as the common use of the stone cylinder seal and the peculiarly shaped macehead. And, finally, it is probable that the Egyptian script first developed out of a primitive picture-writing under the influence of the Sumerian ideographic system, which afterwards became what we know as "cuneiform." For the Egyptian language, as we find it first developed under the fourth dynasty, has in it a distinctly Semitic element. And long before this, in all probability, Semites had adopted the Sumerian signs for their own use. That the Semites who introduced elements of their tongue into the Nile valley also brought with them perhaps some of the earliest combinations of the Sumerian picture-signs, is by no means improbable.

Culture from Mesopotamia

Yet this Sumerian-Semitic culture-influence must have been very ancient, for the Semitic element in Egyptian might perhaps be more fairly described as "proto-Semitic," and the languages of the Libyans, the Berbers, and the Imoshagh, or Tawarek, had and have just as much of this "proto-Semitic" element—to be distinguished from modern corruptions of Arabic—in them as had Egyptian. Are we to assume a very early wave of proto-Semitic conquest of the Delta, passing on to the Libyans beyond? The theory that Semites did come into Egypt by the Wadi Tumilat at a very early period has many arguments in its favour; among others, the existence at the Egyptian end of that valley of the sun-sanctuary of On, or Heliopolis. Of sun-worship, which afterwards was so characteristic of the Egyptian religion, we have as yet found no trace among the Neolithic Egyptians, the Nilotes of "Mediterranean" race, whose stone weapons and pottery we have described. Yet it was characteristic of Sumerian-Semitic religion. And in this latter we find no trace of the equally typical Egyptian veneration of birds and beasts, which we have seen was certainly practised by the primitive Nilotes. We believe, then, that sun-worship was introduced into Egypt and grafted on to the ancient animal worship by these invading proto-Semites.

Likelihood of Semitic Invasion

There was in Archaic Egypt, as distinct from Neolithic Egypt, also another sun-god, of southern, however, not of northern origin. He is Horus of Edfu, as distinct from Ra of On. Afterwards the two were combined as Ra Harmachis. It might be supposed that because this sun-god came from the south, therefore he is an indigenous Nilotic deity. This is, however, by no means the case. Of him it was always told in legend that he was a conqueror, and that he advanced down the Nile valley to overthrow the ass-headed god of the north, Set, whom he defeated in a great battle near Dendera. He was accompanied by followers called Mesniu, or Smiths, who were armed with metal weapons. This certainly looks as if we had here a tradition of a foreign race of conquerors, whose metal weapons gained them the victory over the indigenous people of the valley. It is that old story in the dawn of the world's history, the utter overthrow and subjection of the stone-users by the metal-users, the primeval tragedy of the supersession of flint by copper and bronze. That these invaders from the south were Semitic sun-worshippers is very probable. If

The Primeval Tragedy

so, we may see in them a southern Semitic wave from Arabia, which crossed into Africa by the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb, and reached the Nile valley either by way of the Blue Nile or up the coast and thence westwards by the broad Wadi Hamamat. It is curious that at Koptos, almost opposite Dendera, where the legendary battle between the Mesniu and the aborigines took place, at the Nile end of the Wadi Hamamat, Professor Petrie discovered some of the most ancient relics of Egyptian civilisation. Among them were statues of the god Min, on which are incised rude sculptures of animals and crioceras shells, which belong to the Red Sea. It may be that these are relics of the invaders. But the god Min seems to belong to the primitive inhabitants rather than to them. However this question may be solved, it may well be that by Horus and his Smiths we are to understand a second Semitic conquest, distinct from the northern Semitic wave which entered by way of the Wadi Tumilat.

Deity of the Primitive Peoples

In the south, then, we have also Semitic influence, though less marked than in the north. It is possible that to this influence in the south and north is due the development which ended in the rise of the two kingdoms of Hierakonpolis and Buto. Of the pre-dynastic kings of the south and north we know nothing. By chance we have as a monument of the fifth dynasty the "Stele of Palermo" [see page 249], a list of some of the northern kings, whose names are simple and primitive in form—Seka, Desiu, Tiu, Tesh, Nihab, Uatj'antj, Mekha. But we possess no contemporary relics of them or of any of the southern kings before the latter began the wars of conquest which ended in the subjugation of the north and the confiscation of the kingdom. Then, at the beginning of the first dynasty, we first have contemporary monuments. The excavations at Hierakonpolis and Abydos have yielded to us the monuments of the kings whose names appear in altered forms in the later lists as the Pharaohs of the first two dynasties.

The First Dynasties

The information which, before the new discoveries, we possessed with regard to the Egyptian kings who preceded Sneferu was of a very jejune character. It was derived solely from the lists of their predecessors which the kings of the nineteenth dynasty set up at Abydos, supplemented by another list of the same kind in a private tomb at Sakkara, side by side with the lists handed down to us by the Ptolemaic annalist Manetho. Now we have the actual contemporary monuments of many of these kings, and can see how far we have been rightly guided by the later list-makers.

The royal lists of Abydos were no doubt put up there because it was known that the tombs of the earliest kings were there. We use the word "tombs" here, but, as a matter of fact, it is more probable that these were not all the actual tombs of the kings of the first dynasty. One, Aha, was, we know, really buried elsewhere, at Nagada. But it was often the custom of Egyptian kings to have cenotaphs put up in their memory at Abydos, where every pious Egyptian desired to be commemorated.

The names of the following primeval kings have been found at Hierakonpolis and Abydos. Apart from words such as Ro, Sma, and Ka, which have been supposed by Professor Petrie to be those of kings who lived before the first dynasty, and are therefore assigned by him to a "Dynasty 0," but are by no means certainly royal names at all, the list is as follows. The hawk, or Horus name, borne on a banner called the srekh, or cognisance, comes first:

The Primeval Kings

1. Horus Aha (King Men?).
2. Horus Narmer, or Betjumer.
3. Horus Tjer (afterwards misread Khent).
4. Horus Tja, King Ati.
5. Horus Den (or Udimu?), King Semti.
6. Horus Atjab, King Merpeba.
7. Horus Semerkha, King Nekht.
8. Horus Qa, King Sen.
9. Horus Khasekhem, or Khasekhemui (King Besh?).
10. Horus Hetepsekhemui.
11. Horus Raneb.
12. Horus Neneter (or Netrimu?).
13. Horus Sekhemab, Set Perabsen.

It will be noticed that the last king has a Set name, appropriate to him as king of Lower Egypt, as well as the Horus name as king of Upper Egypt. When the king-name is not given, it is unknown. The queried names are all doubtful. Netrimu and Udimu are given

merely because they are forms that have been proposed by German scholars, but they are not very convincing. Besh, as the name of King Khasekhem, is usually accepted; but it is more probable that Professor Naville's disbelief in it is justified, and that it refers really to the land of Bi—that is, Lower Egypt. The name of the king of Lower Egypt was "biti"; that of the king of Upper Egypt was "suten," which afterwards became the ordinary word for king, a curious sign of the position of Upper Egypt as the conqueror. Mr. F. Legge has lately shown that the name "Men," which has been supposed to have been read on tablets of Aha, is more doubtful than ever, and no definite identification of Aha with the legendary Menes can be founded on it.

It will be noticed that the above list does not entirely agree with those published by Professor Petrie. This is because it is not based upon Professor Petrie's own writings only, but also on those of the other Egyptologists who have discussed these questions and have criticised his conclusions. For instance, Professor Petrie's king "Merneit" does not appear in it, because there is no positive proof that the name is that of a king. Narmer, too, is assigned to the first dynasty, because, unless this is done, there are too many names for the first dynasty as it stands in the later lists, on the assumption, accepted by Professor Petrie, that Aha is Menes. The certain identification of these contemporary names with those of kings for the first two dynasties given in the lists are these:



A PRIMITIVE GOD
Min was a god of the primitive Egyptians, and his symbol is the oldest hieroglyph.

5 Den Semti = Hesepti, Manetho's Ousaphais.
6. Atjab Merpeba = Merbap, Miebis.
7. Semerkha Nekht = Shemsu or Semsem, Semempses.
8. Qa Sen = Qebh, Bienekhes.
9 Khasekhemui = Betjumer (?), Boethos.
12. Neneter = Bineneter, Binothris.

Of these names Professor Sethe was the first authority to point out the chief identifications, those of the names of Semti and Merpeba with Hesepti and Merbap.

Hesepti, then, is the earliest historical king in the lists. Professor Petrie, however, taking Aha to be Menes, goes on to identify Tja Ati with Ateth, which may eventually prove to be correct, Merneit with Ata and Tjer with Teta. The two last are arbitrary identifications, and we have not recognised Merneit as a king at all.

It is very probable that the names Teta, Ateth, and Ata, which are given in the nineteenth dynasty lists as those of the immediate successors of Menes, are really all later inventions, founded on Ati, the personal name of Tja. Tja had become triplicated in legend, while Tjer and Narmer had disappeared from it, for the authorities used by the nineteenth dynasty list-makers must have been largely legendary: Menes was to them much what King Arthur is to us. Perhaps, however, Betjumer Narmer, the powerful king who has left so many relics of his presence at Hierakonpolis, had not disappeared from legend altogether, but was in it rather combined with his predecessors (?) Aha, "the fighter," to form the heroic figure of Mena, or Menes, the traditional founder of the monarchy; while in the lists his name has got out of place, having been set in the form Betjumer—which is quite possibly more correct than Narmer—at the beginning of the second dynasty, and read by Manetho as Boethos. Professor Naville holds the view that this is his proper place, and that with Khasekhemui, whose monuments were found with his at Hierakonpolis, he should be put at the head of the second dynasty—if, indeed, Khasekhemui, the conqueror of the North, does not rather belong to the first.

But there is no doubt that Narmer's monuments [see pages 247-248] are among the most archaic of those of the earliest kings. Judged by the criterion of style, they are certainly almost contemporary with those of Aha, and antedate those of Tja and Tjer. And Khasekhemui's, judged by the same criterion, are certainly later than those of all the kings of the first dynasty. Therefore we may retain Khasekhemui at the head of the second dynasty, and suppose that because Narmer was also a

conqueror of the North, his name was misplaced in the royal lists, as we have shown it in our list above. His contemporaneity with Aha, and the position of both before Tja and Tjer being practically certain, we hold that Professor Petrie is justified in putting him, with Aha, at the beginning of the whole list. But, not recognising Aha as the sole original of Menes, and seeing no reason why we should strive, with Professor Petrie, to place the kings of the first dynasty upon a Procrustes bed, and lop Narmer off, because, if Aha is above Menes, he does not fit in with the lists of the nineteenth dynasty and of Manetho (in which we believe the names of the first four kings before Hesepti-Ousaphais were purely traditional), we can well conclude that Aha, the great king, who was buried at Nagada, and Narmer, who reigned at Hierakonpolis and conquered the North, were the joint originals of Mena or Menes. The "Scorpion" king, also found at Hierakonpolis, is, on account of the absolute identity of his monuments in style with those of Narmer, to be regarded as identical with him.

Who Were the First Kings?

Archæology has, therefore, discovered the real kings of the beginning of the first dynasty, who were known to the later Egyptians only in legend. It is as if we were to discover the real originals of Agamemnon or Theseus - which, indeed, we may do yet in Greece on Mycenæan monuments. The earliest king of whom the later Egyptians had real historical knowledge would seem to have been Semti, whose name was misread by them as Hesepti, which form was copied by Manetho as Ousaphais. It is at least significant in this regard that the private list at Sakkara places not the legendary Menes but the successor of Semti (Merpeba), as the first king of Egypt. We may then regard Semti and Merpeba as the first kings who were really known to the later Egyptians. Their successor, Semerkha, is the first of whom a contemporary monument has been discovered apart from the actual royal "graves" at Abydos: this is his stele, or tablet, in the Wadi Maghara, in the Sinaitic peninsula. With these three monarchs, therefore, Egyptian "history," as apart from either legend or archæological probability, may be said to begin. What history there is to be told of this early time may be seen from the succeeding chapters, in which the traditions of the later Egyptians are combined with what we know from the contemporary monuments. Here it may be said that it is firstly a record of the conquest of the North by the kings of the South, which was not finally consummated till the reign of Khasekhem, literally, "Power appears," who, however, after the final conquest apparently, changed his name to Khasekhemui, "Two Powers appear," the powers of North and South, not of the South alone. On the commemorative maceheads and state shields (so-called "palettes") of this time, which were dedicated in the temples, we have records of these conquests. On small tablets deposited in the royal cenotaphs at Abydos we have records of the foundation of temples and other buildings, notably one found by Petrie at Abydos, and now in the British Museum, which commemorates the establishment by Den of a temple of himself at Osiris, on the occasion of his Sed festival—the festival "of the end," at which he, like many other Egyptian kings, was deified before his death. On the Palermo stele, already mentioned, we find records of the years of several of the kings of the second dynasty, in which little but the building of palaces or the celebration of festivals is chronicled.

Earliest Known Kings

Egypt's Unchanging Civilisation

The story, so far as it is known to us, of the expansion of Egypt at this time, of the occupation of Sinai, and of wars with the Libyans, of the greatness of kings like Tjeser of the third dynasty, the first pyramid-builder, and so forth, will be found in the next chapter.

Here we are concerned chiefly with the general aspect of the oldest civilisation of Egypt, which, though the same as that hitherto known to us, is yet different, inasmuch as it is that civilisation in its infancy, in the making, swiftly developing, till in the times of the fifth dynasty it was stereotyped, so that there is less difference between the Egyptian religion and royalty of the days of Nectanebus (350 B.C.) and Ne-ueser-Ra (3000 B.C.) than between those of Ne-ueser-Ra's day and of Narmer's (4000 or 3500 B.C.). Minor art might change, fashions of dress alter, language decay and be re-cast, but religion and royalty, and the common people, the fellahin, remained the same, like the unchanging Nile valley itself.

It was in the space of but a few centuries that Egyptian civilisation swiftly developed till it came to a stop. With art and handicraft developed political and religious ideas, and when a stable state had been firmly erected, and the goal of progress seemed reached, political and religious cohesion imposed stability, and therewith fossilisation on art, and, to some extent, on thought also. The machine ceased to move of itself, and the only motive power which afterwards ever sent it further along was applied from without by Hyksos or Assyrian or Greek or Arab conquest, or, in modern days, British conquest too. It may, indeed, be argued with some probability that even the initial impulse to the original development of ancient Egyptian civilisation was given, also from without, by the invasions of Semites, which, as we have seen, probably took place before the rise of the kingdoms of Buto and Hierakonpolis, and transformed the Neolithic people of the Negada graves into the archaic Egyptians.

Egypt's Debts to Babylon

However this may be, the archaic culture certainly seems to owe something to the Sumerian civilisation of Babylonia. The use of the cylinder-seal, the shape of the maceheads, the invention of brick—the original Egyptian building material being wattle and daub—the peculiar crenellated brick architecture which at Abydos and at Nagada, in early tombs as in fortresses, is exactly the same as that of the walls of Gudea's palace at Tello in Babylonia, the introduction of burial at full length even, in place of the older crouched position—all these point to early Babylonian influence. How far the Sumerian script influenced the development of Egyptian writing we do not know; little real connection between the two sets of picture-signs can be traced even in their beginnings. Their later development was quite other in the two states. This was due to the use of clay tablets in Babylonia on which the signs were impressed with a stilus, while the Egyptians preferred to write with ink on papyrus, pottery, or wood. We find ink used to write even on stone under the first dynasty, so it was invented then. The Babylonians never used it, though the Egyptians sometimes used the stilus on soft bricks. The Cretans wrote both with ink in Egyptian fashion on pottery, and, more usually, with the stilus on clay in Babylonian fashion. Thus, though it is said that the oldest Sumerian name for the god Marduk was Asari, and was written by means of a group of two ideographs which are very like the Egyptian ideographs of the name of the god Asari or Osiris (between whom and Marduk there is little in common, by the way: Osiris would seem to be a primitive Nilotic rather than an imported Sumerian-Semitic deity, and the sun-gods and the goddesses Hathor, Sekhmet, and Bast seem to be the most Semitic of the original Egyptian deities). we cannot say that the connection between the Egyptian and Babylonian picture-writings is yet proved. The original Egyptian pictures were, as we have seen, probably of indigenous Nilotic origin.

Hieroglyph and Cuneiform

It is in the development of the writing during the Archaic Period that the great advance of Egyptian civilisation at this period can be recognised even more clearly than in the development of art. In both cases the swiftest development took place at the beginning, under the first dynasty. If the century and a half, or, at most, two centuries of this period saw the advance of art from the crude and clumsy style of Narmer and Aha to the developed, though still archaic style of Khasekhemui, between whose and Ne-ueser-Ra's art in the fifth dynasty there is less difference than between Khasekhemui's and Narmer's, they also saw a far greater advance, the development of the Egyptian script from a mere painful stringing together of rude pictures, analogous to those of the Bushmen or Red Indians, to a writing which could express thought with more or less clearness.

When we reach Sneferu's time we find the complicated hieroglyphic system, with its array of alphabeto-syllabic and syllabic signs—designed to express sound though not necessarily meaning also—as well as of determinative signs, practically developed to the full. The scribes of the Ramessides could easily have read Sneferu's or Tjeser's inscriptions, Khasekhemui's even, without extraordinary difficulty, but those of Den, still more those of Narmer, would have given them almost as much trouble to decipher as they do us. As the development progressed, unsuitable signs were dropped, so that in these archaic inscriptions we often meet with hieroglyphs, the meaning of which

Hieroglyph System Developed

is unknown to us. The Egyptian scribe was inventing his script, and he often abandoned his inventions if they were found to be unserviceable, and invented others in their place.

So did the artist and architect. Brick was introduced, but it was not long before stone, which lay to hand so near in the mountains on either side of the valley, was pressed into service also. We find it first used in the middle of the first dynasty. Buildings increased in size; the royal tombs became labyrinths of chambers very different from the oval graves of the Neolithic people, and under the third dynasty a great stone pyramid, the first of its kind, was erected over a king's tomb instead of a brick mound. Soon followed the wonders of the world, the pyramids of Gizeh, those mightiest monuments ever erected by the pride and power of man. The mathematical accuracy with which the architects and engineers of Sneferu, Khufu, and Khafra did their work is the best testimony to the mental advance which five centuries had seen. A Bushman or a Red Indian had developed into a designer of Forth Bridges and Eiffel Towers.

The World's Wonders

It was an age of swift change and thrust upward and forward; an age, too, of cheerful savage energy, like most times when kingdoms and peoples are in the making. When Khasekhemui finally conquered the North, he slew 47,209 "northern enemies." The attitudes of the slain northerners were so greatly admired and sketched by the artists of the time that some of the most picturesque were reproduced on the pedestal of the king's statue, found at Hierakonpolis by M. Quibell, which is now at Oxford. And on the earlier reliefs of Narmer we see the king, accompanied by his page bearing his sandals and a vase like a teapot, containing his favourite drink [see page 248], going out in comfort to inspect the bodies of his enemies, which were tastefully laid out in rows, with their heads severed and their toes artistically turned in, whether to make them look ridiculous or not we cannot tell.

An Age of Savage Energy

From monuments such as these we learn a good deal of the position of the king and of the general state of the Egyptian polity at the beginning of history. We have said that at the time of the fifth dynasty the Egyptian monarchy and religion crystallised, and altered but little thereafter. This statement is, of course, to be taken in a general sense, especially as regards the monarchy. The polity of the fifth dynasty was an absolute monarchy, or, rather, theocracy, in which a god ruled over his court nobles and his slaves, the common people. Under the twelfth dynasty we see a king, always by courtesy called a god, controlling from his palace a number of feudal nobles to whom the people actually owed allegiance; under the eighteenth dynasty a king, one among other kings, of Babylonia or elsewhere, at the head of a bureaucratic state of very modern type. Yet the general proposition is true: in the eyes of priesthood and people the king was always what he had been, his titles never varied from age to age, all ceremonies connected with him, religious or civil, were conducted just as they had been conducted in the time of the pyramid builders, and, as far as artistic representations are concerned, there is little or no difference between Nectanebus and Ne-ueser-Ra. And, as is natural, there is also not much difference between Ne-ueser-Ra and Narmer. The princes of Hierakonpolis, the sutens of Upper Egypt, were living sun-gods, "Horuses," with their subordinate chiefs around them; they wore high straw hats covered with white cloth and trailed cow's tails behind them to distinguish them from the vulgar, and were naïvely represented in art as being twice as large as ordinary mortals. This was quite natural in the primitive period, and since the power of the king was already absolutely autocratic, as he was the lord of all, who were his slaves and worshipped him as a god at the beginning of the first dynasty, there was no room for further development of his power, and but for the invention of new titles, such as "Son of the Sun," there is no alteration in the position or description of the king during the Archaic Period. And when his position really altered, after the nobles had learnt that successful rebellion was possible, and they might themselves by that means come to sit on Pharaoh's throne, the description had long before been fixed and remained so for ever, so that the Roman emperor Decius still wears Narmer's high cap and cow's tail on the walls of the temple of Esne.

Deification of the Kings

H. R. HALL



THE LAND OF THE PHARAOHS

BY CARL NIEBUHR AND H. R. HALL, M.A.

TO THE TIME OF THE PYRAMID-BUILDERS

IN "geologic" times the habitable Egypt of to-day formed a long, narrow gulf extending from the Mediterranean to the first cataract. In the course of ages the gulf was filled up by the heavy deposits of silt which the Nile still continues to bring down, every year increasing its delta. The rainfall is of small amount, and but for the regular flooding of the Nile valley every year a country now arable would be at the most a region of arid steppes.

At Assouan - the Suenu of ancient Egypt and the Greek Syene—the Nile leaves Nubia and begins its lower course, first breaking through a granite barrier which has thrust itself between the ridges of red sandstone that extend along the sides of the valley to this point. The fragments of rock in the river bed, large enough at this point to form islands, render the navigation of this first cataract extremely difficult. At a distance of 38 miles below Assouan, at Gebel Silsila, the sandstone formation draws nearer to the course of the Nile, narrowing the river bed to the breadth of 300 yards. When this gorge has been passed, the fall of the river is very gradual, from Assouan to Cairo barely 300 feet, and thence to the coast 32 feet, so that the river is free to extend as it will. The mountain chains to the right and left retreat further and further from the stream, and at Esne change to a Tertiary limestone formation. At Luxor, the site of ancient Thebes, the arable land of the valley is over five miles in breadth. A short distance further on begins the system of irrigation canals. Here, in the district of Abydos, the arable land is eleven miles in breadth, nine on the west bank, and two on the eastern. This general breadth of the cultivated land is preserved till Cairo is reached, broader now on one bank, now on the other, as the cliff-border of the desert now approaches, now recedes from the river, on one side or the other. The eastern mountain chain preserves its precipitous character until it joins near Cairo the Mokattam range, which there takes a turn to the west. The rolling hills on the western side permit the passage of the so-called Joseph's Canal, or Bahr Yusuf, the most ancient of all the irrigation streams of any size, which branches off from the river in lat. 27° 5′ N. and after flowing parallel to the Nile for a distance of over 450 miles, passes the line of hills and creates the habitable district of Fayyum. In early times this western dependency of Egypt was watered by a great stagnant lake, the "lake Moeris" of the Greeks; in modern times the canal now flows further to the west, into the brackish "lake of horns"—Birket

The Nile's Cataracts

The Narrow Land of the Nile

el-Kerun, 130 feet below the sea-level—although its water still continues to fertilise a considerable portion of the Fayyum.

The Nile Delta

Some twelve miles below Cairo the Nile, which there attains a breadth of over 300 feet, divides into the two branches by which it now reaches the sea—the Rosetta Nile and the Damietta Nile. Here the Delta begins. In remote antiquity this district consisted almost entirely of marsh land; but very early in Egyptian history the work of reclaiming the marshes was begun, and by the fourteenth century B.C. the cultivated land of the Delta was probably as great in extent as it is now. At the present day it has an area of 13,500 square miles, and a coast line of 180 miles in length, and is intersected by a network of streams with a total length of 8,400 miles. The regulation of the Nile floods, a difficult task in this low-lying region, was in modern times first attempted in the nineteenth century by the construction of the barrage, a great dam at the southern extremity of the Delta. Of the seven chief mouths as known to classical antiquity by which the Nile flows into the Mediterranean, the Bolbitine corresponds with the Rosetta Nile; the western arm, the Canopic, was replaced in 1820 by the Mahmudiyah Canal, which flows into the lagoon near Alexandria. To the east of the Bolbitine Nile followed in order the Sebennytic, the Phatnitic, or Damietta, the Mendesian, the Tanitic, and the Pelusian. The Mendesian and Tanitic branches are now represented by canals which enter Lake Manzaleh from the south. The Pelusian branch, which originally reached the sea considerably to the eastward of the modern Port Said and the Suez Canal, has entirely disappeared.

Egypt a Little Country

The land which is fertilised by all these channels from Assouan to the borders of the Delta has an area in round numbers of 18,500 square miles—that is, a little larger than Belgium. The population, however, is at least a third more numerous. The total area of the country, a large proportion of which consists of the barren districts of the Arabian desert, between the Nile and the Red Sea, and the Libyan desert, which loses itself in the Sahara on the west, is about 640,000 square miles.

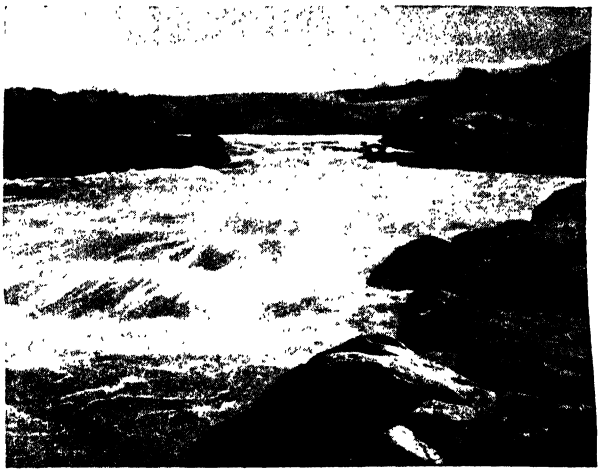
The names under which Egypt has been known to neighbouring peoples in the course of history have never yet been satisfactorily explained. The native name for the country was "Kemet," in later forms, "Kemi" and "Khemi," signifying "the Black Land," the land of dark soil; the ancient Egyptians called



MAP OF THE BASIN OF THE RIVER NILE

themselves simply Romitu, "the people." When the priest of Saïs told Herodotus that of the 360 priests who had succeeded each other at Saïs from time immemorial each one was a "*piromis*, and the son of a *piromis*," he meant that

each one had been "a man and the son of a man," in Egyptian *pi-romi*, with the definite article *pi*. Modern investigations have made it probable that the name Egypt may have been derived from the native name of the town or the temple precinct of Memphis, Ha-ka-ptah. As early as 1400 B.C. Memphis was known to foreigners under the form of "Hikuptah." The Semitic peoples called the country Misr, or in Hebrew, Misraim. The kings of Egypt, at any rate those of the eighteenth dynasty, in their letters to foreign powers generally styled themselves rulers of "Misri." The Persians turned this name into "Mudraya." But the origin and the meaning of the word are unknown.



VIEW OF THE NILE AT THE FIRST CATARACT

The same uncertainty prevails with regard to the name Neilos, by which the Greeks called the river. The ancient Egyptians called the Nile Hapi; but this, in popular language, was replaced by *Itur*, river, of which the Coptic, the last surviving dialect of ancient Egypt, has preserved the derivative form *Iaro* or *Eioor*. The Israelites called the Nile by the same name, Yeor, the Assyrians, Yaru; and in Syria the Delta region was known about 1380 B.C. as the country of "Yarimuta," of which word the second part still awaits explanation.

Meaning of Egyptian Names

Egyptologists are by no means altogether agreed that ancient Egyptian civilisation originated wholly in the East, and opinions are still divided as to the origin of the earliest inhabitants of the land. Both the negroes and the western neighbours of the Delta, the Libyan nations, have been considered possible progenitors. The first may be ruled out at once; there was negro blood in Egypt in ancient times, as there is now, but the Egyptians were not, and are not, a negroid race. But that they were closely akin to the Libyans, now represented by the Berbers, Kabyles, and Tuareg of Northern Africa, is very possible; the Egyptian language, though it contained many "proto-Semitic" forms, was not more Semitic in general character than are Berber dialects, which are distantly related to the Semitic tongues. But that in very early times a distinctly Semitic immigration took place from Arabia, bringing with it elements of Mesopotamian culture, seems highly probable. With the exception of the Mediterranean coast, the



VIEW OF THE NILE AT THE SECOND CATARACT

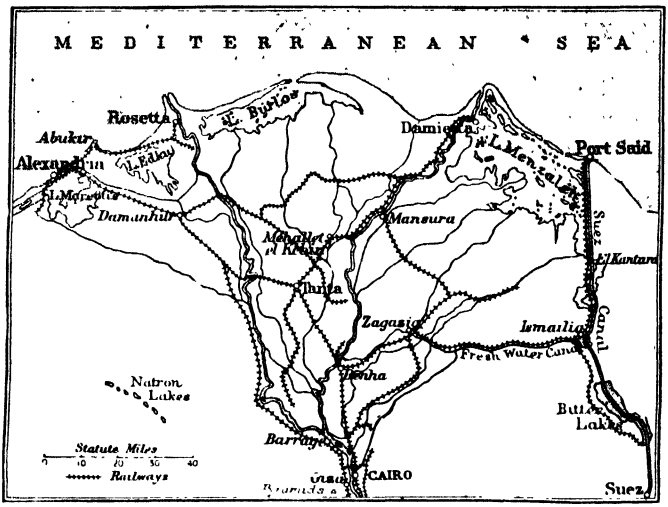
only points at which the invasion of Egypt by a horde or army of any size is at all possible are the former isthmus of Suez, the Libyan border of the Delta on the opposite side, and finally the pass of Assouan in the south. In antiquity the Nile valley was absolutely closed against the advance of large armies, from Cairo upward, on both sides. Oases, it is true, are not entirely wanting, but their situation is not such as to have permitted a direct attack upon the pass into the valley between Assouan and the Fayyum.

In the age of the Ptolemies and the Romans the eastern desert was inhabited by a nomadic race, known to the Egyptians who wrote in Greek as Trogodytes — not Troglodytes, which would mean cave dwellers. It was only in the region between the Nile and the Red Sea, where they were secure from any persistent pursuit or expulsion, that the remnants of these most ancient inhabitants of the Nile valley were able to maintain their primitive existence. Artemidorus, about 270 B.C., thus describes the habits of this people: "The Trogodytes lead a nomadic life; their several tribes are ruled by chiefs of unlimited power. Women and children are held in common; only the families of chiefs are excepted. Whoever defiles the wife of a chieftain must pay a fine of one sheep. The women take great care in blackening their eyebrows—[which shows that they were not negroes]. Shells are worn round the neck as a charm against witchcraft. Battles occur for the possession of the pasture lands; the conflict is begun with fists, continued with stones, and should a wound be inflicted with these weapons, arrows and knives are brought into play; thereupon the women rush between them and reconcile them by their appeals.

The Most Ancient People

Their food consists of flesh and bones, which are mingled together and crushed, wrapped in skins and then roasted and prepared in various ways by the cooks, whom they call unclean. Thus they devour not only the flesh, but also the skin and bones; they also partake of blood mingled with milk. The drink of the great majority is an infusion of buckthorn; the chiefs, however, drink a kind of mead, for which purpose honey is pressed from a certain flower. . . . They invariably go naked, hung about with a skin and carrying a club. They are not only mutilated, but some of them are also circumcised, like the Egyptians. Some of the Trogodytes bury their dead, fastening the legs of the corpse to the neck with withes of buckthorn; they then joyfully and with laughter pile stones upon the corpse until it is hidden from view. Then they set up a goat's horn upon the pile and go their way." Similar modes of burial to those here described are to be found far and wide in Central and Southern Africa at the present day. The goat's horn placed above the grave was the "totem" of the deceased, which he wore while alive, suspended from his neck together with the shells. Whether these Trogodytes had any connection with the primitive population of Central Africa, who seem to have been pygmies, may be rendered more certain by knowledge of the pygmy races at the sources of the Nile and in the Congo district. The existence of these latter was well known to the ancients, and individual representatives occasionally

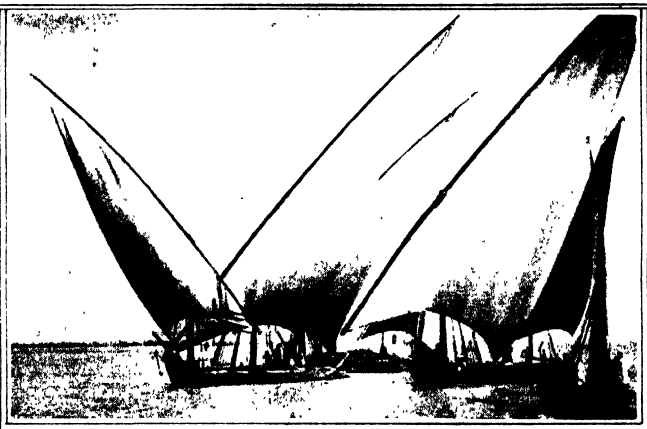
Ancient Race of Pygmies



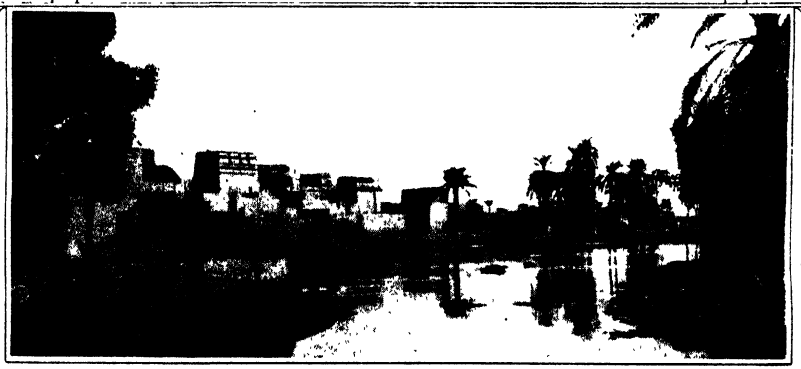
MAP OF THE DELTA OF THE RIVER NILE



A scene on the River Nile, where it broadens in its course, above one of the reservoirs.



Arab trading boats with their familiar lateen sails on the Nile at Luxor.



The banks of the Nile, showing a typical scene on the lower reaches of the river.

SCENES ON THE NILE: THE RIVER TO WHICH EGYPT OWES ITS LIFE

In the course of ages the Nile has filled up with its silt, a black and very fertilising mud, the narrow gulf which extended in geologic times from the Mediterranean to the first cataract, creating in the desert a long, narrow strip of arable country of an average breadth of about eleven miles.

made their way to Egypt, such as the "Deng," who was brought by the traveller Herkhuf to the court of King Merenra, as related below, in the time of the seventh dynasty, and "delighted the heart of his Majesty more than anything." A similar dwarf had been brought from the land of Punt by the Chancellor Baurdad in the time of King Assa. Whether the Nile valley was ever inhabited by pygmies remains uncertain; there is evidence for their wide ethnographic distribution in ancient times.

Dwarfs at the Court

Only a few years ago, inquiry into the origin of Egypt and its civilisation was founded entirely upon the list of kings drawn up by the priest Manetho about 260 B.C. According to this list, Menes, the first king of the whole country, who was indeed preceded by ten unnamed human rulers, began in his person the "first dynasty," a fixed starting point which had been accepted by learned Egyptian writers long before Manetho. The list given in the "papyrus of kings," in the Turin Museum, dating probably from 1500 B.C., also begins with Menes—Egyptian "Mena"—and names as his predecessors the Shemsu-Hor, that is, the successors of the god Horus. These, then, were demi-gods; they, also, appear in Manetho's list, under the name of "Nekyes," or "Ghosts," though separated from Menes by the ten human rulers previously mentioned. The chief account of this monarch states that he came from This, the district round Abydos, north of Thebes, and proceeded to Memphis, where he established his capital. Thus, the region considered in historical times as the original settlement lay in the south. This hypothesis, in itself highly probable, has been entirely confirmed by the recent excavations of Flinders Petrie, Quibell, De Morgan, and Amélineau. The list of kings given by Manetho is not only very full, but also begins at the right place, and provides connecting links between a number of figures which emerge dimly from the darkness of a remoter antiquity.

The Earliest Kings

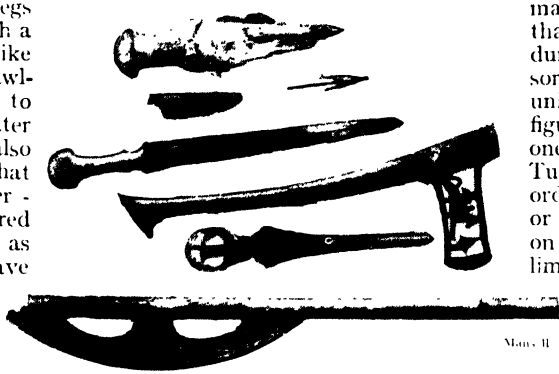
All the excavations referred to above are grouped around the king's tomb at Nagada, the royal "tombs" at Abydos, and the remains of the primitive buildings at Hierakonpolis; and at Ballas and Tukh. The great tomb of Nagada proved to be an erection of sun-dried bricks, the remains of which now form a buried rubbish heap some 160 feet long and 80 feet wide. The interior was divided into chambers, the largest of which occupied the centre. Here the body of the king, whose name was Aha, was originally laid out upon the bier; the other chambers, which decreased in size as they approached the outer walls, contained the sacrificial offerings. The vessels holding the latter were for the most part broken into fragments on the occasion of the burial ceremony. The whole building, and the central chamber in particular, was then destroyed by a great fire, which did not perhaps take place before Christian times.

The most salient features of the civilisation of this early period are the facts that the bodies are not mummified—in all probability the art of embalming the dead was then unknown; further, that this people were in a state of transition from the later Neolithic to the Bronze Age; and, finally, that the implements of the period already showed a considerable development of artistic skill. Together with numerous beautifully-worked implements of stone, including knives of high quality, bronze utensils, and objects of ivory, linen cloth and gold ornaments have been discovered. The greatest progress, however, is shown in the pottery of the time, although the large vessels of every kind of pattern show no trace of turning on the potter's wheel. Furthermore, it is clear that basket-making was here the parent art of clay-modelling, and therefore one of the earliest acquired of human accomplishments.

Early Artistic Skill

The Egyptians of the Nagada period also gave their pottery the appearance of stone; their panel ornamentation showed a preference for spirals, wave and N-lines, as well as for rows of triangles, a characteristically African design. Their representations of men and animals show that their art had already reached a high stage of development. The ostrich often appears depicted walking in single file and as often at full speed; the same bird is also represented in the tomb-paintings found at Hierakonpolis by Green, and by ancient wall-chiselling, or graffiti, at Arb-Assouan, a few miles below the first cataract, the most southerly point at which sculptures of the Nagada period have been discovered. Pictures of the camel or the horse nowhere

appear; the cat also seems to be unrepresented, while elephants constantly recur, and are sometimes boldly depicted as balanced on the mountain tops. Antelopes, goats, bulls, asses, and geese, lions, hippopotami, crocodiles, jackals, dogs, scorpions, all kinds of fish, and finally the sparrow-hawk, the bird sacred to Horus, are the chief representatives of the animal world in the art of this period. In contrast to the drawing in profile hitherto known as "Egyptian," an attempt is made at foreshortening, movement being indicated by curving the legs, and, in the case of the ostriches, by the oarlike posture of the wings. The measured stride of men and animals characteristic of the later art does not appear in the drawings of this period. Scorpions and crocodiles stretch their legs out sideways with a resultant life-like appearance of crawling which is not to be found in later work. It may also be mentioned that the Nile river-boats are pictured quite as often as one would have expected.



THE TRANSITION ART OF EARLY EGYPT

The implements of the Egyptians of the first dynasties, who were in a state of transition from a stone to a bronze age, showed considerable artistic skill, as the flint dagger, knife and arrowhead, and bronze daggers, hatchet and war-axe, shown above, exemplify.

Of particular interest are the tall, sacrificial urns, often four or five feet high, tapering to a point at the bottom, and the slate tablets used as amulets for the dead. The urns differ only in their elongated form from those in use in Egypt at the present day, but the means of stoppering employed is worthy of mention. The narrow orifice was covered with a disc of burnt clay upon which were placed two bell-shaped lids, also of clay, one fitting over the other, the stopper having thus the appearance of a sugar-loaf. Stamps were printed upon the soft clay stoppers by means of cylinder seals; naturally the impressions upon the innermost lid are generally in the better state of preservation.

Early Traces of Writing

The designs most numerous are the Horus names of the kings—indicated by the picture of a sparrow-hawk above the inscription—pictures of animals, and various ornaments. The art of writing, therefore, though but little practised in the early days of the Nagada period, was not unknown; proper names could, at any rate, be inscribed.

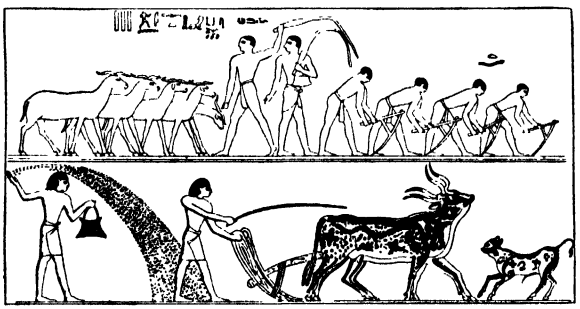
The amulets of slate are sometimes called "palettes," because they sometimes show traces of colouring, and are supposed to have been palettes for face-paint. Remnants of rouge paint have also been found in the graves which contain bodies buried in a crouching position; in these graves alone have such palettes been discovered. The tablet of slate was laid between the hands and face of the deceased; its use as an amulet is indisputably established. In most cases holes are found drilled in the tablets, whence it may be conjectured that they were worn during the possessor's lifetime. A unique headless figure, discovered in one of the graves at Tukh, bears extraordinary painted or tattooed designs on the trunk and limbs. In the spring of 1898, Mr. J. E. Quibell directed his attention to the temple of Hierakonpolis, situated further to the south; another chambered tomb, surrounded by a wall of bricks, was brought to light, and in this case it was possible to announce a discovery dating within historic times. The structure had been twice renovated, for the first time in the sixth, and again during the twelfth dynasty of Manetho. From this it is concluded, or rather presumed, that the Egyptians of that age, which was a period of literary activity, were acquainted with the affairs and history of the Archaic Period, in contrast to the Egyptians of the New Empire, whose lists of kings display little knowledge of that era. Of these discoveries an account has already been given.

Amulets of the Dead

The age of Khasekhemui and Narmer is posterior to the true "Nagada period." As has already been seen in the essay on

Archaic Egypt, prefixed to this chapter, both Narmer and Aha are in reality to be assigned to the first dynasty of Manetho, as these three principal monarchs are in all probability the originals of the legendary "Mena," who is then to be regarded as a compound figure, typifying the beginnings of the monarchy under those early kings of Hierakonpolis. With them the Nagada period ends, and the civilisation of the first dynasty, as revealed to us by the excavations at Hierakonpolis and Abydos, begins.

Our interest in the hypotheses concerning the origin of the Neolithic Egyptians of the Nagada period requires no justification. The results of grave exploration have made it clear that the fundamental type of this people was closely allied to the Trogodytes in the east, if it was not identical with them. The description



AGRICULTURE IN EARLY EGYPT

This vivid scene in the agricultural life of the early Egyptians is taken from an Egyptian wall-painting reproduced in Sir Gardner Wilkinson's standard work, "The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians."

given by Artemidorus of the Trogodyte custom of binding together the heads and feet of the dead is a description of the procedure necessary to secure the bodies in the embryonal position of the Nagada graves, where the goats' horns of the Trogodytes find their prototype.

Of capital importance for the decision upon ethnographic grounds of the question whether the Neolithic Egyptians and the Trogodytes were of primitive African origin are the ancient rock graffiti at Hierakonpolis and Arb-Assouan, together with certain vase paintings found at Abydos and Nagada. Mr. R. A. Macalister, who visited the Trogodyte desert from Upper Egypt in December, 1899, speaks of similar drawings on the cliffs at the confluence of the Wadi Munila and the Wadi Shaid. The primitive rock-drawings of the Bushmen of South Africa irresistibly invite comparison with the primitive productions of the Nagada period; while the proportions of the skulls found in the southern burying-ground at Nagada often point to a close connection with the Bushmen and Hottentots. Many of the Nagada statuettes exhibit traces of the fatty development peculiar to both of these South African tribes.

Bushmen and Trogodytes

The Egyptians, at any rate those of the eighteenth dynasty, are said to have recognised a relationship with the inhabitants of Puenet, or Punt, the land of incense, which lay to the south of the Red Sea. But the statement that the sailors of the Egyptian Queen Hatshepsut worshipped the goddess Hathor as the deity of Punt is in itself insufficient evidence, inasmuch as Hathor was the special goddess of seafarers and vouchsafed the favourable wind without which the journey to Punt was impossible. From the mural decorations in the temple of Der el-Bahari, it may be concluded that about 1500 B.C. Punt was inhabited by brown-coloured races. They dwelt in huts built on piles and entered by ladders, and endeavoured to acquire articles of metal, and weapons in particular, by means of barter. The Puntites, as represented by the Egyptians, are always remarkably like the Egyptians themselves; and it may well be that these people, who were no doubt of the Galla race, were recognised by Egyptians as akin to themselves. The higher—Asiatic—race of the Archaic Period was no doubt nearly related to the Galla stock, which probably came originally from Arabia.

The condition of political affairs in Egypt at the end of the Nagada period shows that in contrast to earlier times the military power of the land had now to be directed toward the north, where Libyan tribes had occupied the Delta and cut off the Upper Nile from communication. The greatest achievements of Menes, the first traditional king—who is probably a compound of the early monarchs Narmer and Aha, so that the latter's sepulchre at Nagada may perhaps be called the "Tomb of Menes"—were his removal of the royal residence from the

First War with the Libyans

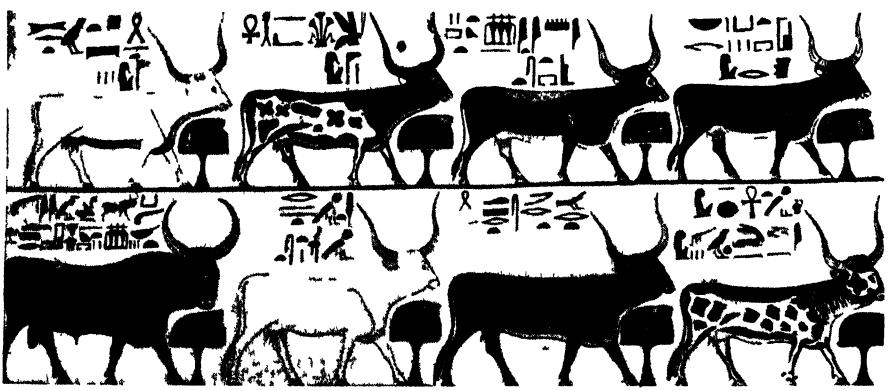


THE STONEWARE OF ANCIENT EGYPT ALABASTER VASES 5000 YEARS OLD

south to Memphis and his defeat of the Libyans. One theory put forward is that the conquerors who founded dynastic Egypt were Asiatics who advanced by way of the Isthmus of Suez.

But as we have seen in the preceding section it is by no means certain. Another theory would bring these conquerors into Egypt by way of the Wadi Hammamat. In fact all that can be said is that the most ancient kings appear as southerners who subdued the north and thus united the two lands under one sceptre. The kings who effected this and founded the first dynasty figured in Egyptian tradition as one man, named 'Mena the firm,' who came from This or Thinis near Abydos and founded the city of Mennefer, or Memphis (Fair Haven) near the apex of the Delta, thus consolidating his conquest of the north. Neither in history nor tradition have we any confirmation of the otherwise very plausible hypothesis of an initial movement of the dynastic Egyptians from north to south.

There is no country in the world that can be compared with Egypt in wealth of antiquities. It is true that the valley of the Euphrates and Tigris is not far behind in respect of the number of discoveries there made, but it can show nothing approaching the variety of objects found in Egypt which illustrate the different departments of human activity. Egypt unfolds before us the daily life of all classes from the highest to the lowest. The methods of manufacture and agriculture, specimens of all articles and utensils of luxury and necessity, from children's dolls and draughtsmen to the valuable gold ornaments of royal personages, the carefully



ART IN EARLY EGYPT A TOMB DECORATION PAINTED 3500 YEARS AGO

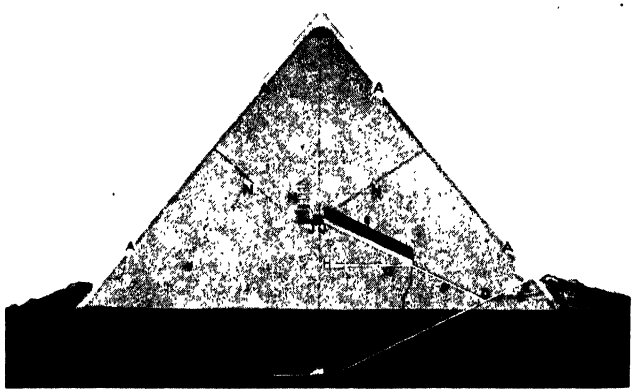
preserved bodies of famous conquerors, the songs, myths, and fairy tales that were the delight of young and old, the writing materials with which they were immortalised, the amulet, the sandals, even the wig worn by the scribe—of all these we have examples, and often in abundance. If these fragile remnants have lost something of their freshness in the course of thousands of years, the loss can be supplied by the faithful representations and richly-coloured paintings on the walls of the tombs.

Wealth of Egyptian Antiquities

Invaluable as was the realism of the Egyptian people, it proved unable to stand the test the moment tasks were encountered transcending the tangible and the visible. The vast achievements of early Egyptian art, and its no less imposing course of development, are only too liable to render us blind to the fact that throughout its entire progress it rested upon one and the same foundation—rigid adherence to the material, and consequent intellectual constraint. Again, in literature and in art, each new phase of development seems to have emerged at stated intervals as a completed whole, invariably appearing at the end of long periods of "Egyptian" darkness, these intervals being occupied by reviving fusions of Asiatic influence as a result of political changes.

Such a period of darkness was the supremacy of the Hyksos, which continued too long and had too profound an effect upon the Egyptian people to vanish entirely upon its expiration. At the end of this period the "New Empire" begins. One new and unexampled effect of this period was the awakening influence which it exerted upon the previously shadowy historical sense which the Egyptians possessed. The kings began to draw up lists—of select names only—of such of their predecessors as could be collected, and endeavoured to secure the relation of their own deeds in proper sequence. We have several such "cursory" lists, three of which are in a fair state of preservation: a tablet from the temple at Karnak, or Thebes, upon which Thothmes III. does obeisance to sixty-one ancient kings; another, discovered in the temple of Osiris at Abydos, with seventy-five names; and a third from a tomb near Sakkara, an abridged copy of the preceding, and, like it, belonging to the time of Rameses II. The Turin papyrus professes to contain more than a mere collection of names: but unfortunately the document consists only of fragments of which but a small portion has been pieced together. The list given by this papyrus not only extends from the gods who ruled on earth to the period of the Hyksos, but notes the exact length of each reign in years, months, and days. Even if the transcription be of later date, and to be placed at the beginning of the nineteenth dynasty, the original from which it was compiled undoubtedly belongs to the time immediately following the Hyksos. An obvious imitation of Babylonian lists of kings, the text remains unique by reason of the detailed character of its statements. Compilers, doubtless, were soon wearied by the labour involved in carrying accuracy to such extremes.

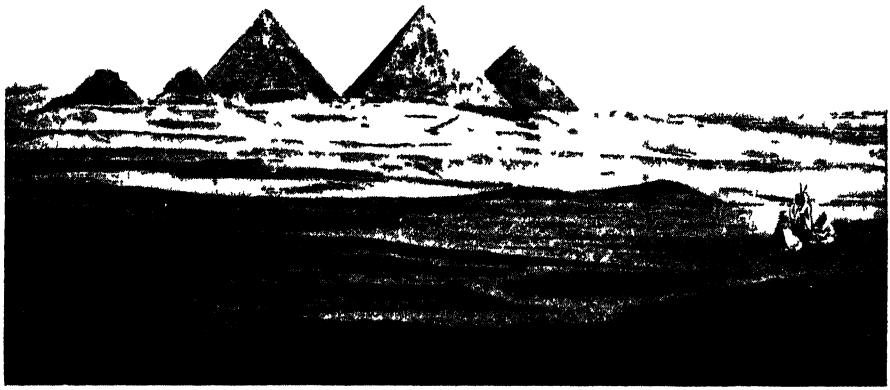
Royal Egyptian Records



THE INTERIOR OF THE GREAT PYRAMID OF GIZEH

In this section of the pyramid A is the ancient casing of polished granite; B, sand and debris; C, casing now remaining; D, a passage forced by a caliph; E, descending entrance; F, ascending passage; G, passage to the queen's chamber; H, queen's chamber; I, the great gallery; J, passage from the great gallery to the king's chamber; K, ante-chamber; L, king's chamber and sarcophagus; M, chambers used in building; N, ventilating chamber; O, well; P, subterranean chamber; R, the rock base of the pyramid, about 750 feet long.

Not until the Alexandrine period was the history of Egypt written by a native pen. The high-priest and temple scribe, Manetho of Sebennytos, who had received



THE WONDER OF EGYPT THE GREAT PYRAMID TOMBS OF GIZEH
Built by Khufu Khafra Menkaura and other Pharaohs of the fourth dynasty about 3800 B.C. these tombs are among the oldest and most stupendous edifices known to mankind The largest was built by Khufu or Cheops

a Greek education composed his work Egyptiaca which remains to us only in the shape of excerpts and quotations No doubt he had a rich store of material at his disposal although it is evident that he was unduly influenced by contemporary opinion he even accepted the popular myth of the world conqueror Sesostris unless this and similar matter has been interpolated into the citations which have come down to us So many false accounts of other matters were forsted upon Manetho in antiquity that only in a few isolated cases can we obtain more than a general idea of his work however his chronological system was accepted until modern times According to him the Old Empire begins with Menes and embraces the first to the eleventh dynasties the Middle Empire extends from the twelfth to the nineteenth dynasties and the New Empire begins with the twentieth, and continues to the time of Alexander This system cannot be entirely maintained in the face of the archæological evidence which we possess It is usual to consider the Middle Empire as having begun with the eleventh dynasty, and as ending with the seventeenth The Old Empire, however, must be reckoned as ending with the conclusion of the sixth dynasty, where there is a long break in the course of events The scanty information which we possess concerning dynasties seven to ten is to be considered

First Egyptian Historian

as marking a transition period leading to the Middle Empire while the New Empire begins with the expulsion of the Hyksos and continues until the outset of the twenty sixth dynasty so that the scheme of Manetho is abandoned from the reign of Psammetichus I onward There is no possible doubt that Manetho made use of such records as the Turin papyrus and the lists of kings inscribed on their monuments but the beginning of the New Empire must be considered as the earliest limit of his sources of information

The kings of Manetho's first dynasty are as follows Menes, with a reign of 62 years, Athothis with 57, Kenkenes with 31, Uenephes with 23 Usaphaïs with 20 Miebis with 26, Semempses with 18, and Bienekhes with 26 The succession invariably passed from father to son The list of the second dynasty contains nine rulers Boethos (38 years) Kaiekhos (29) Binothris (47) Tlas (17) Sethenes (41) Khaires (17) Neferkheres (25), Sesokhris (48), Kheneres (30) Both houses were called "Thinites," and hence Manetho assumes their extraction from the district of Abydos while, according to him, the next dynasty originated in Memphis Finally, the list of the third dynasty contains nine kings Nekherophes (28 years), Tosorthros (29), Tyreis (7), Mesokhris (17), Souphis (16), Tosertasis (19), Asykhes (42) Sephouris (30), and Kerpheres (26) Thus we may be said

The First History Criticised

to have altogether twenty-six kings, who reigned during a period of seven hundred and sixty nine years. Such is Manetho's list of the kings of the first three dynasties. In the main it agrees remarkably well with the evidence of the monuments, as far as the first two dynasties are concerned. Of the third we have few monuments but those of the great King Tjeser, who is probably Manetho's Tosorthros. But the earlier kings of the second dynasty and those of the first dynasty in Manetho's list agree very well in number, and often also in name, with the historical rulers of this period, as far back as Miebis and Usaphais, whose real names were Merbepa, or Merpeba, and Semti (read "Hesepti" in later times, whence the Manethonian form). Semti, who also bore the name of Den, or Udimu, seems to be the most ancient historical king of Egypt known to Manetho and the ancient annalists from whom he gained his information. The lists of Abydos and Sakkara agree with Manetho as to the number, and in two cases as to the names, of the four kings before Semti or Usaphaïs; but it is evident that these are merely legendary figures. The historical kings who preceded Semti do not agree with them either in name or number; even the occurrence of the name "Men" as an appellation of King Aha, which has been supposed to be inscribed on a tablet of this king found at Nagada, is uncertain, and will in the long run probably not be maintained. Setting aside certain names, which—if they are names at all, and this is doubtful—belong to monarchs of the time of the Shemsu-Hor, we have, as we have seen, the following list of historical kings of all Egypt at the beginning of the first dynasty: First, Aha, Narmer or Betjumer, and a monarch called "Scorpion"; these are probably the originals of the legendary Mena: the "Scorpion" may not impossibly be identical with Narmer. Then follow Tja, the "Serpent," who possibly bore the additional name of Ati, which may be the original of the legendary Teta, Ateti, or Ata, perhaps of all three; "Ateti" is evidently the original of Manetho's "Athothis." As has been said in the preceding chapter, it is hopeless, as well as quite unnecessary, to try to force the historical names into the cartouches of Mena, Teta, Ateti, and Ata. The lists which give these names agree with Manetho, except as regards the forms of the names "Kenkenes" and "Uenephes"; but this is only because Manetho was copying these very lists or similar ones, and their knowledge of the kings who united the kingdom was evidently quite legendary and uncertain. It is only with King Semti Den that we reach firm ground. He is the Hesepti of the lists, the Usaphaïs of Manetho. It is probably not a mere chance that his successor Merpeba, the Merbep of the lists and Miebis of Manetho, begins the royal list of Sakkara instead of Mena. At Memphis he was evidently regarded as the first historical king of all Egypt of whom anything definite was known in the time of the nineteenth dynasty. His successor, Nekht, was called in the lists "Semsu," which is the origin of the Manethonian "Semempses." After him came Sen, also called Qa, whose name was misread "Qebh" by the compilers of the lists. He is certainly Manetho's "Bienekhes," but the origin of this form of his name is impossible to divine. The names of these kings are known from their tombs at Abydos.

Early History Upheld

The Historical Kings

Founder of the Empire

Manetho's account of the events during this period is purely legendary. Naturally, the account of Menes, the founder of the empire, is richest in detail. In addition to the fact of his removal of the seat of the empire from Thinis to Memphis, where he founded a temple of Ptah, the god of the town—the first temple ever erected in Egypt—it was also said of him that he invented the hieroglyphic system, introduced the worship of the sacred bull Apis and of the crocodile, and taught men the art of luxurious living. He waged wars against Libyan forces, and met his death from a hippopotamus. Obviously, no mention was made of the tomb of Menes in the sources of information open to Manetho.

Athothis is said to have built the king's fortress in Memphis, and to have written an anatomical treatise. As a matter of fact, the Ebers medical papyrus contains the recipe for a hair-wash concocted by Shesh, the mother of Athothis. Finally, during his reign a two-headed crane—that is, a bird sacred to the god Thoth,

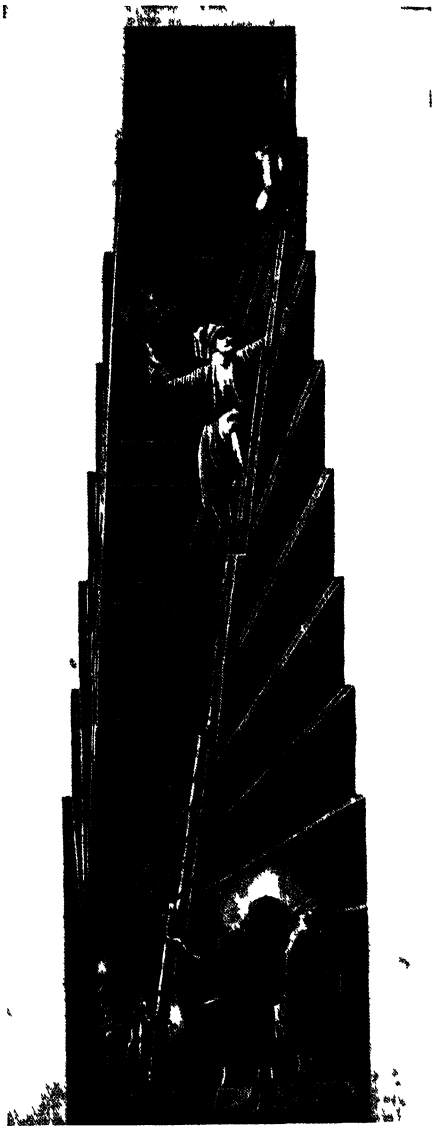
of which name "Athothis" is a compound—appeared in the land an event signifying prosperity The reigns of the successors of Menes seem to be characterised by a preponderance of misfortune the reign of Uenephes was made memorable by a famine that of Semempses by many wonders" and a great plague

Manetho's list of events for the second dynasty is equally wonderful The reign of Boethos is remarkable for the fact that a cleft in the earth opened in the delta at Bubastis and caused the death of many men Kaiekhos as Manetho relates introduces the worship of Apis into Memphis that of Mnevis into Heliopolis and that of the sacred ram at Mendes under the king Neferkheres the Nile flowed with honey instead of water for eleven days and, finally Sesokhris was a very dangerous man five cubits and three palms high The difference between Manethos Greek translitération of the kings names and the hieroglyphic forms of the same words may be clearly seen by the comparison of the first five kings of this dynasty and the list from Abydos This list gives the names in accurate order of succession Betjau Kakau

The Second Dynasty

Binecherên Uatnes and Sent the other four names are missing On contemporary or nearly contemporary monuments we have the names Khasekhemui Kakau Neneter or Netrimu and Sent Khasekhemui was the first king of the second dynasty His successor was Hetepsekhemui Then came Rineb who may or may not be identical with Kakau Kaiekhos and then Ba Neneter, certainly the historical Neneter or Netrimu who succeeded Rineb Uatnes or Ilas is not known to the monuments but both Sekhemib Perabsen and Sen who came next are

Manethos account of the third dynasty is exceedingly scanty, with its last representatives the first glimpse of historical tradition appears Of the first two kings we are told only that the Libyans revolted in the reign of Necherophes but fled in horror when the moon suddenly increased in size Further, Tosorthros, or Tjeser, was a great physician and architect, and improved the script in use, he built an edifice of hewn stone The pyramid of Sakkara, built in steps, shows that its builders had not as yet advanced to the art of smoothing the sides, which indeed



THE GALLERY IN THE GREAT PYRAMID
It is very difficult to give a pictorial idea of the great gallery but this section from the Description de l Egypt gives as good an impression as it is possible to convey

was not the original plan This name occurs in the account of a papyrus among the immediate predecessors of Sneferu, with whom the third dynasty ends It is probable that Manetho's account of the edifices erected by Tosorthros refers to Tjeser and the pyramid of Sakkara.

Tjeser had another tomb, a great "mastaba" of bricks, at Bet Khallaf, near Abydos. Another king buried there was named Sanekht. A papyrus also contains the observation that King Huni died and Sneferu succeeded him.

World's Vastest Tombs

Nowhere in the course of history have such vast masses of stone been piled up upon such comparatively small areas by human labour as in Egypt at the command of the pyramid builders. The idea of constructing these gigantic tumuli originated, no doubt, in the natural heaping up of earth or stone in the form of a barrow over the tomb of a dead man. For the pyramids are nothing but tombs. They have no astronomical intention or meaning whatever. The ideas of Piazzi Smyth and others on this point are now known to be mere vain imaginings, based upon insufficient knowledge of Egyptian archaeology and love of "the marvellous." There is nothing marvellous about these great tombs except their size and the accuracy of their building. At any rate, the pyramids of the fourth dynasty have become imperishable landmarks of Egypt, and are numbered among the oldest edifices known to mankind. All are situated on the western bank of the Nile, between Gizeh, near Cairo, and the extreme north-eastern corner of the Fayyum. They are divided into groups, named after the Arab settlements near which they rise, hence the terms the Pyramids of Gizeh, Abu-Roash, Abusir, Sakkara, Lisht, Dashur, Medum, Illahun and Hawara. The remains of smaller imitation pyramids, of which two exist in the Fayyum itself, as well as the very late attempts at constructing smaller edifices near Meroe in Ethiopia, need not be further considered. There are in all more than seventy examples within the district of the Pyramids proper; but the majority of these served as quarries in later years, and have consequently disappeared to their very foundations. Those which still remain are pierced by sloping passages running through the interior and leading to the burial chambers. In other respects there are many differences of plan; for instance, the great pyramid of Gizeh contains several burial chambers in its centre, one built above the other, whereas others have but one such chamber.

The Seventy Pyramids

That these complicated and extensive pyramid buildings were severally designed as the tomb of some one king—Menkaura and Sneferu erected two each for their own use—is proved among other evidence by the fact that the high officials in the old kingdom were accustomed to erect their tombs of different shape, the "mastabas," or "benches," within the shadow of the royal sepulchres. Curiously enough the mastabas are the richer in information upon their dead occupants. That the surfaces of the pyramids were covered with long inscriptions, as is stated in some ancient records, has been doubted, upon strong evidence. We have also reason to believe that the builder of a pyramid permitted the bodies of the members of his family to be deposited in the central chamber with his own. We must first learn those conceptions which gave the impulse to the erection of these tremendous structures. No doubt the safety of the mummies and their rich surroundings were considerations of the first order.

Why the Pyramids Were Built

The adoption of a pyramidal form was undoubtedly inspired by natural considerations; a pile of stones is naturally conical or pyramidal in form. It is possible that the construction of the pyramid was first arrived at by superimposing mastabas of gradually decreasing size upon one another; indeed the mastaba itself somewhat resembled a square platform, with sides sloping outward. Mastabas differed greatly in size, their bases varying in area from about 250 to 12,000 feet square. They contained a chapel, the walls of which were covered with pictures and inscriptions, a separate chimney-like compartment for the stone image of the deceased, and finally an underground sepulchral chamber, void of decoration, where the enswathed mummy lay in a sarcophagus of stone. Our chief knowledge of the life and doings of the Egyptians of the Old Empire is derived from the pictures on the walls of the chapels, which were accessible from without, and were intended as depositories for the sacrificial gifts, for incense offerings—in short, for the soul-worship continued by the descendants of the deceased. In the smallest mastabas, in place of the chapel there is a blind door set into the outer wall, inscribed with prayers and the name of the deceased.



THE EARLY DYNASTIES

ACCORDING to Manetho, the fourth dynasty begins with King "Soris," the Shaaru of the monuments. He evidently succeeded Sneferu, Manetho's Sephouris. Until a short time ago, Sneferu was the first Egyptian ruler known to us from his own inscriptions, discovered in this case in Wadi Maghara on the Sinaitic peninsula. In fact, the copper mines in that peninsula, which are now exhausted, were known as the "Mines of Sneferu" as late as the period of the New Empire. It is known, however, that Sneferu was not the first to bring this region into the possession of Egypt: King Nekht Semerkhat of the first dynasty was the first to inscribe his name on the rocks of Sinai, and he was followed there by Tjeser and Sanekht, before Sneferu, whose inscription shows him to have been the conqueror of the Mentiu, the small Bedouin tribes of the peninsula. With the exception of a similar inscription of Khufu, there is no further mention of war during the fourth dynasty. It was only in times of peace that the mass of the population could be employed year by year in the construction of gigantic edifices, or for other useful purposes. Sneferu's two pyramids were at Dashur and Medum. The personages buried in the surrounding mastabas were his subjects, as was Rahetep, the "Great Man of the South," whose lifelike sitting statue, together with its counterpart, a still finer image of his wife Nefert, now adorns the museum at Gizeh. The king was deified immediately after his death, and his worship continued to the time of the Ptolemies.

The Fourth Dynasty

Sneferu was succeeded by Shaaru, and he by Khufu, the Cheops of Herodotus. Of all the names of the fourth dynasty, that of Cheops is the most celebrated. However, of him we know nothing more certainly except that the largest pyramid is his; it measures 480 feet high and 764 feet square at the base. Remains are still visible of the paved causeway along which, according to Herodotus, the building-stones quarried on the other side of the Nile were landed and dragged to the site of the edifice. The short inscription found in Wadi Maghara again refers to a chastisement of the Bedouins. The mastabas that lie behind the pyramid of Cheops provide no information upon the history of the king, though containing the tombs of several royal children. They point to the existence of an exclusive nobility clinging to strict forms and customs in death as well as in life.

Cheops and his Pyramid

The pyramid of Medum is situated at the extreme south of the pyramid district; on the other hand, the pyramid of Khufu lies to the north near Gizeh. They are thus separated from one another by a distance of some thirty-seven miles. It is therefore probable that Khufu resided in Memphis, which was close at hand, and that Sneferu's residence, the full name of which was in all likelihood Ded-Sneferu, must be sought for in the neighbourhood of Medum or Dashur.

Khafra succeeded Khufu, who was probably his father, although Herodotus gives "Chephren" as the name of Cheops's brother. The pyramid of this king is not far distant from the great pyramid, and is only some twenty-seven feet lower. A magnificent diorite statue, a stately and faithful representation of Khafra, has been discovered, together with six smaller images of the same ruler, the latter in a badly damaged condition, in the shaft of the temple of the Sphinx, not far from the pyramid. The lofty throne is surmounted by the sparrow-hawk of Horus, whose beak projects over the low headcloth of the sovereign, the broad ends of which lie folded upon his shoulders. The great Sphinx belongs, however, to a later time, although as early as the New Empire Khafra seems to have been looked upon as its maker. At that time a small temple was constructed between the outstretched feet of the Sphinx; and it appears from contemporary documents that the figure was considered to be an image of the sun-god. It is a matter of doubt, however, whether

The Sphinx and its Temple

this idea is a full explanation of the original purpose of the Sphinx, which during the greater part of its existence has been buried in sand-drifts. Hewn out of the adjacent rock, it is over sixty-five feet in height, and represents a lion couchant with a human head; unfortunately the features have been badly mutilated by fanatical Arabs.

Mystery of the Sphinx

Here and there mention has been found of a king Radadf, likewise of the fourth dynasty; his pyramid is at Abu Roash, but his place in the succession of rulers is uncertain. He is evidently Manetho's "Ratoises," and therefore should come between Khafra and Menkaura. Menkaura, the Mycerinus of Herodotus, stands as the immediate successor of Khafra. His sepulchre is in the third pyramid of Gizeh, which is only 218 feet in height. The last king of the fourth dynasty was Shepseskaf; it has not been ascertained which of the pyramids is his. Mariette (1821–1881) discovered the tomb of a dignitary called Ptahshepses near Sakkara, who gives us some valuable personal information. He was first adopted by Menkaura and then by Shepseskaf "among the number of royal children"; the latter gave him the hand of his eldest daughter, Khamaat, in marriage. Ptahshepses was also appointed priest of three obelisks of Ra; it is here that we first meet with these slender-pointed stone columns erected in honour of the sun-god, the tallest of which, situated at Thebes, measures over 100 feet in height. The inscription of Ptahshepses is now in the British Museum.



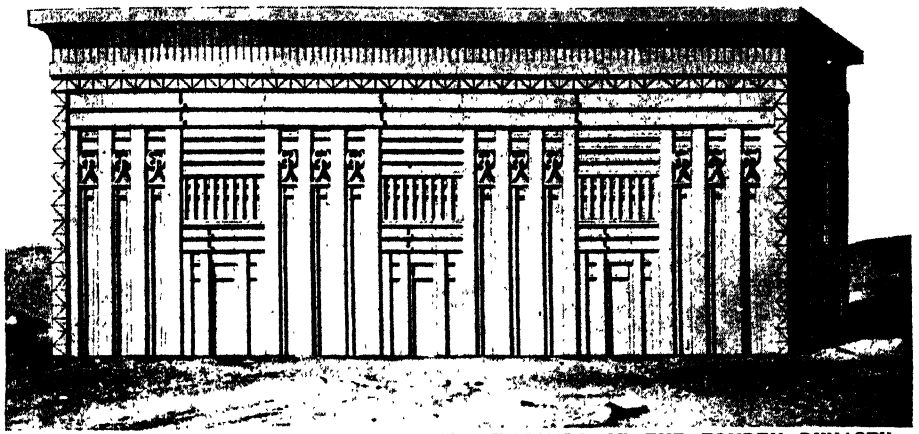


Mansell

KHAFRA AND MENKAURA, KINGS 5,800 YEARS AGO
Khafra, whose magnificent diorite statue is shown on the left, was the fourth king of the fourth dynasty, and Menkaura the fifth.

The popular tradition of later times represented the pyramid builders as unjust oppressors of Egypt. The character of this belief may be gathered from Herodotus. Cheops and Chephren are said to have closed the temples and stopped the sacrifices in order to employ the whole strength of their subjects in the construction of their monuments. These two kings are the builders of the largest pyramids. Mycerinus is said to have been the first king to resume the practice of justice towards gods and men. But, continues the myth, in a manner truly typical of the gloomy theory of life entertained by the fellahin in all ages, the gods had no consideration for him; they cut short the life of Mycerinus, alleging it to be their will that the land should continue still longer unfortunate. Thus this king, although he built a much smaller pyramid than his predecessors, was none the less guilty of disobedience. Further, a myth of great intrinsic interest, which apparently originated in the course of the Middle Empire, relates how the gods turned away from Khufu and his house. The manuscript, which forms a part of the "Westcar papyrus," unfortunately breaks off at the very point where the development of the story begins. Nevertheless, in the portions which are still preserved it is related that King Khufu once summoned a magician, Dedi, to court through the prince Hordadf, who appears in the Book of the Dead as a son of Menkaura. When the enchanter, "who was 110 years old, and devoured 500 loaves of bread, a joint of beef, and 100 jugs of beer on the same day," had given an exhibition of juggling feats before the king, he prophesied that three sons that were to be born to Ruddedit, wife of the priest of Ra at Sakhebu, would one

Pyramids at Expense of Justice



THE RESTORED SARCOPHAGUS OF KING MENKAURA OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY
A fine basalt sarcophagus, eight feet long, dating from about 3840 B.C., which once contained the body of King Menkaura.

day be rulers of Egypt. Khufu was greatly alarmed at this piece of news, and immediately determined to set out for Sakhebu. The birth of the three boys with the assistance of the gods is next related. Isis names them Userkaf, Sahura, and Kaka; in fact, the three first kings of the fifth dynasty appear in this order in the list of Abydos. The story ends with an account of how a maid-servant attempted to disclose to the king the existence and destiny of the three children, but was prevented from putting her design into execution. Although the scribe with true court politeness handles Khufu with all possible deference, nevertheless the general feeling is obviously against him. He is the representative of an extinct and unpopular line: the three sons of Ruddedit wield the sceptre, and are therefore "popular."

The Fifth Dynasty

It is evident that the fifth dynasty did not originate in Elephantine in Upper Egypt, as stated by Manetho, but in Sakhebu on the "Two-fish canal"—in the Delta, according to Petrie. The nine kings of the line were buried in relatively small pyramids; the situations of four have been determined with probable accuracy, those of Sahura, Ne-ueser-Ra, and Neferari-ka-Ra at Abusir, and Unas, the last representative of the dynasty, at Sakkara. During their period this dynasty is even poorer in historical records than the preceding. Possession was retained of the Sinaitic mines, the kings Sahura, Ne-ueser-Ra—Ra-en-user (Manetho's "Rathouris")—Menkauhor, and Assa being represented there by inscribed tablets.

In the reign of Assa, whose first name was Dedka-Ra, the first copy of the Prisse papyrus was written; the author was Ptah-hotep, a relative of the king and a high dignitary. Our copy is of the period of the Middle Empire, and seems in general to reproduce the formal literary style in vogue at that period. Fragments of other papyri connected with the reign of Assa were discovered by peasants near Sakkara in 1893. The Prisse papyrus contains the meditations and maxims of Ptah-hotep—much like other meditations and maxims. Assa's successor, Unas, whose pyramid, together with portions of his mummy, was discovered in the spring of 1881, ruled for thirty years, according to the Turin papyrus. The epitaph of an official named Senetjem-ab, discovered at Gizeh, is the authority for this order of succession; but no mention is made of Unas as co-regent during the lifetime of Assa.

Earliest Known Papyrus

The German excavations at Abusir have brought to light remains of temples and bas-reliefs executed during the fifth dynasty, which show that religious art at least arrived at its zenith of development under the fifth dynasty, and was ever afterwards fixed and stereotyped. No change in the hieretic representation of the gods, for instance, is observable after this time. These excavations, carried on by the German Oriental Society by Messrs. von Bissing, Borthardt, and Schaefer, are of great interest, especially the clearing of a remarkable sanctuary of the god Ra near Abusir, built in the reign of Ne-ueser-Ra. In this temple stood a great Sun-

obelisk on a pedestal, like those described above, of which Ptahshepses was minister. Close by, also, was found a great imitation Baris or Boat of the Sun, of gigantic size, built in brickwork. In the court of the temple, before the obelisk, stands a huge altar of alabaster blocks, and at the end of the court is a row of great alabaster bowls, to hold the blood of the sacrifices. For here animals were undoubtedly slaughtered in honour of the god. At Abusir the funerary temple of King Ne-ueser-Ra has entirely been cleared, and many interesting conclusions as to the architecture of this early period have been drawn from it. Its lotus-bud columns of granite, and floors and walls of black basalt, were very fine. In the reign of Ne-ueser-Ra lived Thi, whose tomb at Sakkara is so famous for its fine reliefs.

Remarkable Sanctuary of Abusir

From the nature of the inscriptions relating to the last two dynasties, we must conclude that this period was peaceful. This condition of affairs soon changed after the beginning of the sixth dynasty, which originated in Memphis, according to Manetho, and comprised five kings, concluding with a queen. However, the evidence of the lists and monuments gives us at least eight different names of kings. Their pyramids are situated on the edge of the Sakkara district. In 1880–1881 they were investigated, and could be assigned to separate kings, as follows: Teta, his successor Ati, then Pepi I. Merira, Merenra, whose first name was Mehti-em-saf, and Pepi II. Nefer-ka-Ra. The texts discovered within the pyramid were entirely concerned with religious affairs, and the most interesting discovery was the mummy of Merenra, which had certainly been plundered and unwrapped, but was otherwise in good condition. An examination of the remains showed that the king died young, as he wears the plaited lock of hair or pigtail at one side of the head which Egyptian boys and youths always wore. Therefore, the four years' reign with which the Turin papyrus credits him rested upon a reliable basis of tradition.



KING NE-UESER-RA
One of the most famous of the fifth dynasty, about 3500 B.C., who built the wonderful sanctuary of Abusir.

If the papyrus is also correct in the next case, we have for Pepi II. a reign of over ninety years, the longest known to history. Manetho relates that he ascended the throne as a boy of six years old, and continued to rule till the hundredth year of his life. In the spring of 1898 Victor Loret excavated near Memphis the tomb of the king's mother and of the queen Apu-it, which had been restored by one of the Hyksos, and still later by the Ramessides. With the exception of one or two doubtful queens of the first dynasty, she is believed to be the earliest queen of Egypt of whom we have mention, and to have shared the reigns either of Teta or of Pepi I. It is a significant fact in the internal history of the empire, which continued to expand to the south and the east during the sixth dynasty, that the village chiefs and other high officials began under the sixth dynasty to show an inclination to build their tombs in the district where their property was situated. Thus the burial-grounds of mastaba tombs ranged around a royal pyramid slowly go out of fashion, the court nobility is becoming transformed into a landed aristocracy, and becomes capable of developing a power of its own independently of the king.

Longest Reign in History

In two epitaphs of this period we find expressions of well-marked satisfaction upon the part played in life by the deceased. One from Abydos, the ancient necropolis, relating to Unas, tells how he began his official career as a boy under King Teta, and was honoured with the confidence of Pepi I. The inscription continues His Majesty resolved upon war against Asiatics; an army of many myriads was assembled from the whole of the south, from Elephantine, from the Northland, &c., from the Negro countries Aartet, Metja, Amam, Wawat, Kaau, and Tataam; his majesty sent me forth at the head of his army. There stood the princes, the High Treasurers, the nearest friends of the Palace, the country chiefs and prefects of cities of the South and Northland, the



A WALL-PAINTING IN A TOMB OF THE FOURTH DYNASTY

friends, and the superintendents of the gold [perhaps bearers of golden tokens of honour], the chiefs of the prophets and the overseers of the temple property [each one] at the head of a troop of the South or of the Northland, of the cities and districts over which they ruled, and of the negroes of those lands." This account presents us with what is, comparatively speaking, the clearest picture we possess of the political constitution of Egypt and of its unwieldy military system toward the end of the Old Empire. The levies of negro troops, together with the motley array of national militia, were not made without reason. Five or six campaigns were necessary before Unas succeeded in scattering the enemy, who were in all probability the aggressors. Finally, the Egyptian commander went, by sea perhaps, to the coast of Palestine, where "he defeated and slaughtered them all." These Asiatics are called Heriu-sha, literally "Those who are on the sand."

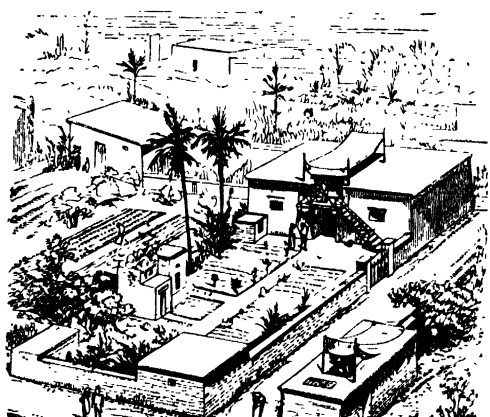
A second and still more valuable inscription from Assouan, relating to Her-khuf, makes mention of campaigns against the countries of Nubia and the western oases. Her-khuf was governor of the Southland, an important post even at that time, under Merenra, the successor of Pepi I. A march of eight months far into the interior of Nubia seems to have been crowned with success. The next campaign is said to have been directed from Asyut against Tamehu-land, "the west of heaven" —the Libyan oasis El-Khargeh —which had been captured from the Nubian prince of Aman: this undertaking proved successful. Her-khuf was honoured by a royal rescript or personal letter from the young king Merenra, expressing the great satisfaction of the king with a dwarf, or "Deng," whom Her-khuf had brought from Nubia. Her-khuf seems to have got as far as Kordofan and Darfur, to judge from the fact that he brought back ivory and ebony to Egypt, as well as this pygmy. The kingdom had exhausted its strength in a constant succession of enterprises, and seems to have sunk into weakness under Pepi II., of whose presumably long reign we hear very little.

According to both Herodotus and Manetho, Menthesuphis, who must be a second Mehti-em-saf, was overthrown by a revolt after a reign of one year. His wife and sister Nitocris (or Neitakert) succeeded to the throne, and revenged herself by inviting the rebels to a feast in a subterranean chamber, into which she turned the waters of the Nile and drowned the entire assembly. Shortly afterward she was able to escape the consequences of this deed only by suicide of an equally desperate nature; she threw herself into a room filled with glowing ashes. This story, however, has certainly no historical value as an account of the extinction of the dynasty; on the contrary, it has been

proved that it was the twelfth dynasty that ended with a queen. The Nitocris legend, after furnishing the Greeks with material for use in all kinds of connections —for instance, in the legend of Rhodopis, afterwards transformed into a Cinderella tale—is still current as a ghost story among the Mohammedans living in the neighbourhood of the pyramids. Very possibly the name Nitocris is a confusion between that of the real queen of that name who belonged to the twenty-sixth dynasty, shortly before the time of Herodotus, and the name of a king named Neterkara, who reigned at the end of the sixth dynasty.

An Egyptian Cinderella

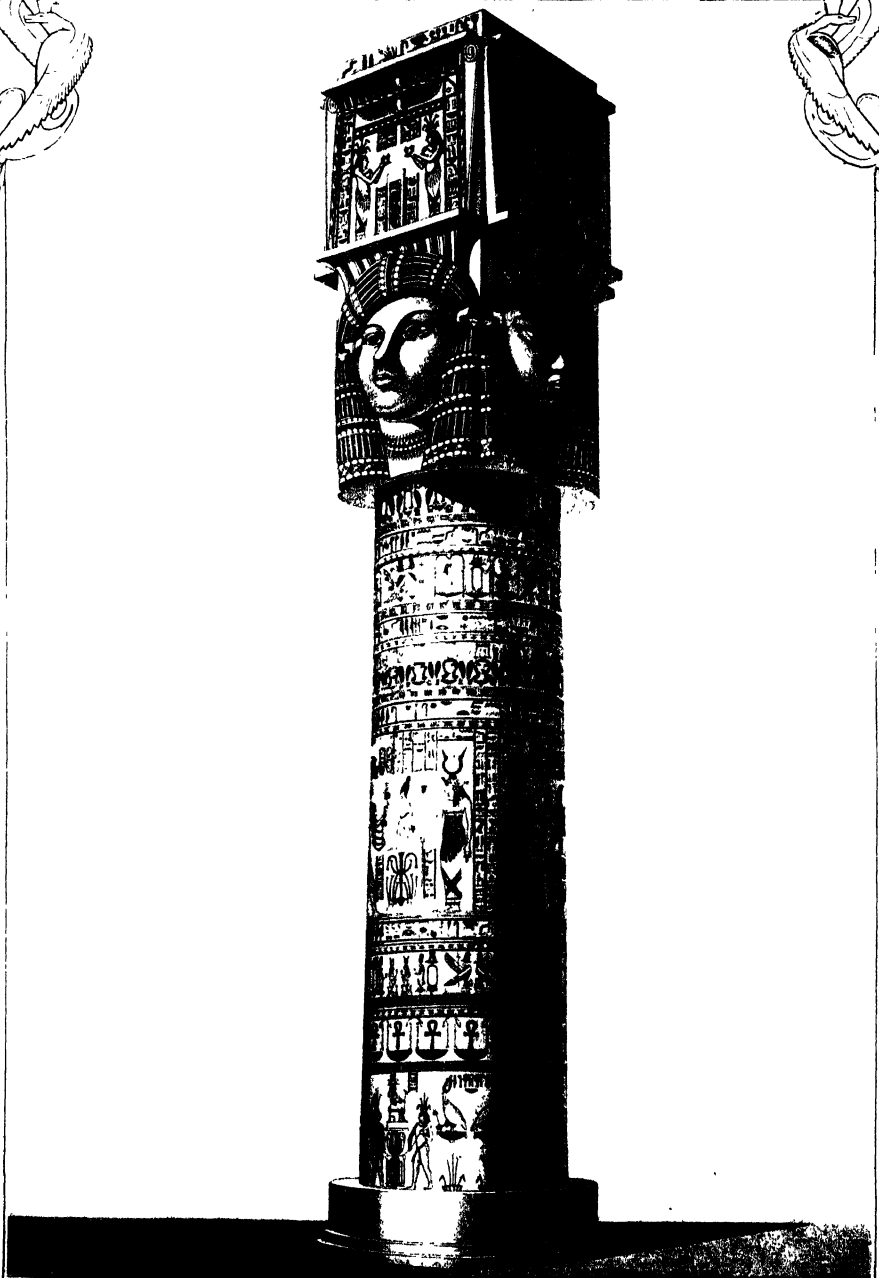
With the extinction of the sixth dynasty the unity of the Egyptian empire apparently comes to an end for a considerable period, or its restoration upon a permanent basis proved impossible for the moment. The configuration of the country requires, above all things, a central government, which should make the necessities of irrigation as they arise the guiding principles of its policy. These necessities kept the petty princes in a continual state of feud; a shortage of water in the north immediately occasioned complaints against the owners of canals in the south. It may have happened often enough that an imperial dynasty was overthrown simply because the Nile god, and therefore the other gods also, manifested their anger by denying the necessary floods. A passage in the decree of Canopus clearly shows the connection between the height of the floods and the security of the throne, and makes plain that as late as the Ptolemaic period it was thought desirable in official circles to speak in veiled language of these unpopular occurrences, even of such as had occurred in earlier times.



A DWELLING IN ANCIENT EGYPT 5,000 YEARS AGO

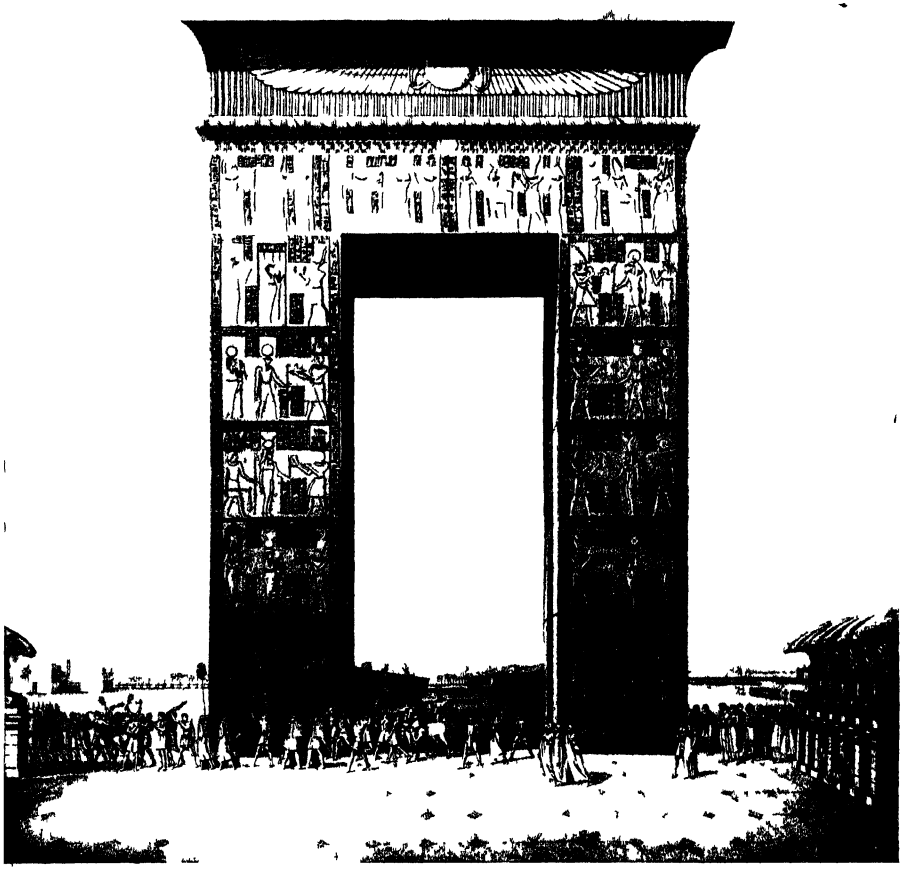
For the house of Pepi there can be no doubt that war also produced fatal effects. It is but rarely that we catch a glimpse of any events of real importance throughout the "history" of the Old Empire, which in truth was as yet no empire at all. The chronology of the period is in a similar state of obscurity. The earliest reliable date occurs in the period of the Middle Empire—the beginning of the twelfth dynasty, about 2000 B.C., though even this is uncertain. The period from the beginning of the twelfth to the end of the sixth dynasty may be considered 500 years, so that the latter dynasty lasted from 2700 to 2500 B.C., and the fifth from 2820 to 2700 B.C. On the other hand, the great pyramid builders of the fourth dynasty can hardly have been a burden to the land for more than a century in all. The supposition or tradition that Khufu lived to see the birth of the founder of the succeeding dynasty is perhaps supported by the epitaph of a certain prince Rasekhem-ka, who served five kings of the fifth dynasty. Hence the period occupied by the fourth dynasty may be well limited to the years 2920–2820 B.C. We have no means of ascertaining the duration of the first three dynasties, but the 769 years assigned must be too many. We shall be nearer the truth if we assume that the great kings of the first dynasty ruled about the year 3500 B.C., and that the originals of the traditional "Menes" (Aha and Narmer ?) reigned a century or so earlier. In view of recent discoveries, even earlier dates are by no means improbable. It is, for instance, difficult to reconcile the date of 2000 B.C. for the beginning of the twelfth dynasty with the apparent fact of the long duration of the thirteenth. On the other hand, the estimate of the period between the sixth and twelfth dynasties at 500 years may eventually prove to be too long. We can also say that the pyramids of Gizeh were built at the latest about 3000 B.C.

Kings Who Ruled 5,500 Years Ago



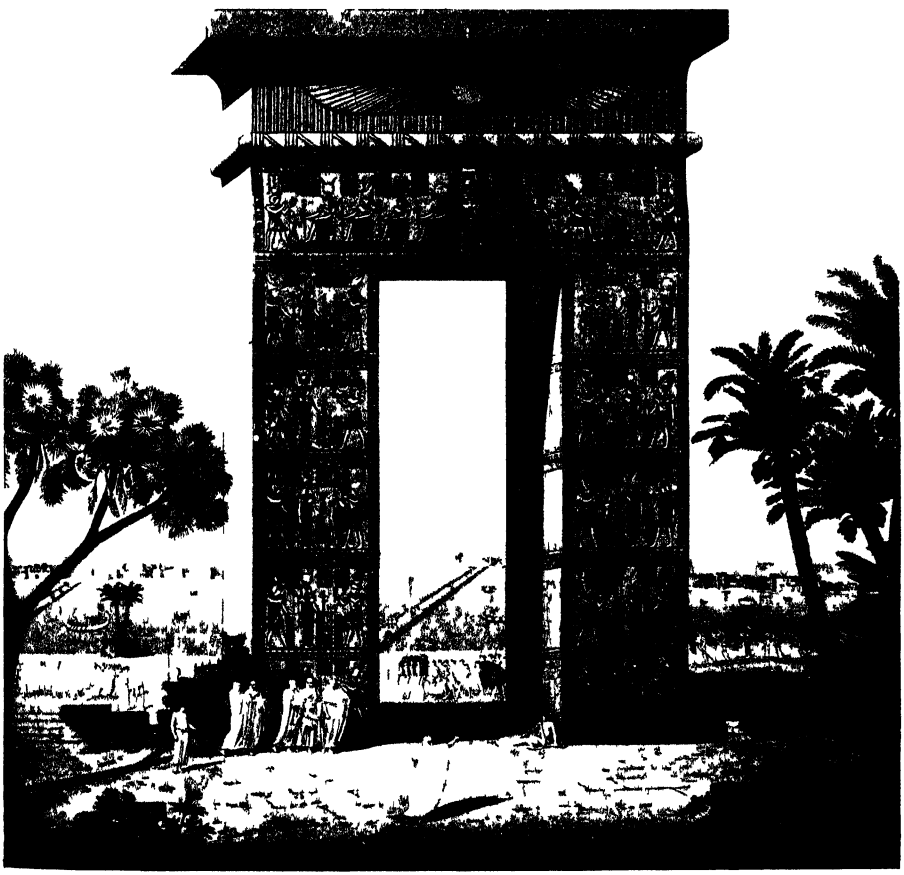
ONE OF THE COLUMNS IN THE TEMPLE OF HATHOR AT DENDERA

The general effect of a series of these splendid Hathoric columns is illustrated on page 2046.



AN ENTRANCE TO ANCIENT THEBES THE GATE OF A TEMPLE AT KARNAK

A faithful restoration of the immense gate sixty-five feet high, of the temple of Khonsu, at Karnak which stood at the end of a two-mile avenue of ram headed sphinxes leading from the temple of Luxor The procession seen in the picture is that of a Pharaoh with his victorious army, entering Thebes of which Karnak was a district



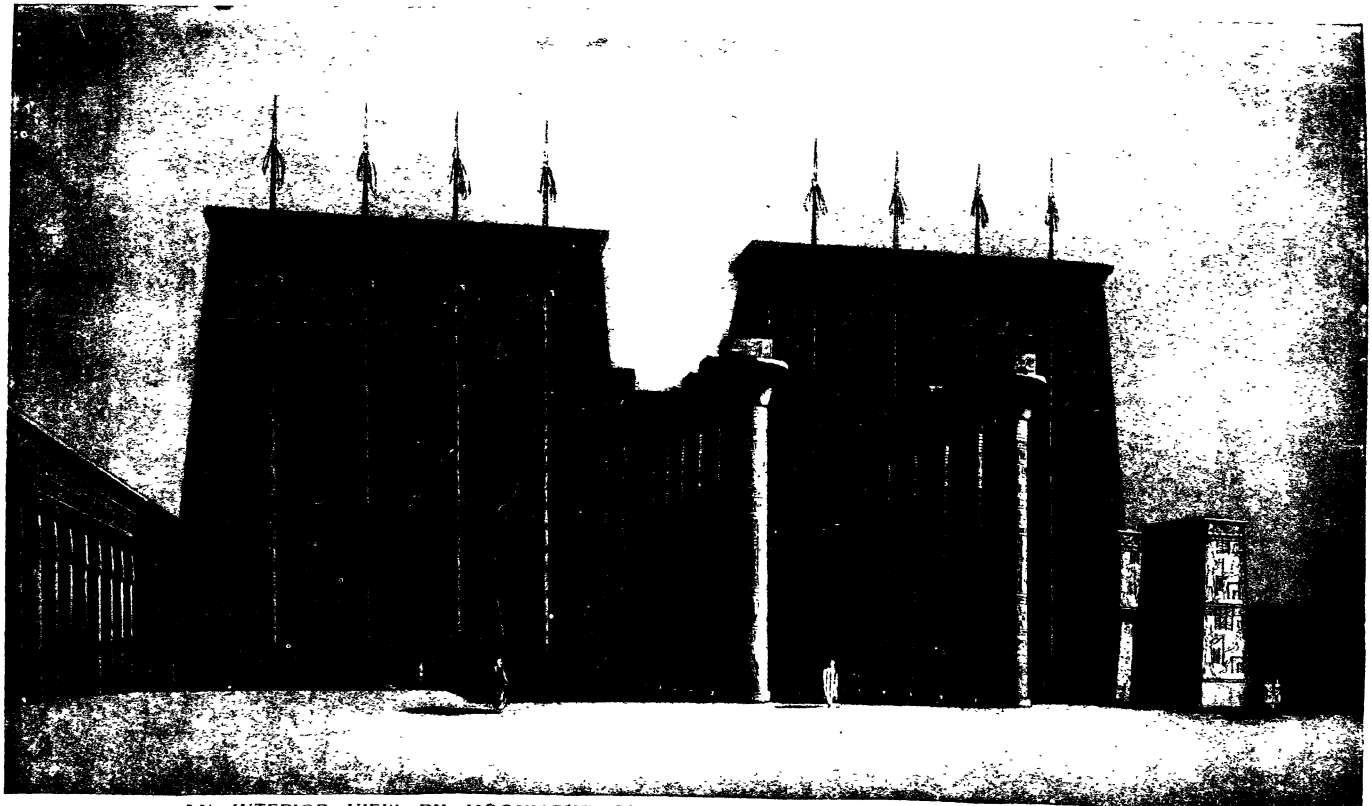
ANOTHER OF THE WONDERFUL TEMPLE GATES OF ANCIENT EGYPT

This magnificent gate gave entrance to the ancient temple of Dendera on the banks of the Nile and it is represented by the artist during the festival of the Nile The plate is reproduced from a work issued under the patronage of Napoleon, Le Description de l Egypte and gives a vivid idea of how these gateways appeared in Egypt s prime



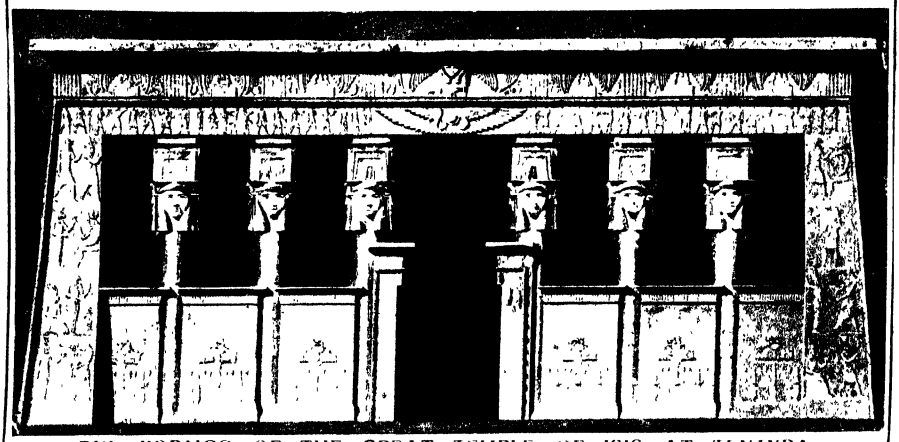
THE WONDERFUL ROCK TOMBS OF THE KINGS OF EGYPT IN THE MOUNTAIN FASTNESSES OF THEBES

For thousands of years the Pharaohs of the eighteenth to the twenty-second dynasties lay here, in glorious sculptured tombs cut deep in solid rock; until, in our own time, this resting-place of the Pharaohs was revealed. The Valley of the Tombs of the Kings has been the scene of the most remarkable discoveries, and the passing of dead Pharaohs, conveyed in state vessels down the Nile to Cairo, amid the lamentations of the natives, was one of the most moving spectacles in the modern world.



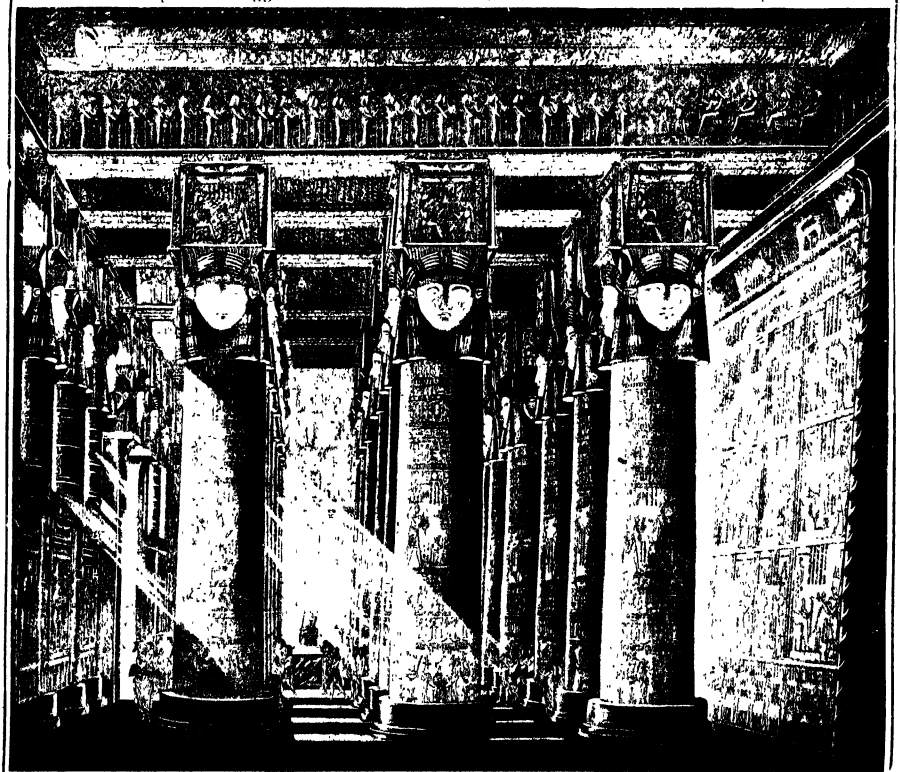
AN INTERIOR VIEW BY MOONLIGHT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF AMON AT KARNAK

A restoration of the largest and finest of the great temples at Karnak, once part of the ancient city of Thebes. Amon, "the Unrevealed," was an Egyptian deity who corresponds to the Greek Zeus, and Thebes, or No-Amon, was the principal seat of his worship. The great pyramidal towers at the entrance served defensive as well as architectural purposes.



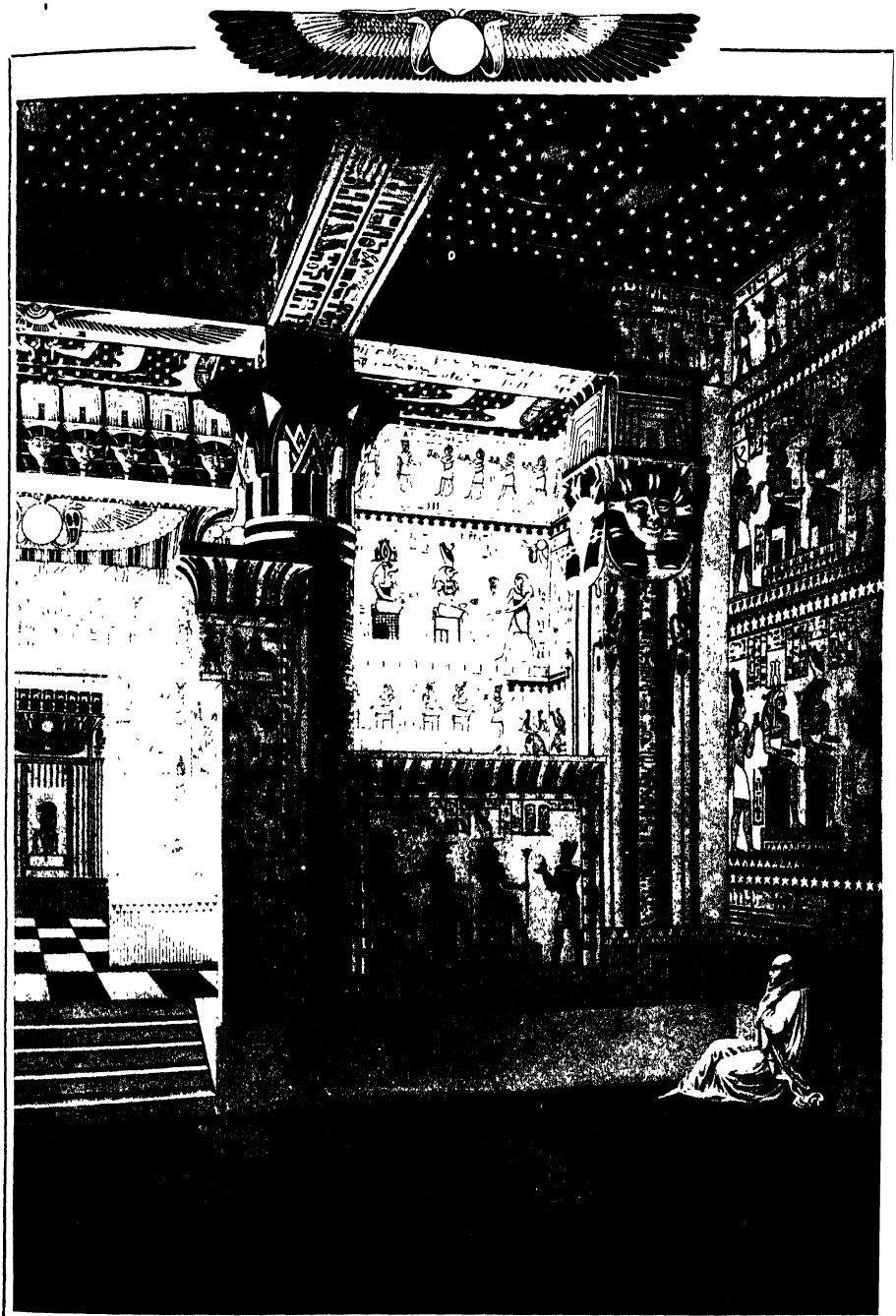
THE PORTICO OF THE GREAT TEMPLE OF ISIS AT TENTYRA

This temple, built in the Libyan desert, probably in the time of the early Ptolemies, is remarkable for the richness of its sculptures a suggestion of which is conveyed in this fine drawing by one of Napoleon's savants.



THE WORSHIP OF THE GODDESS HATHOR IN THE TEMPLE OF DENDERA

This restoration of the portico of this beautiful temple shows a procession of priests entering for worship. Each column of the portico bears at the top the head of Hathor, and scenes of her worship are sculptured on the walls.



INTERIOR OF THE BEAUTIFUL TEMPLE OF PTOLEMY IV. AT DER EL-MEDINEH

A reconstruction of the splendid temple dedicated to Hathor, built by Ptolemy Philopator, a little earlier than 200 B.C. on the site of a more ancient temple built in the reign of Amenhotep III., about 1500 B.C., which had fallen into ruins



THE COLOSSI OF MEMNON, BUILT BY AMENHOTEP III. AT THEBES, AS SEEN AT THE OVERFLOWING OF THE NILE



GREAT DAYS OF THE OLD EMPIRE
AND THE RULE OF THE SHEPHERD KINGS

A FRAGMENT of the Turin papyrus gives a summary of the reigns of the "Old Kingdom," to the effect that 1,755 years had elapsed since the reign of Menes. This would agree roughly with the estimate already given. Further calculation makes it clear that Manetho computed the period between Menes and the end of the sixth dynasty as about 250 years less than the number above stated. A mere list of the dynasties computed by Manetho is all the information to be obtained from him upon the very obscure period dividing the sixth from the twelfth dynasty. Remarkably enough, the seventh dynasty is said to have had "seventy kings in seventy days." In view of the more independent position of the landed aristocracy under Pepi, it has been thought to recognise in the seventy monarchs of a day a wholly unsuccessful attempt on the part of the aristocracy to replace the monarchy by a government of nobles holding the power in rotation. At an early period an epitomiser read or amended the statement as "five kings in seventy-five years," perhaps in order to avoid lending his support to a tradition of such historical absurdity.

70 Kings in 70 Days

Like the preceding rulers, the 27 kings of the eighth dynasty—146 years—are said to have sprung from Memphis. They were followed by two dynasties from Herakleopolis. Of these the ninth consisted of 17 kings, who reigned 409 years, and a tenth, likewise of 17 kings, reigning 185 years. Their place of origin was Herakleopolis—Khenensu of the Egyptians—in Upper Egypt.

This lack of information is partly met by Manetho's statement, which can also be supported by the evidence of inscriptions, that the founder of the ninth dynasty, Akhthoes, was the most tyrannical ruler that the country had yet known. After committing many evil deeds he went mad, and was finally eaten by a crocodile, which reptile seems in ancient Egypt to have been specially supplied by Providence for such purposes. From this instructive story many deductions have been drawn in modern times. The Herakleopolites are supposed to have been foreign conquerors, who broke into the pyramids and destroyed the mummies.

The Pyramids Ravaged

A number of sculptures found in the Delta, the style of which is certainly foreign, have been supposed to belong to their time. But so small a body of evidence is hardly sufficient basis for such extensive conclusions. The sculptures and their strange style should more probably be ascribed to the later kings of the twelfth dynasty, perhaps to Amenemhat III. Akhthoes is certainly himself an historical character, though the tales of his cruelty may well be apocryphal. His name in the hieroglyphs is conventionally read Kheti, and was probably pronounced Ekhtai. He also bore the name Ab-meri-Ra. Of another Herakleopolite king, named Ka-meri-Ra, we have a monument in the inscriptions of Tefaba, prince of Asyut, which record the wars with Tefaba waged on behalf of Ka-meri-Ra against the princes of Thebes, who were now for the first time aspiring to the sovereignty of all Egypt.

According to Manetho, the eleventh dynasty included 16 kings of Thebes, who ruled 43 years. This is the first appearance in history of the "southern residence" of the kings of Egypt, although it was not till the beginning of the New Empire that Thebes attained its full importance. As early as the Roman period the city had again become nothing more than an area of gigantic ruins interspersed with villages. Four main groups of ruins still indicate the approximate area of the ancient city: on the east of the river, Karnak to the north and Luxor to the south; on the west of the river, Medinet Habu to the south and Kurnah to the north, both named after

Kings of Thebes

neighbouring fellahin villages. On the west the slopes of the hills are honeycombed by numerous tombs, among which those of Shekh Abd el Kurnah and the Assasif, with the terraced temples of Der el-Bahari are the best known. The celebrated "valley of the kings' tombs," Biban el-Muluk, winds far into the chain of hills behind Der el-Bahari. At Thebes is the Ramesseum, incorrectly called the "Memnonium" by classical authors subsequent to Strabo. Between it and the great temple of Medinet Habu tower the two statues of Memnon. Three miles away, on the opposite bank of the river, rises the great temple of Karnak. The sanctuary of Luxor together with the obelisk is situated close to the river. The "city of the living," once a populous metropolis called Uaset by the Egyptians, extended from Karnak to the mountain range; the temple precincts of Karnak proper were named "Apet"; the quays for the river traffic were at "Southern Apet," or Luxor. On the western bank of the Nile lies the great necropolis, the corresponding "city of the dead." The "dwellings rich in possessions" and the one hundred gates, which are mentioned with admiration in the Iliad—unless these are really, as seems most probable, the great pylons of the temples—even the fortress of the kings, known as "Ka-em-khut"—literally, "high on the horizon"—during the time of Amenophis III., have totally disappeared. The great artificial lake of Tjarukha, where Amenhotep III. (or Amenophis III.) and Queen Tii sailed in their state barge, the "Tehen-Aten" (the Sun-disk glitters), is a mere field surrounded by mounds. Of the huge funerary temple erected by the same king nothing but the mighty twin Colossi remain.

Tombs of the Kings

Memphis, or Hikuptah, the northern capital, has also disappeared, together with its more durable pyramids and rows of mastabas. We are unable to discover even the situation of the chief sanctuary, the temple of Ptah; the "white fortress" has also vanished. According to Arab testimony the low hill of rubbish near Mit-Rahine, south of Gizeh, was covered with stately ruins about six hundred years ago; in all probability it served even then as a stone quarry for the growing city of Cairo. The rapid disappearance of the last edifices at Memphis is to be accounted for in the same way.

Memphis Rebuilt in Cairo

The time from the beginning of the seventh to the end of the eleventh dynasty according to Manetho's reckoning would amount to far more than the five hundred years allotted to the period of transition. This number, however, is apparently capable of reduction. It has been thought that the twelfth dynasty ruled Egypt from 2000 to 1788 B.C., though the evidence for this is as yet by no means universally accepted as conclusive, and it has long been known that about the year 1580 B.C. the eighteenth dynasty freed the land from the Hyksos. Thus there remains a period of little more than two hundred years in which to place the era of the foreign supremacy of the Hyksos, during which the Egyptian polity and society underwent a steady process of change, although many decades must have elapsed before the complete subjugation of the land by the Hyksos. But when Manetho proceeds to insert into this narrow period his thirteenth, or Theban, dynasty of sixty kings reigning for 453 years, and the fourteenth dynasty, which originated in Xois – that is, Sakha, in the centre of the Delta, where apparently no ruins remain—consisting of 76 kings ruling for 484 years, all attempts to satisfy the demands of consistency are baffled. Up to the present time the Turin papyrus has always been considered the chief support of Manetho's account, because the kings of the thirteenth and fourteenth dynasties are there enumerated in full and with much greater detail, comparatively speaking, than in any other account. However, while on the one hand it is possible that the Turin papyrus repeated an erroneous tradition reproduced by Manetho at a later period, on the other hand we have to take into account the condition in which this manuscript was found; the fragments of the papyrus when first pieced together were arranged in accordance with Manetho's list. Of the lists contained in inscriptions, one only, the chronologically worthless one at Karnak, contributes a series of names of kings which could correctly be assigned to this period. Of the Xoïtes, a provincial dynasty, no monuments have as yet been discovered.

Muddle of the Dynasties

In like manner the various monuments provide no connected account of the period of transition. Two or three names

may perhaps be assigned with some certainty to the period between the seventh and tenth dynasties. Among these is King Kherti, who appears upon the monuments and whose deeds of prowess against Syrian enemies are mentioned in a papyrus. Some graves of dignitaries at Sakkara are considered to belong to the Herakleopolites—as, for example, that of Apa-ankhu, who lived under King Merikera, and was "not only of true royal blood, but was indeed the favourite of his master and governor of the lands."

Antef and Mentuhotep are the royal names which occur most frequently in the eleventh dynasty. As provincial governors of the fertile and extensive valley of Thebes, the first members of this house attained to great importance, while the tenth dynasty gradually exhausted itself in



AN EXAMPLE OF EGYPTIAN SCULPTURE 4,500 YEARS AGO
A fine bas-relief, remarkable for its accuracy of outline, showing the sacred ox.

struggles, details of which are unknown to us. This family soon began to expand; one branch settled in the neighbouring Hermonthis, where an Antef sought to connect himself with the earlier rulers by repairing the ruined pyramid of Nekhtiaker.

The acquisition of Abydos, the religious importance of which town was closely connected with its early political claims, seems to have immediately followed the proclamation of the head of the family as "lord of the upper and the lower land." Probably the future royal residence was also transferred to Abydos. Hence a provincial governor, named Antef, again appears in Thebes with special titles, showing the importance of the city of Amon at that time. This Antef is at the same time warder of the frontier and a "pillar of the south." Of the five or six Antefs and the three Mentuhoteps who are enumerated as being Pharaohs, it is hardly probable that the first ruled the whole country; the moderate estimate of forty-three years given to the whole line by Manetho is therefore certainly incorrect. Mentuhotep II. alone at least reigned for forty-six years, and was supreme over Egypt from Assouan to the coast. On the other hand, this reign was not able to recover Ethiopia, which had apparently long since been lost to the kingdom. The date of Antef IV. Uahankh is given by the stele erected in his fiftieth year, which forms part of a larger scene, where the ruler is represented surrounded by his four favourite dogs. From a papyrus report of an investigation into the tombs of the Theban kings, which took place about 1130 B.C., we learn of the existence of the pyramid of Antef IV., which "lies to the north of the outer court of the temple of Amenhotep, and before which the stele has been erected. Here is to be seen the figure of the king, with his dog named Behukaa between his feet." King Uahankh Antef is known to belong to the eleventh dynasty, because a twelfth dynasty official traces his descent back to a contemporary of Uahankh; but other Antefs, who formerly were considered to belong to this period, are now known to be posterior to the thirteenth dynasty. Seankhkara seems to have been the last ruler of the eleventh dynasty; he entrusted his official Henu with the fitting out of an expedition to Punt, which advanced eastward through the valley of Hammamat, and then proceeded by sea. Although Henu only accompanied the expedition to the coast of the Red Sea, he caused a remarkably boastful description of the undertaking to be carved at Hammamat, which dates from the eighth year of Seankhkara, and perhaps was not set up until after the king's death. Considerable additions have been made to our knowledge of the eleventh dynasty of recent years. Many new names of kings have been found: a new Antef, who

The Eleventh Dynasty

Expedition to the Land of Frankincense

bore the Horus name Nekht-neb-tep-nefer, a Mentuhotep with the Horus name Sankh-ab-tani, and a duplicate of Mentuhotep II., with the prenomen Neb-hapet-Ra, like Mentuhotep II., but spelt in a different manner. This last new king is known to us from the latest excavations (1903-7) at Der el-Bahari, which have revealed to us the funerary temple of Mentuhotep I., to which additions were apparently made by Mentuhotep III. (Neb-hapet-Ra II.). This building, which was known as Akh-asut-Neb-hapet-Ra, "Glorious are the seats of Neb-hapet-Ra," lies to the south of the great temple of Queen Hatshepsu at Der el-Bahari, in the necropolis of Thebes. It consists of a square platform artificially hewn out of the rock, on which stood a small pyramid, surrounded by an ambulatory or colonnade. This was approached from the east by a ramp of ascent, on either side of which is a small colonnade, on the level of the ground. On each side of the platform is a deeply cast court. At the back of the pyramid is the descending dromos of what is either the actual tomb of King Neb-hapet-Ra I. or a cenotaph, an "empty tomb," made not to contain the actual mummy of the king, but the statue of his ka, or double. Thus it is rather a sanctuary than a tomb, properly speaking. Of the two views, the latter is considered to be the more probable by the discoverer, Prof. Naville. The gallery of this "tomb-sanctuary" is 400 feet in length; at the end of it is a chamber, made in all respects like the tomb-chamber of a pyramid, which contains an alabaster shrine, in which, in all probability, once stood an image of the king. (Not far off, in 1898, a great royal tomb was found which contained nothing but the statue of another king, Mentuhotep —this is perhaps the analogous "tomb-sanctuary" of Neb-hapet-Ra II.) At the back of the colonnaded court which contains the dromos, is a hypostyle hall, in which immediately beneath the towering cliffs of Der el-Bahari is a small sanctuary, containing an altar placed before a niche cut in the rock. The whole of this temple was decorated with painted reliefs of the highest excellence, which have given us a totally new idea of the art of the eleventh dynasty. This building is the only temple of the Middle Empire which is at all well preserved, and is the most ancient building at Thebes.

The Latest Excavations

From the fact that Uahankh Antef was separated in time by less than a century from Senusret I. we see that the eleventh dynasty immediately preceded the twelfth, as has been usually supposed. In order, however, to reconcile the undoubted length of the thirteenth dynasty with the short period of 300 years allowed between the twelfth and eighteenth dynasties, if we accept the Kahun date for Senusret III., it has been proposed to place the thirteenth dynasty before the twelfth. But to intercalate it between the eleventh and twelfth is impossible, and it is equally impossible to place it before the eleventh. For one thing, the scarab designs of the thirteenth dynasty are obviously intermediate between those of the twelfth and those of the eighteenth dynasty. Here is a case in which practical archæology comes forward with definite evidence to correct ill-considered and hasty historical theories. From the inscriptions, too, of Asyut it is quite evident that the Theban kings of the eleventh dynasty rose to power by war against the Herakleopolite princes of the tenth. There is no room for the thirteenth dynasty before the eleventh or twelfth. We have, at any rate, the definite fact that Senusret I. reigned less than a century after Antef IV., so that Seankhkara must have been almost the immediate predecessor of Amenemhat I., the first king of the twelfth dynasty.

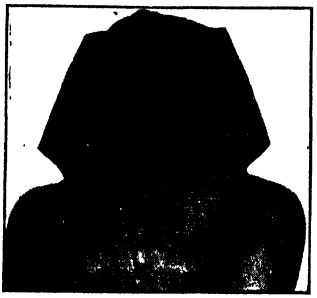


A NOMARCH OF ANCIENT EGYPT
The provincial governors introduced by Amenemhat I. about 2700 B.C. were called nomarchs and replaced a landed nobility.

Value of Archæology

When King Amenemhat I., the founder of the twelfth dynasty, appointed his son Senusret I. co-regent in his old age, he is said to have presented him with a book of profound "instructions." Several long fragments of this work still remain. From them, and from inscriptions on the tomb of a provincial lord, Khnumhotep, at Beni-Hassan, we gather that it was not

until after a severe struggle that Amenemhat raised himself to the Egyptian throne, and that the grandfather of Khnumhotep rose to greatness as the result of a general change in the provincial governorship. He became lord of the Nome of the Goat, with a residence at Menat-Khufu, to which was later added the neighbouring Nome of the Gazelle. It was here in Central Egypt that the new dynasty seems to have specially secured its position, for, like the previous line, it undoubtedly originated in Thebes, and apparently removed the seat of power to the Fayyum.



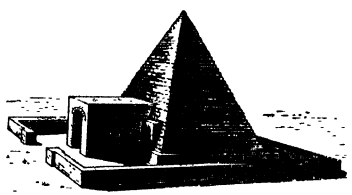
SENUSRET III.
Part of a black granite portrait statue, now in the British Museum, of one of the most successful kings of the 12th dynasty.

We learn from inscriptions—especially from those in the tombs of the provincial governors at Asyut, Bershch, and Beni-Hasan—that Amenemhat I. introduced far-reaching changes into the administration, and that in this respect at least he must be looked upon as a great reformer. He set aside or entirely abolished the old aristocracy of the provincial rulers, and introduced new laws defining the authority of their successors. The new governors, or nomarchs, were placed on an equality with their predecessors, in so far as the landed property vacated by the latter was for the most part handed over to them; thus they still remained the most powerful landed proprietors in any one district, with the exception of the interest represented by the temple property and the royal domains. But from a landed nobility they became an official class, and were transformed from petty princes into prefects. This change again made a simplification of the government possible as regarded the highest authorities. During the Old Empire the division of the country into "the south" and "the north" formed the basis of the administrative machinery, the king, as "lord of both lands," forming the connecting link. Now, under the twelfth dynasty, the personal tie gives place to a union of political reality. Nevertheless, the historical distinction between north and south, resting as it did upon racial differences, was too deeply rooted to disappear entirely.

Side by side with the king, the high treasurer now appears with authority over the whole of Egypt. Under the Old Empire the importance of this official had steadily increased until he took precedence over all others. Among other titles of this highest official were "greatest of the great, prince, overseer of the human race, who advises the king, and to whom the entire land renders account." His responsibility was appropriately expressed in the title "overseer of all that exists and of all that does not." Next in rank stood the "treasurer of the god," or "chief warden of the silver house," whose chief duty seems to have been to prepare estimates for the general expenditure; while the "chief judge and head of the



THE MODERN VILLAGE OF ABYDOS, ONE OF THE OLDEST SITES OF ANCIENT EGYPT

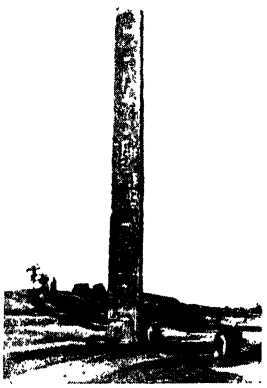


FUNERARY PYRAMID OF ABYDOS
A reconstruction of one of the smaller pyramids of the Middle Kingdom, possibly the tomb of a court official, built about 5,000 years ago.

overseers," the vizir of the Old Empire, received the post of prefect of the capital, a position of great splendour but of limited authority. Officials of middle and lower rank now appear in large numbers. They also were chiefly concerned with the treasury, and looked up with awe to the high treasurer, "who nourishes the people." He also made provision for the sacrifices to the gods and the dead—that is, so far as the customary offerings of the king to the distinguished dead were concerned—and attended to the repair and decoration of the temples.

Officials of the Old Empire

The Old Empire, with its bewildering profusion of high offices, dignities, and titles of honour, bore the character of an oligarchy of court nobles moderated by the despotism of the king, and in some respects reminds us of the mandarin system; whereas the state of Amenemhat and Senusret was governed upon principles of administration closely resembling the economic system of the eighteenth century of our era on the continent of Europe — that is, a kind of "modernised" feudalism. The dependence of the temples upon the royal treasury is plainly marked, although the colleges of priests controlled their own incomes, derived from a mortmain possession of lands sufficient to support them. But the state not only controlled the sacrifices by means of the ingenious edict that the nomarch must receive his appointed share, but the colleges themselves also found it advantageous to place at their head the chief authority in the nome. It was rarely a matter of great difficulty to make such an authority eligible for inclusion in the legitimate families by means of fabricated genealogies.



THE OBELISK OF ON
All that remains of Heliopolis, the ancient city of the Sun.

The salary of such an official, holding at the same time the lucrative position of chief priest and prophet, when added to the revenue of his private estates and official lands, rose to an amount enabling him to support a princely establishment. It is certain, however, that his outgoings and expenses were not small. The government, in the person of its highest administrator, the high treasurer, was very exacting in its demand that a good profit should be forthcoming from the nome when the accounts were balanced.

The treasury expenditure was not to exceed the income; on the contrary, the nomarch was to arrange the average imposition of taxes so as to have a credit balance of taxation in reserve which could be drawn upon in bad years. In many nomes this was an easy matter, in others it was more difficult. Possibly, also, the great financial adviser, who stood so close to the king's ear, was none too ready to grant assistance in the time of want. "When years of famine came," writes Ameni, the prefect of the Nome of the Gazelle under Senusret I., "I ploughed the fields of the province to its frontiers on the south and on the north" — a religious rite originally incumbent upon the king. "I preserved the lives of the inhabitants of the province, and gave them sustenance, so that there were none starving therein. I gave the same portion to the widow as to the married woman, and never preferred the great before the small in granting my assistance. And afterward the river rose high, wheat and barley throve, and there was abundance in the land, but I did not oppress the peasant because of his arrears." Although years of drought were the most severe test of the capacities of a nomarch for administration, yet his current expenses at other times were of very considerable amount. It was necessary to exceed the expectations of the court by paying a carefully calculated surplus in excess of the regular demands. In order to carry on the business of his own little centre, the nomarch was obliged to keep an office with a comparatively large number of scribes. Should the Pharaoh set out "to make the foreign countries tremble before his majesty," the nomarch was obliged to call out his contingent—Ameni provides 400 to 600 men—and to take the field with his sovereign. The chief treasury officials had also to be conducted to the quarries and mines in the land of the Trogodytes or in

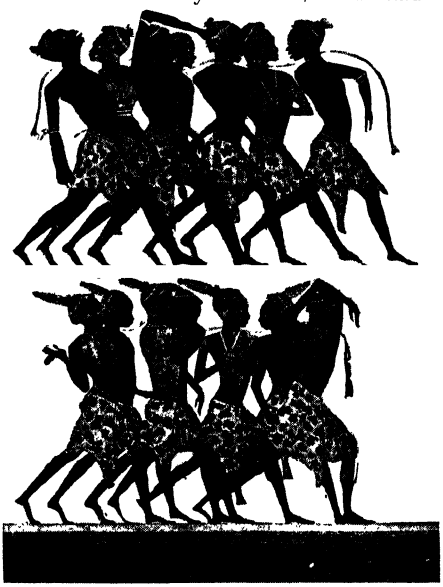
Finances of the Nomarchs

the Sinaitic peninsula, or the nomarch himself was despatched upon royal commissions. If successful, he was the recipient of high praise, as well as of material rewards on his return to court.

The nomarch greatly cherished the right of journeying to the quarries on his own account, there to order the stone decorations for his future tomb or to have his statue carved in heroic size. What he valued most, however, was the royal assurance that the governorship of the nome should become the hereditary possession of his house. When this assurance was received, the tomb within the cliffs truly became a place of consolation in view of the period after his death. His family would never be threatened by want, and there would be no interruption to the sacrifices to the ancestors.

The reign of Amenemhat I. began about 2000 B.C., at the very latest — possibly in reality a century or two earlier; ten years later he appointed his son Senusret, or Usertsen I., co-regent, and died on the seventh day of the Egyptian month Phaophi, after a reign of thirty years. Apparently the old king's chief motive in appointing his successor as co-regent at such an early date was, above all things, to secure the crown to his own house; in all other respects he himself remained at the head of affairs. The decade of the co-regency was occupied by foreign wars. A poetical inscription of the twenty-fourth year of Amenemhat's reign, now in the Louvre, refers to wars against the Nubians, the Bedouins of the Sinaitic desert, the Trogodytes, and even against Punt. We have an undoubted reference to a campaign in the twenty-ninth year of the reign against the Nubian land Wawat; and when the king died within his palace, Senusret was abroad upon an expedition against one of the northern oases.

Wars Against the Nubians



NEGRO CAPTIVES OF THE EGYPTIANS

Everything possible had been done to ensure that this change in the government should be carried through without difficulty. A gleam of light is thrown upon the process by a story of adventure, which certainly rests upon a basis of fact.

Romance of a Court Official

Sanehat, a near relation and court official of Amenemhat I., who is also said to have been "high in the queen's favour," was at that time in the capital. As soon as "the god had ascended to heaven," and the palace was closed, the chief court dignitary despatched couriers to Senusret I. Sanehat had either committed himself to the support of another claimant to the throne, or he had been on ill terms with Senusret at an earlier period; at any rate, he went out a stage from the town to meet the returning couriers, and was not a little terrified on seeing Senusret approach with a small company of followers. Trembling, he crawled into a bush until the king had passed, and in the conviction that a revolt would break out in the capital he fled southward, crossed the Nile, and finally reached the eastern desert near the Bitter Lakes, after creeping through the frontier entrenchments of the so-called "prince's wall" by night. The Bedouins treated him with great respect. Ultimately he becomes chief of a tribe, wins fame in war, and sees his sons grow up around him. But in his old age a letter of pardon is sent to him by Senusret granting him free return to Egypt. He calls for hymns of praise to be sung, and utters not a word of sorrow at parting from his adopted home. In fact, to a description of the comfort which once again surrounded him at the court he adds the remark: "The filth was left to the desert, the coarse clothing to the sand-dwellers. I was clothed in fine linen and anointed with the oil of the land. I slept in a bed.

Thus I grudge not the sand to those who dwell upon it, nor the oil of the tree to him that hath no better."

Senusret I. reigned forty-four years. He, too, must apparently be included among the great builders. Three stone sculptures of him have been found at Tanis, which must have been for many years the first city of the Delta. At Heliopolis he erected a temple, where one of two obelisks is still standing. The temples of Osiris at Abydos, of Amon at Karnak, and that of Koptos were all repaired by the care of Senusret. The primitive temple at Hierakonpolis, which had already been repaired by the kings of the sixth dynasty, was again restored. Inscriptions of Senusret I. have come to light at Wady Halfa at the second cataract, one of which mentions the eighteenth year of his reign and speaks of victories over Nubian tribes. We have also a narrative of this event from Ameni, mentioned above dating from the king's forty-third year.

Senusret a Great Builder

Two years before his death Senusret followed his father's example and appointed his son Amenemhat II. co-regent. The monuments erected during the reign of this king seem to have been of less architectural importance than those of his father. We have no mention of war during his reign. With the accession of Amenemhat II. the period begins when the dynasty could enjoy in peace the fruits of the labour of the first two kings. In this reign Khnumhotep succeeded his father as governor of the Nome of the Goat; and all the other changes in the officials of which we hear seem in like manner to have been directed to secure the succession to this family. According to Manetho, Amenemhat II. lost his life in a palace revolution; he had appointed his son Senusret II. as co-regent. The pyramid of Illahun has been identified as the tomb of this king, and an interesting seated statue of his wife, Nefert, wearing a padded wig that falls over her breast in two spiral curls, has been found in Tanis.

The reign of Senusret III., which follows, is characterised by important incidents of another kind. The first third of his reign was occupied chiefly in war: the king directed his main efforts against the Nubian peoples. The southern frontier of the Egyptian kingdom was again pushed forward beyond the second cataract—that is, almost to the limit of the extension which it reached later under the Sebekhotep kings. At Semneh and at Kummeh on the opposite bank of the Nile, about latitude 21° N., Senusret III. erected two great barrier forts, the remains of which are still of sufficient size to afford an idea of ancient Egyptian methods of fortification. Even at this early period the device was employed of



THE COMING OF THE SEMITES INTO EGYPT

In the reign of Senusret II., about 1895 B.C., the first tribe of Semites appeared in Egypt, bearing objects of barter and possibly desiring to settle in the land as the family of Jacob did. From a painting in Khnumhotep's tomb.

curving back the upper parts of the great brick bastions; in order to prevent the use of scaling-ladders. An inscription set up at Semneh in the eighth year of the king says: "This is the southern boundary. No negro or his cattle may pass north of this line either by land or by water. Should they appear in the land of Aken for purposes of trade, or if they have any business there, nothing shall be done to them; but their boats may never pass beyond Heh." Nevertheless in the sixteenth and nineteenth years of Senusret's reign fresh campaigns became necessary. The first is commemorated by another inscription at Semneh, which contains contemptuous reference to the negroes. The king warns his descendants never to be driven back from this frontier; any one who should retreat was not to be called his descendant.

Further Nubian Wars

There were good reasons for this exhortation. In the Osiris town of Abydos the king's high treasurer, named Ikhernefer, erected a monument to commemorate the completion of an important commission for glorifying and presenting gifts to the god, on which he had been sent by Senusret III.: "The royal order to . . . the nearest friend, the superintendent of the houses of gold and silver, the high treasurer, Ikhernefer. My Majesty commands that thou be guided to Abydos, to erect a memorial to my father Osiris [the king speaks as the incarnation of the god Horus on the earth], the overlord of the West, and to adorn the secret places [the adytum of the temple] with the gold that my Majesty brought forth from Nubia with victory and honour." Thus it is probable that the two fortresses in the Nubian Nile valley defended the entrance to the gold-mines of the south.



FORERUNNERS OF THE HYKSOS PRESENTED TO THE EGYPTIAN GOVERNOR
Continuation from opposite page of the painting depicting presentation of the Semites to the governor Khnumhotep. About 1800 B.C. the native dynasty was overthrown by the Hyksos, who were probably the Hebrews of the Exodus.

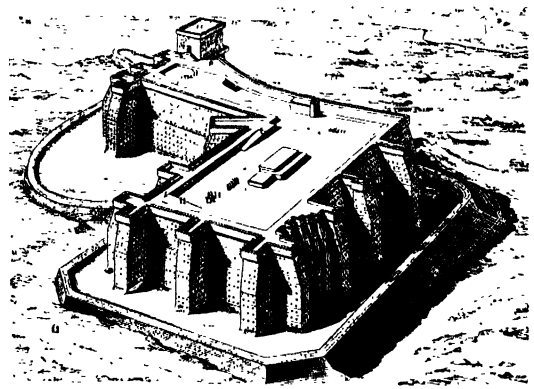
Of great importance, however, to history would be the supposed discovery of the first Egyptian date of real chronological value in this reign, could it be accepted without reserve. The ancient city at the entrance of the Fayyum, now known as Kahun, has yielded a comparatively large number of papyri of the twelfth dynasty. In a kind of diary discovered among the "Kahun" papyri is found a notice to the effect that on the twenty-fifth day of the seventh month of the seventh year of Senusret III. the superintendent of the temple informed the governor that he proposed to make preparations for the festival for the rise of Sirius, which occurred on the sixteenth day of the following month; in fact, we find on the day following the date thus stated a list of "the festival offerings for the rise of the star Sirius." As two similar dates in the history of the New Empire were already known, it was possible to calculate by means of the astronomical data thus given that Senusret's seventh year lay between 1876 and 1873 B.C. This discovery would have made an end of the various hypotheses regarding the chronology of the Middle Kingdom, the beginning of which had been variously dated 2130, 2778, or 3315, were it absolutely certain that this date is really correct. But, as a matter of fact, this date has many grave objections to contend against. For one thing, the computers are by no means agreed on this date. Mr. Nicklin places it some fifty or sixty years earlier than 1875 B.C. And even this revised estimate leaves us no more than 300 years for the rest of the twelfth dynasty, the assured long duration of the thirteenth, and the period necessary for the domination of the Hyksos, till we reach the certain date of the beginning of the eighteenth dynasty, about 1580 B.C. To try to simplify matters by transferring the Sebekhotep kings of the thirteenth dynasty to the age before the eleventh dynasty is impossible for archæological reasons. To reduce the duration of the thirteenth dynasty is impossible, for we have certain evidence of many important reigns in that dynasty. To transfer the twelfth dynasty a whole Sothis period, or Sirius cycle (1461 years), back into time is equally against reason. So that we must suspend judgment on the matter for the present.

The First Certain Dates

Fixing Egyptian Dates

Under Amenemhat III. the greatness of this powerful dynasty begins to wane. This king had two pyramids. One is at Dahohur, the other rises in the inner border of the Fayyum to the east near Hawara. His solicitude for the worship of the crocodile-god, Sebek, is evidenced by several monuments and by the great

temple at Hawara, the fame of which, as one of the wonders of the world, was continued by its name of "Labyrinth." This was evidently the funerary temple attached to the pyramid of Amenemhat. Some statues and busts of Amenemhat III. are remarkable for the obvious pains that have been taken to produce a likeness: the cheek bones are prominent, and the mouth shows a characteristic wrinkle. Accurate portraiture of this kind is characteristic of the art of the twelfth dynasty, and is not confined to statues of this king. At Der el-Bahari has been discovered a series of portrait statues of Senusret III., representing him at various periods of his life from youth to old age. Three of these are in the British Museum, and one is at Cairo. Two other equally good portraits of the same king have been found at Abydos and Karnak. Equally faithful portraits of Senusret I. have been found at Koptos and elsewhere. The heads of Senusret III. and Amenemhat III. present curiously marked and angular features, like those of the supposed Hyksos statues from Tanis. It has therefore been supposed that the Hyksos blood already existed in Egypt under the twelfth dynasty, and that the later kings of this line had Hyksos, or "Hittite," blood in their veins. But this is a very doubtful speculation, and it is much more probable that the Tanis and Bubastis portraits formerly assigned to the Hyksos or to the Herakleopolites really represent kings of the twelfth dynasty, some of them in a peculiar costume of which we do not know the precise signification. Certain pieces of evidence go to show that Amenemhat III. had peculiar religious ideas, to which these curious figures may owe their origin. Shortly before his death the king appointed his successor Amenemhat IV. as co-regent. He is said to have reigned nine years in all, six of which can now be verified by evidence. He was succeeded by his wife, who was perhaps his sister, Sebeknofru, who also continued the building operations at Hawara; but the dynasty came to an end, according to Manetho, with her death four years later. The length of her predecessor's reigns has led to a doubt whether the succession was invariably from father to son or may have been transferred to the son-in-law, that is to say, to the female line.



AN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN FORTIFICATION

A reconstruction, by MM. Perrot and Chipiez, of the great barrier fort at Semneh erected by Senusret III. on the Nubian frontier of his kingdom in the early part of the third millennium B.C.

Accuracy of the Portrait Statues

After Amenemhat III., we are not again on firm ground until we reach a series of kings, most of whom bore the name of Sebekhotep, showing that they energetically maintained the cult of Sebek, the crocodile-god of the Fayyum, which had come into prominence in the later years of the twelfth dynasty. These kings seem, indeed, to have ruled from Crocodilopolis, as the later kings of the twelfth dynasty had ruled, not from Thebes, but from a royal burg called Itht-taui, "Seizing the Two Lands," which was situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of Lisht, on the Nile, a little northward of the Fayyum. The tradition of royal residence in this part of Egypt seems to have been handed down from the Herakleopolite kings.

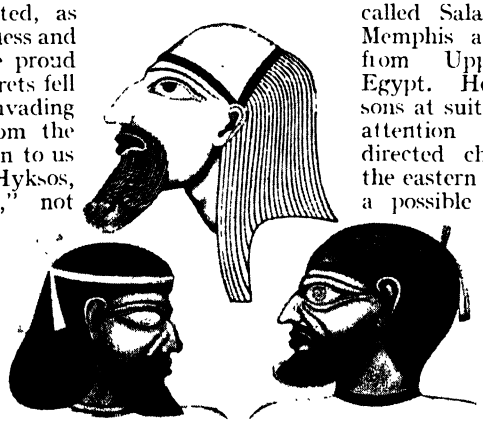
The Crocodile Kings

The Sebekhoteps were powerful monarchs who ruled for a considerable length of time over a united and peaceful country, whose bounds were even more extended than at the present day, ranging from the Mediterranean in the north to beyond the third cataract in the south. A statue of a Sebekhotep has been found in the island of Arko, north of Dongola, and it is known that the grey granite quarries of Tombos were worked at this time. That the thirteenth dynasty was a period of peace is evident in spite of

the fact that a king, Smenkhkara, of whom two enormous statues of Tombos granite were erected at Tanis in the Delta, calls himself by the resounding title of Mermenfatiu, "General of the Soldiers." The succession of the kings was regulated apparently by descent in the female line: "the blood of Ra" was handed on by the queens, who raised their consorts to the position of Pharaoh. It is noticeable that in the case of private persons female descent is unusually emphasised under the Middle Kingdom. Thus the father of Sebekhotep II. was merely a priest named Mentuhetep, who held quite a subordinate position. Sebekhotep III. and Neferhotep, who were brothers, were the offspring of the marriage of another princess with a certain Haankhf. Neferhotep restored the temple at Abydos in accordance with information regarding the original plan derived from the sacred books. The remaining kings of this line form a long list, but the monuments tell us little or nothing about them; evidently prolonged peace and undisturbed comfortable possession had resulted, as usual, in general slackness and weakness, so that the proud kingdom of the Senusrets fell an easy prey to an invading horde of Asiatics from the north, who are known to us by the name of the Hyksos, or "shepherd kings," not earlier than about 1800 B.C.

End of the Native Dynasty

"There ruled in our land," relates Manetho (quoted by Josephus), "a king named Timaios. In his time it happened, I do not know why, that a god was angry with us. And from the east there appeared unexpectedly people of low origin who defiantly invaded our land and took forcible possession of it, meeting with no serious resistance. After taking captive the rulers they burnt our cities, destroyed the dwellings of the gods, and inflicted all manner of cruelties upon the inhabitants; some were massacred, the wives and children of others were enslaved."



EGYPTIAN PORTRAITS OF ASIATICS

Contemporary pictures, from a wall-painting in an Egyptian tomb, of people of Asiatic race. The native fourteenth dynasty was displaced by invasion of Asiatics known as the Hyksos.

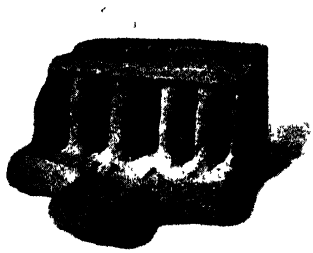
This description of the rapid victory of the Asiatics is evidence for the fact that the excellence of military equipment must have fully compensated for the disadvantages of "low origin"; in all probability they were the first people to acquaint the Egyptians with the use of horses and chariots in battle. Until this time great heroes—for example, Senusret I.—were praised for their swiftness of foot, but after the liberation of Egypt the Pharaohs drove out to battle in their chariots.

Victory of the Asiatics

With the arrival of the foreigners, the so-called Hyksos, the valley of the Nile was overrun by a people who possibly came from Arabia; whether their appearance in Egypt was connected with the conquest of Babylon by the Kassites, or Kash-shu, which either began or was completed about 1700 B.C., is doubtful. According to Manetho's account it would appear as if the conquest of Egypt at first implied the dependence of the country upon some Asiatic empire. "Finally they made one of their leaders king, who was called Salatis. He went to Memphis and levied tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt. He also placed garrisons at suitable points." His attention was, however, directed chiefly to securing the eastern frontier in view of a possible attack from the growing Assyrian power. The term "Assyrians" is here employed to denote the empire for the time being on the Tigris and Euphrates. It is significant that Salatis, whose name recalls in many respects the Egyptian title "Shallit," which the Joseph of the Bible received from Pharaoh, immediately sought to fortify his kingdom in the direction from which his own nation had come.

"Salatis died after ruling nineteen years. After him another, named Beon or Bnon, reigned forty-four years. He was succeeded by Apakhnas, who reigned thirty-six years and seven months.

After him came Apophis with a reign of sixty-one years, and Ianias with fifty years and one month. Finally came Assis with a reign of forty-nine years and two months. These six were the first of their rulers, and during their days there was continual war with the Egyptians, whom they endeavoured to annihilate. The people as a whole were called Hyksos, or Shepherd Kings; for 'Hyk' means king in the sacred language and 'Sos' a shepherd, so also in the popular tongue, and hence was 'Hyksos' compounded. By some they were considered to be Arabs. Thus this people is called the shepherd kings; they and their descendants held possession of Egypt for 511 years." Thus far Manetho's very ordinary account, which Josephus probably quotes from the original narrative.

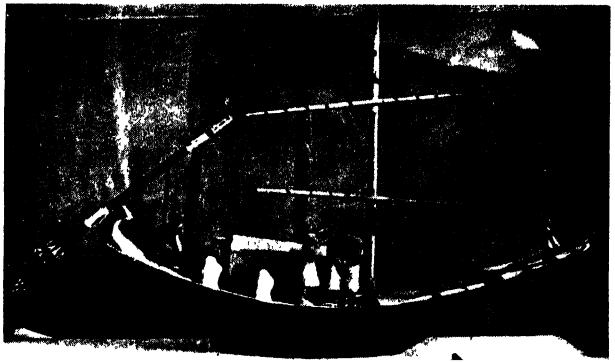


AN EGYPTIAN SOUL HOUSE
A resting-place for the soul of a dead Egyptian, placed above his grave so that his wandering spirit could rest within it.

This Hyksos conquest (Hiku-Shasu, "Princes of the Shasu" - Bedouins) was an irruption on the grand scale, like the Arab invasion under Omar, 2,000 years later. There is no proof that among the Hyksos proper, the leaders of the invaders, there may have been non-Semitic elements from Northern Syria or Asia Minor, of the blood of the Khatti or "Hittites." Still less is there any proof of a racial or cultural connection between the Hyksos and the Minoan Greeks of Crete.

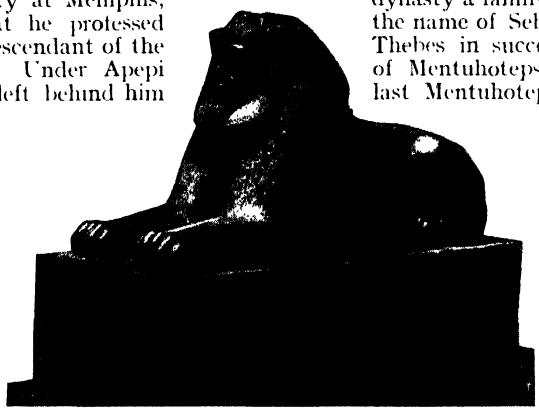
The period of the rule of the Hyksos has been exaggerated in the same manner as were the periods ascribed to the eighth, ninth, and tenth, and in part to the thirteenth dynasty. Instead of five centuries the supremacy of the Hyksos in the Nile valley probably lasted little more than two hundred years. The first six rulers mentioned above form Manetho's fifteenth dynasty. They are followed by the sixteen "other shepherds" without names or dates. Manetho gives a seventeenth dynasty as consisting of forty-three Theban kings, who ruled contemporaneously with forty-three Hyksos during a period of 151 or 221 years. This is probably correct, for the supremacy of the Hyksos did not always extend much further than their stronghold Avaris, the Egyptian Hauar or Hatuar, in the Wadi Tumilat, though it seems later to have reached into Palestine and to have lost ground in Egypt itself. Wherever the Asiatics retreated and allowed the natives to supplant them, their monuments were also exposed to destruction.

Of the six kings, Apophis alone has left any historic traces behind him in the Delta and in the region of Memphis. From these it has been shown that at least three Hyksos bore his name in the form Apepi. "Ianias," however, may be identified with the king Khian, of whom the base of a stone statue has been discovered in Bubastis, a lion marked with his signet in Bagdad, and an alabastrum-lid bearing his name at Cnossos in Crete. As a statuette of an Egyptian of the Hyksos period, called Abnub, has also been found at Cnossos, we have in these two objects valuable evidence as to connection between Egypt and Greece at this period. The Hyksos kings, ruling in the Delta, naturally came into close contact with the Minoan "Thalassocrats" of Cnossos. The fact that objects bearing the name of Khian



AN EGYPTIAN MODEL BOAT MADE 4,000 YEARS AGO
This fine model of a boat, from a tomb of the Middle Kingdom, is probably an accurate representation of the boats used on the Nile about 2000 B.C.

have been found in places so far apart as Cnossos and Bagdad is an interesting comment on a title borne by Khian: *ank adebu*, "embracing territories," though of course we cannot assume that he exercised any kind of authority over Crete or Babylonia. The names, not only of Khian, but of several other Hyksos kings, are found on signet cylinders and scarabs —reproductions of the sacred dung-beetle in stone or porcelain — bearing these non-Egyptian titles, engraved in a primitive style. Scarabs of a similar primitive style have been found with the inscriptions "Uazed" and "Yapekhar." Khian and the Apepi kings belong to a time when the Hyksos court, and also methods of government, had become entirely Egyptian. Apepi Ra-neb-khepesh even restored the tomb of Queen Apuit of the sixth dynasty at Memphis, thus showing that he professed himself a lineal descendant of the ancient families. Under Apepi Ra-aa-user, who left behind him some short dedicatory inscriptions, a papyrus was written treating of mathematical problems. Finally the name of Apepi Ra-aa-kenen has been found on the well-wrought base of an altar which he set up to the god Set of Hauar. He also appears to have attempted to immortalise his name by inscribing it on several statues of earlier kings—as, for example, on that of Mermentatiu, where he calls himself "the life-giving son of the sun, Apepi, beloved of Set." On the other hand, Amenhotep III. has replaced this name with his own on another statue. Generally speaking, this custom of appropriating earlier memorials began in the Hyksos period, and increased greatly in later times. The eastern Delta, especially at Tanis, has remained hitherto the chief source for monuments relating to the Hyksos. Examples of unique interest in the history of art are the two standing figures of the "fish sacrificers," a sphinx, a king's head from Bubastis, and the upper part of a statue from Mit-Faris in the Fayyum.



A SO-CALLED "HYKSOS" SPHINX FROM TANIS

If these figures, with their bony, broad-nosed faces and thick hair, are fully representative of the style of portraiture which the Hyksos brought into the country, this people were certainly not a pure Semitic type. These monuments, however, like the Bubastite colossi and the sphinxes of Amenemhat III. at Tanis, which used to be assigned to the Hyksos, may really date from the time of the twelfth dynasty and be connected in some way with the worship of Sebek as lord of the fish-producing province of the Fayyum. Their peculiar facial type, whether it be Egyptian or foreign, is, as we have seen, probably that of the later kings of the twelfth dynasty, not of the Hyksos.

Upper Egypt was undoubtedly for a time subjected to the Hyksos. It would seem that at the end of the thirteenth dynasty a family of kings bearing the name of Sebekemsaf ruled at Thebes in succession to a series of Mentuhoteps. Probably the last Mentuhoteps and the Sebekemsafs were tributary to the Hyksos. Later on, under a family who bore the name of Antef, the people of Upper Egypt seem to have become more or less independent of the Semitic conquerors, though they still paid tribute to them. Finally, under a series of kings who bore the name of Taa, and are reckoned as belonging to the seventeenth dynasty, a regular war of liberation was undertaken, and the Hyksos king and nation were expelled by the Egyptians after a series of desperate conflicts. These Asiatics were not absorbed; their ruling family was not assimilated to the native race either by marriage or adoption.

The rise of the Theban kings, who were mere nomarchs, or provincial governors, before the coming of the Hyksos, was described by a writer of later years as follows. It happened that Egypt had no lawful rulers. Sekenen-Ra Taa was prince of the south, Apepi was sovereign in Hauar; the latter, however, had control of the land and its rich products. Behold,

Apepi chose Sutekh, that is, Set, for his god. He built him a permanent temple and served none of the other gods of the land. Apepi sent an urgent message to Sekenen-Ra in which the position of Amon-Ra in the Egyptian system of worship was discussed. Sekenen-Ra, however, was seized with great consternation. "The prince of the south called his great and wise men about him and told them all the words of the King Apepi. They, however, remained silent in perplexity and found no answer for good or bad. The King Apepi sent——" And here the manuscript breaks off. The struggles of the seventeenth dynasty ostensibly appear as a holy war. Sekenen-Ra is apparently the third of that name. His mummy, together with many others, was discovered in 1881 in a hiding-place in the cliffs near Thebes. When it was unwrapped it was clear that the prince had come to a violent end in the prime of life. The skull had been split by a blow, and the body had been hastily embalmed after putrefaction had already set in. From this discovery we may conclude that Sekenen-Ra fell in a battle or in flight at a date somewhere about 1600 B.C., and that the enemy left his body unburied. His successor is supposed to have been Kames. The war with the Hyksos probably continued, though not uninterruptedly.

A Holy War

About the year 1580 King Aahmes, perhaps the brother of Kames, succeeded to the throne of Thebes, and prepared to put an end to the Hyksos supremacy. An official under this king, also named Aahmes, the son of Baba, caused the story of his life to be inscribed upon his tomb at Nekheb. This is the earliest known attempt made by an Egyptian to inform posterity of the great events of his age; and though clumsy in style, it furnishes a striking clue to the transformation which had taken place in the Egyptian national feeling during the Hyksos period. Aahmes first saw active service as a youth on board the boat "Sacrificial Bull"; after his marriage he served on the ship "North." "And when the king rode forth in his war-chariot—[this is the first notice we have of the use of chariots in Egypt]—I followed him on foot. And we laid siege to the town of Hauar; I showed bravery under the eyes of his majesty. Then I was appointed to the ship 'Appearing in Memphis'—[a name of importance for the development of affairs, as chronicling a formal coronation of the king in Memphis, after the capture of that city]. We fought on water in the lake Tjedku of Hauar. There I won a hand which was mentioned by the royal scribe, and gained me the golden necklace for bravery."

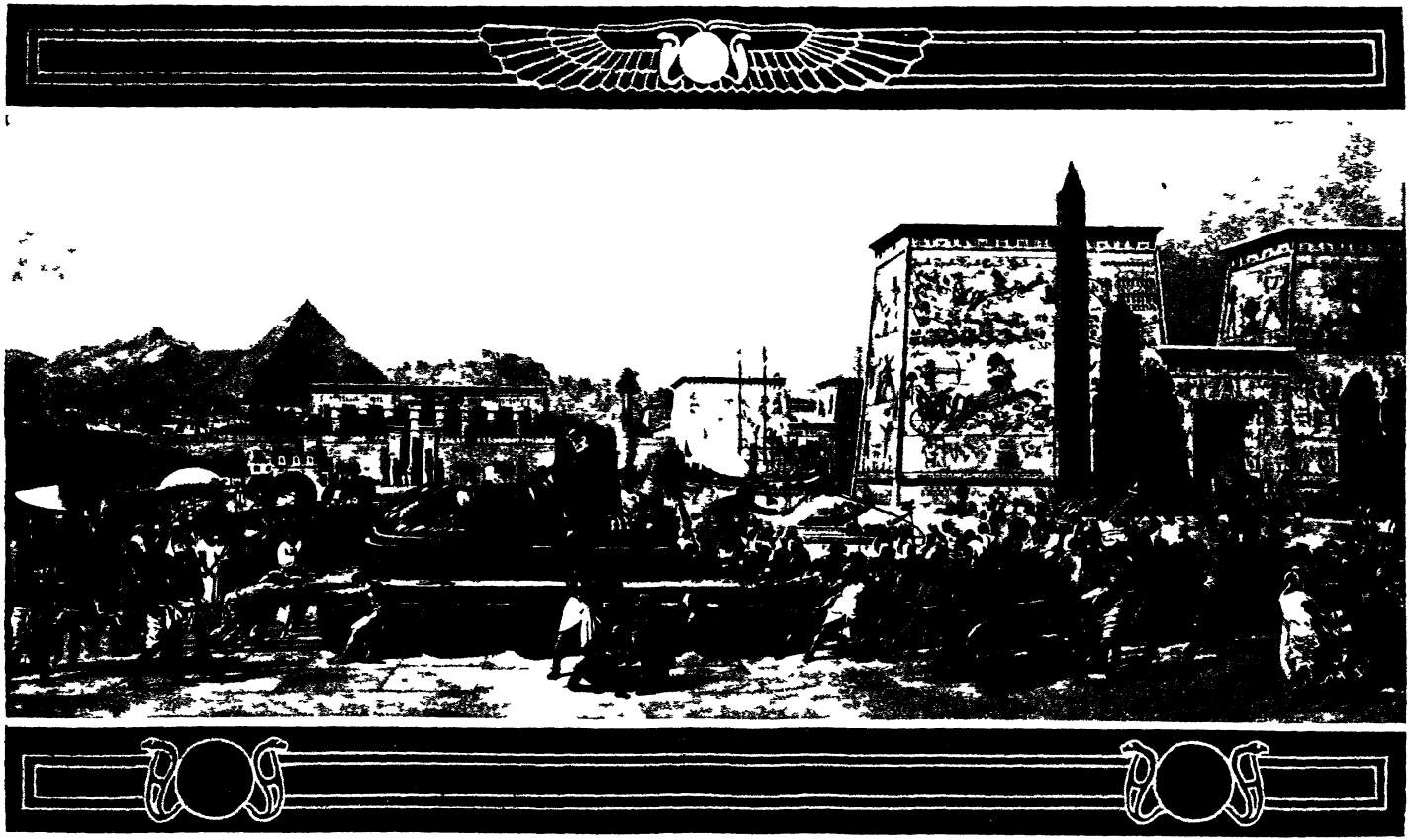
First Historical Inscriptions

Hauar was taken apparently about the year 1560, but the Hyksos still retained their Asiatic possessions; and even after Sharuhen, in the south of Palestine, was also taken the position of King Aahmes was still sufficiently difficult. His efforts in the north had encouraged the Nubian tribes to rise against him.

After a campaign in the south, one "Aata advanced into the upper country; but to his own destruction, for the gods of the south laid hands upon him." The hostile forces met at Tenta-a, and Aata was taken alive by King Aahmes. From the captain Aahmes's mode of expression, it appears probable that this was a Hyksos king from whom the Egyptians thus freed themselves. But the gallant captain does not tell us whether Aata invaded Egypt from beyond the frontier, or whether it was in the Delta that his rising began. The victories gained for Aahmes not only a number of slaves, but also a considerable increase of his landed property in Nekheb. His supremacy over the empire was definitely assured.

War Against the Hyksos

Compared with the account of Aahmes, the narrative given by Josephus, according to Manetho, of the expulsion of the Hyksos displays the Egyptians in a decidedly unfavourable light. "After all these things," he writes, "the kings of the Thebais and other Egyptian nomes rose against the Shepherds, when a long and difficult war broke out between them, until the Shepherds were overcome by a king named Misphragmuthosis, who drove them out of the other parts of Egypt and confined them to a place called Avaris, which has an area of 10,000 arures of land. The Shepherds surrounded this entire district with a strong wall in order that with all their forces they might there protect their property and plunder. However, Thummosis, the son of Misphragmuthosis, attempted to reduce them by siege, and advanced upon the place with 480,000 men. When he was beginning to despair



ISRAEL IN EGYPT UNDER THE PHARAOH WHO KNEW NOT JOSEPH

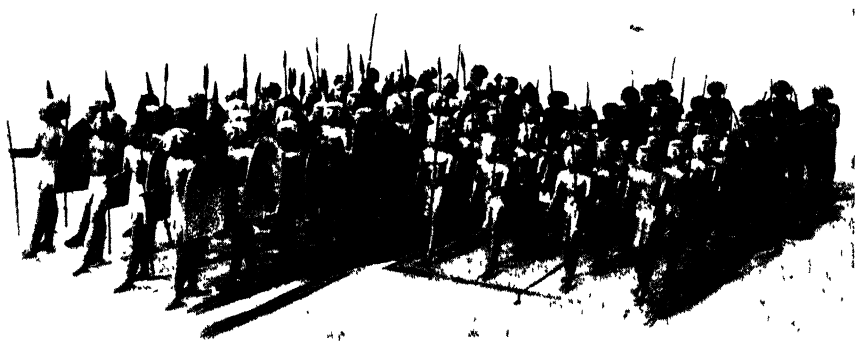
The oppression of the Hebrews in Egypt probably represents a phase in the Egyptian war of expulsion against the Hyksos, which ended in the exodus, according to Manetho and Josephus, of 240,000 men with their families and possessions through the desert to Syria.

of success, they themselves offered to surrender on condition that they should evacuate Egypt and depart in whatever direction they might choose without let or hindrance. These terms were accepted, and they marched away, no fewer than 240,000 men, with their families and all their possessions, through the desert to Syria. As, however, they feared the Assyrians, who then ruled Asia, they built a city in the land now called Judæa, large enough to accommodate their numbers, and gave it the name of Jerusalem." It is clear that we have here a description of the Biblical Exodus of Israel from Egypt, as seen from another point of view. Criticism is as yet unable to decide whether Manetho related the story as it stands, or is responsible for that part of Josephus's version which identifies the Shasu with the Israelites. Some modern German scholars have come to the conclusion that the Israelites were never in Egypt at all, but in another country of the same name—Musri or Mitsraim—in Northern Arabia. The Musri theory and its pendant, the Jeahmeel theory of Professor Cheyne, have already passed in the minds of the archæologists and historians, if not yet entirely in those of the textual critics of the Old Testament, to the limbo of exploded fallacies. That the Misraim to which the Israelites went was Egypt, the Nile valley, is evident from the Biblical description, and we cannot doubt that the account of the Exodus, though of course written from the Jewish standpoint alone, and therefore open to criticism, also describes an historical event, an exodus from Egypt. Modern opinion seems to be veering most decidedly in the direction of accepting the statement of Manetho as given by Josephus, and regarding the identification of the Hebrews with the Shepherds of Manetho as correct in its main features. This was the conclusion arrived at by the patristic writers in accordance with the general testimony of tradition. It seems highly probable that the Pharaohs who were favourable to Joseph and the Israelites were Hyksos, and that after the expulsion of the latter by Aahmes, the "Pharaoh who knew not Joseph," followed the Oppression and finally the Exodus, probably in the reign of Thothmes I., or Thummosis. The occurrence of the name "Raamses" as one of the store-cities built during the oppression may be ascribed to a later stratum of the story, derived from knowledge of the "land of Goshen" in the time of the nineteenth dynasty B.C. when the Rameses ruled. Israel as a national name has as yet been found only once in an Egyptian inscription, and that belonging to the reign of Meneptah, who was till lately considered by some authorities to be the "Pharaoh of the Exodus." However, as we shall see later, the inscription in question implies that the Israelites were already settled in Palestine during the reign of this king. To assume that they were a branch of the race already in Palestine before the main Exodus is unnecessary if we identify the Exodus with the expulsion of the Hyksos.

The Exodus to Judæa

Israel in Egypt

With the expulsion of the Hyksos Manetho brings the seventeenth dynasty to an end. According to his table Aahmes figures as the last king of the Middle and the first king of the New Empire.



A CONTEMPORARY MODEL OF A COMPANY OF ANCIENT EGYPTIAN INFANTRY



THE NEW EMPIRE

THE RISE OF EGYPT AS A MILITARY POWER

WHAT the Asiatic inroads and immigrations of earlier ages had failed to accomplish was brought to pass by the Hyksos. After their expulsion the kingdom of Egypt for centuries assumed a military character, which for a time it was able to maintain. Probably the kings of the Middle Empire who extended their supremacy over Nubia and the oases had not hesitated to invade the land of Canaan, nothwithstanding its greater power of resistance. Even during the days of the Old Empire fortresses of that country had been stormed and captured by Egyptian troops. But it was only under exceptionally favourable circumstances that the Egyptians could permanently overawe foreign powers, for their military forces consisted of the nucleus formed by the king's feeble palace guards, the contingents levied by the various nomarchs and the auxiliaries obtained from Nubian subject tribes who had been employed at an earlier period, but could be sent into battle only under the strictest supervision. The contingents of the nomes were never more than armed peasants, whose sole incitement of bravery was the knowledge that if they broke and fled in the midst of a foreign country they would never see their homes again. On the other hand, a hostile army, when once it had crossed the Egyptian frontier, could safely count upon a sudden attack of homesickness among the native militia—an affection which was apt to become uncontrollable at the beginning of a battle. Now, however, about the year 1580, the monarchy of the restored empire possessed a new weapon in the war chariot and a professional soldiery composed of a class, for the moment numerous, who had lost their possessions and their means of livelihood during the long war of liberation; to these were to be added emancipated slaves who had lost their masters. The stronger, however, the New Empire became, the more rapidly did this last class of soldiers diminish. It was, moreover, impossible to replace them by native recruits, to the extent of maintaining a strong standing army. The agricultural character of the Egyptian state, which in earlier centuries had necessitated recourse to Nubian auxiliaries in time of war, was incompatible with such a system of organisation. The tribes of the south of Wadi Halfa, the "Nine bows," were incorporated by Thutmosis III., and soon became the only true regiments of the line. About the year 1400 the soldiers of the Pharaoh were known to the Syrian subjects of the empire simply as "archers," or *pidati*. The *pidati* and war chariots were the king's sole material for any display of force.

The New Soldiery

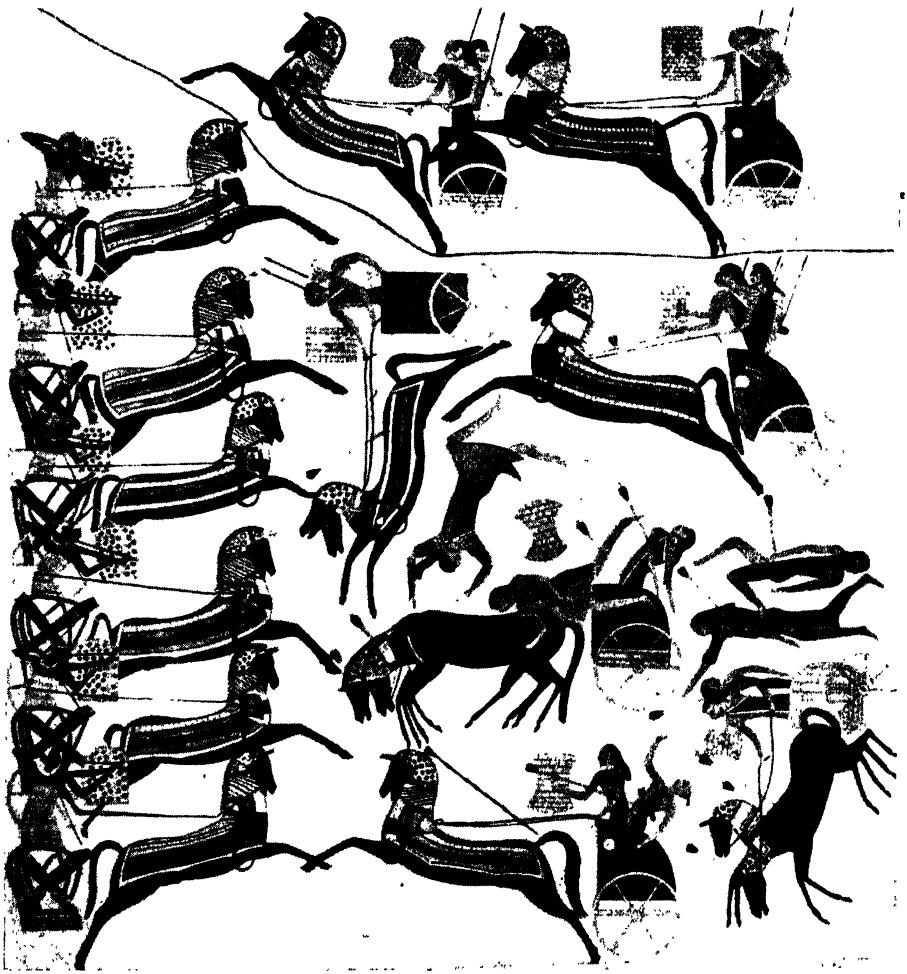
Agriculture Versus Militarism

If, however, the Pharaoh wished more particularly to spread the terror of his name, he sent out the "Shardana"—apparently the people who gave their name to Sardinia. Possibly their main settlements lay even then on the African coast opposite. They were soldiers of fortune who had been enlisted in detachments under the eighteenth dynasty. The Ramessides made no attempt to conceal the fact at a later period that these mercenaries were really Egypt's best soldiers. This reputation they can be proved to have gained among the Asiatics as early as the reign of Amenhotep III., and probably earlier under Thothmes III., or even before his time. Armed with long swords and great round shields with double handles, heavy coats of mail and large metal helmets, decorated with the crescent of the moon and the ball of the sun, sometimes also bearing dagger and javelin, the favourite tactics of the Shardana were to scatter the enemy by charging in close formation. That such an effect could be produced by an infantry attack was, even to a late period, unknown to the tacticians of Oriental armies. Of less reputation during the eighteenth dynasty were the Libyan auxiliaries. It was not until a

The Regular Army

later period that the Libyan tribes of the Kehak and the Mashawasha entered the service of the Pharaohs in any great number. As long as the New Empire was secure the rulers were cautious about employing the services of these border neighbours. The increased numbers of Libyans in the armies of King Rameses II. is a certain sign of weakness ; in fact, the time was then by no means far distant when Libyan mercenary commanders were to usurp the Egyptian throne. The prisoners of war and their descendants, called "Matjoi," after a Nubian tribe, also deserve mention. The organisation of the national forces would naturally have continued on a separate basis in war as well as in peace. It is obvious, however, that the formation of combined bodies of troops was frequently ordered in battle to meet a sudden necessity. It may be gathered from the best of the official reports that it was not considered desirable to make mention of victories won by the national militia. Similarly, when the king was present at a victory, there is one chariot only, his own, the advance of which puts the enemy to flight.

The reign of King Aahmes, who lived to be about forty years of age, is, in other



THE CHARGE OF THE CHARIOTS OF WAR IN ANCIENT EGYPT

Until the days of the New Empire Egypt had no army worthy of its importance, but about 1560 B.C. a professional soldiery was organised, and a new and important weapon, the war-chariot, introduced. From a temple painting.



THE MERCENARY SOLDIERS WHO SPREAD THE TERROR OF PHARAOH'S NAME

The most formidable soldiers of the organised army of the New Empire were the Shardana mercenaries, armed with long swords, shields, coats of mail, and metal helmets, sometimes also bearing dagger and javelin.

respects, not very rich in memorials. His mummy was discovered in the shaft of Der el-Bahari. Like that of Seknen-Ra his head was not shaven, as was usual among civilians and priests, but has long curls, as befitted a warrior; on campaigns the Egyptians seem to have let their hair grow, and professional soldiers no doubt "wore their own hair," in eighteenth century phrase, and not wigs like the civilians.

The relations of Aahmes to the members of his family seem to have differed from those of the other Pharaohs. It appears that in the second half of his reign a change in the succession was introduced to the disadvantage of the king's brothers and sisters and their descendants. This dated from the time when Aahmes shared the throne with the queen Aahmes-Nefertari, when she and her children were shown special preference. The ecclesiastical dignity of a "woman of god" of Amon at Thebes was in all probability created specially for her. Finally, she and her son Amenhotep I. (or Amenophis) became objects of worship, and were practically canonised, as Neb-hapet-Ra Mentahotep had been before; he with Aahmes Nefertari and her son Amenhotep were regarded as gods of the dead in the Theban necropolis. This, not Ethiopian blood, is the reason why they are often represented in tombs with black or greenish-blue faces, like the god Osiris. Amenhotep I. (also rendered Amenophis),

Early Days of the New Empire

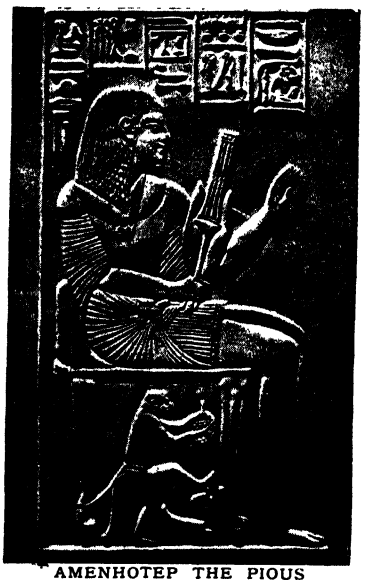
about 1560 B.C., began his reign with a campaign against Kush, "in order to extend the boundaries of Egypt." Of this undertaking we have an account on the walls of the tomb of Aahmes of Nekheb.

Little information has come down to us regarding the life of Amenhotep I. Neither the civilisation nor the traditions of a new empire had attained their coming development in his days. The first attempts were even then being made, starting from the basis of twelfth dynasty civilisation, to develop upon Egyptian lines the new habits and progress introduced by the Hyksos. Perhaps it was his success in this direction which raised the memory of Amenhotep I. to the high honour in which it was held in later times, an honour really due to his father. He was probably a very pious person like his mother, and assiduous in venerating the gods; we can well imagine that it was he who founded the fortunes of the mighty priesthood of Amon at Thebes, and received in return the honour of a very special apotheosis after his death. We know that he began the magnificent buildings which have been made the great temple of Amon at Karnak, the wonder of the world. His successor, Thothmes I., has left us two copies, one supplementing the other, of the formal announcement of his accession, sent to the "Prince of Kush," the Egyptian viceroy of Nubia. It runs as follows: "Royal command to Turo, the prince and governor of the south land. Behold this royal command is brought to thee, telling thee that my Majesty, who lives in happiness and health, is to be crowned king eternal and without equal on the Horus throne of the living. But my names shall be: (1) Horus, the strong bull, beloved of the god [of truth] Maat; (2) the uniter of both lands [Upper and Lower Egypt], crowned with the royal snake, the powerful one; (3) the golden Horus, with years of plenty [that is, the future years of his reign] cheering all hearts; (4) the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkara; (5) the son of the god Ra, Thothmes [the first], who lives omnipresent and eternal. Now bring offerings to the gods (of Kush), with votive sacrifices for the life, welfare, and health of the king Aakheperkara, the

A Pious King

one inspired with life; let oaths be taken by the name of my Majesty, who lives in happiness and health, born of the royal mother Senseneb, with whom all is well. This is written for thine instruction; know that the house of the king is prosperous and secure. Given on the twenty-first day of the third winter month in the year 1, on the day of the coronation feast." Of the five names here assumed by the new ruler, Thothmes I., the first three were probably employed only in connection with the ritual; the fourth is the official fore-name as king used in correspondence with foreign powers; finally, the fifth is the personal name, which chiefly occurs on the monuments, and has consequently remained the historical designation for this as for all other kings. In cases of identical names, which are rather the rule than the exception, the Egyptians were accustomed to avoid confusion by the addition of the fore-name. The fore-name of Thothmes I., Aakheperkara, was probably pronounced something like "Okhpirkeria." His own name, Thothmes, was probably pronounced "Thutmases," and that of his father, Amenhotep (Greek, Amenothes), "Amanhatpe." That Amenhotep I. had already invaded Asia at the head of an army more than once may be concluded from various historical representations. The presence of Thothmes I. was, however, first demanded in Nubia, where the chiefs refused to take the required oaths. The king then turned upon the enemy in Asia. It seems that the tribute due to Egypt had not been paid. Two short references of King Thothmes III. to this war contain among other things the proof that his predecessor advanced almost to the Euphrates.

An Accession Proclamation



AMENHOTEP THE PIOUS
One of the early kings of the New Empire, who was afterwards worshipped as divine.

It was probably with the Iranian kingdom of Mitani, between Euphrates and Tigris, that the dynasty carried on its struggle for Syria. The blow dealt by Thothmes I. in this region apparently led to the conclusion of a peace in terms favourable to himself. The Kushites were more obstinate; before he had reigned three years the king was again forced to set out "to crush the miserable Kush." On this occasion the value of his greater military experience made itself manifest. The measures taken by the great conqueror of the Ethiopians, Senusret III., were resumed, for Thothmes I. not only reinforced the frontier garrisons of Semneh and Kummeh, but also reopened to navigation the canal through the first cataract.

Thothmes I., who, like Amenhotep I., added to the buildings of Karnak and raised on the western side of Thebes the oldest parts of the temple of Medinet Habu, reigned only thirteen years. As if he had had some premonition of his premature death, he made arrangements for the succession which he hoped would satisfy the most varied claims that could be raised. Sethe, Professors Naville, and Breasted have thoroughly investigated the special questions arising out of these regulations. However, the genealogy and order of succession from the death of Amenhotep I. to the beginning of the sole rule of Thothmes III. is still somewhat obscure. In the first place, it is unknown whether Thothmes I. was the son or son-in-law of Amenhotep I.; in the latter case, his right to the succession was probably derived from his marriage with Queen Aahmes, or Amensat, the heiress to the kingdom. Thothmes I. was succeeded by Thothmes II., whose half-sister Hatshepsut was first co-regent with him during their father's life, then queen-consort, and then again queen-consort with the successor Thothmes III.—who was probably their half-brother, but possibly their son.

Succession of the Thothmes

Our information concerning Thothmes II. is but scanty. If the obscure but boastful testimony of a rock inscription

near Assouan can be trusted, he gained brilliant victories over both the Nubian Khentnefer and also over the Asiatics. The fact of a war against the Ethiopian races is indirectly confirmed by our knowledge of improvements made in the fortress at Semneh and elsewhere. The most ancient parts of the temple of Der el-Bahari were also begun by this king. His activities, however, were brought to a close by his premature death. The mummy of Thothmes II. gives the impression that the king had succumbed to a severe illness. Though he was but thirty years of age, the head is almost entirely bald, and the features are strangely sunken. He cannot have reigned longer than ten years (1513 to 1503 B.C.).



THOTHMES I.
His campaigns in Nubia, Asia and Ethiopia were most successful. From a wall-painting at Der el-Bahari, by permission of the Egypt Exploration Fund.

Hatshepsut, as sole real ruler, in effect completed the temple of Der el-Bahari—Thothmes III. was a mere boy—where the wall-paintings are of much importance both for the history of the period and for the development of its art. The most interesting of these designs has for its subject the great expedition which Hatshepsut sent out in the ninth year of her reign to Punt. Eight ships sailed through the Red Sea and returned loaded to the yards. The arrival of the treasures of the land of incense, which had been gained by bartering Egyptian metal products, and especially weapons, gave occasion to festivities and military displays at Thebes, at which Thothmes III. modestly appeared as a priest of Amon. The queen, who preferred her portraits drawn with a beard and in male costume, showed a decided preference for all public ceremonies calculated to display the greatness of her power.



THOTHMES II.
From a photograph of the head of his mummy, now 2,400 years old.

Under Hatshepsut we also find traces of favouritism. "The grand nurse"—that is, the tutor of the Princess Nefrura, a certain Senmut—was made "great in both countries" though of humble origin. The queen erected two massive obelisks in Karnak in the sixteenth year of her reign, and died about 1491 B.C. She was originally buried in an extraordinary tomb excavated to a great depth in the cliffs of the Biban el-Muluk. It descends into the mountain in the form of a corkscrew, the excavators having sought in vain to find rock hard enough for a good tomb-chamber to be made. The masonry had disappeared, nothing being found but the sarcophagi of the queen and of Thothmes I. and II. Whether they had originally been buried here with her, and not in their own tombs, is uncertain. The work of excavating this tomb, carried out by Mr. Howard Carter, then chief inspector of antiquities at Thebes, for Mr. Theodore M. Davis, of Newport, R.I., was of the most arduous character, the air, owing to the great depth and confined area of the tunnel, having been very bad. We hear nothing more of the Princess Nefrura, whom she destined for her successor, and Senmut also disappears from history. The names of both Hatshepsut and Senmut were effaced from the monuments by Thothmes III. These measures, however, were unable to hide the fact that the change

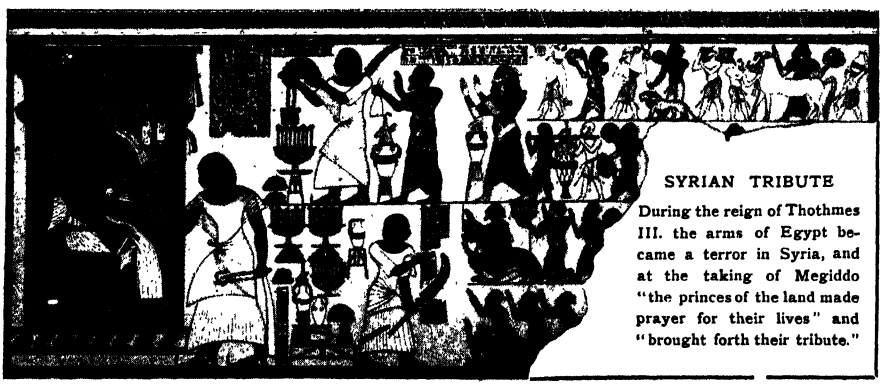
in the succession had been accompanied by violence. The power of the empire must have declined in the foreign provinces, especially in Syria, and could be restored only by the removal of the queen. The existence of a victorious commander, whether Thothmes or another, would have been a constant menace to her power.



KUSHITE TRIBUTE TO THE EGYPTIAN CONQUEROR

Thothmes III. was one of that rare class of sovereigns whose successes are due to a temperate conception of their duties and to a capacity for energetic action at the proper moment. He had been obliged from his earliest youth to submit in silence to all governmental measures, whether he approved of them or not. His task as a politician, the restoration of Egyptian prestige abroad, was clearly marked out before him; but a less tenacious character would probably have been well content with the frontiers which were found sufficient by Rameses II. in later years. This little man with the coarse features—as we know them from his mummy—until now the stepchild of his house, may well have been the hope of the military leaders, old and young, who during the last years of Hatshepsut must have counted on his antipathy to the empty splendours of her rule. Nor were they deceived. It is certain that Thothmes III., who at first may have had little or no knowledge of war, depended greatly upon the advice of experienced leaders. On the monuments the king is naturally represented as guiding all things by himself alone. But, on the other hand, the Harris papyrus in London, a collection of legends and fairy tales, begins among other tales the story of the general, Thutia, who is said to have captured the city of Jaffa for his king, Thothmes III., in a marvellous manner. He is represented as having made use of the king's magic wand, and by its spells to have enclosed 200 Egyptian warriors within earthen jars. These were then taken into Jaffa without suspicion and placed in the magazines. The Egyptians left their hiding-place, bound the Syrian garrison with cords, and handed over the place to the king. However, the general, Thutia, was a historical personage, and can be proved to have served under Thothmes III.; valuable objects from his tomb have been transferred to various museums.

The arms of Egypt were a terror in Asia long after the period of Thothmes III., and Syria at length became convinced that the military power of the Nile countries under the terrible "Manakhpirria" (Men-kheper-Ra Thothmes) was not lightly to be withstood. On the northern wall of the wing added by the king to the temple of Amon at Karnak was set up a



SYRIAN TRIBUTE

During the reign of Thothmes III. the arms of Egypt became a terror in Syria, and at the taking of Megiddo "the princes of the land made prayer for their lives" and "brought forth their tribute."

connected narrative of his campaigns and of the tribute which he levied. This monumental history of the campaigns of Thothmes III. is usually known as his "annals"—an appropriate term, in so far as it is designed or written on the model of the annals of the Babylonian kings. The events of the king's twenty-third year are related in the dry manner of an annalist, but the first campaign forms a connected literary whole, in which the course of events is clearly developed.



THOTHMES III.
A sovereign of rare capacity and character. From a colossal statue of the king.

It records the advance to Megiddo. In sight of the town order was given for the troops to draw up in line of battle. "His Majesty, in the panoply of war, ascended the chariot of gold and silver. Like was he unto Horus the dispenser of power, and to Month of Thebes [the god of war]; his father Amon gave him strength. The right wing of the army rested on a hill south of the brook Kina; the left wing extended to the north, west of Megiddo. His Majesty remained in the centre; at the head of his army he stood high above all. When thus the enemy saw him, they made all speed to fly to Megiddo, and left behind them their horses and their chariots ornamented with silver and gold." An account of the siege of Megiddo follows. "His Majesty made poclamation to the army: 'If ye take Megiddo speedily, I shall be beneficent as Ra; for therein are the chiefs of all the rebellious towns, and to conquer Megiddo will be to conquer a thousand towns at once." Finally, "the princes of this land came forth with their followers. They kissed the earth before his Majesty, and made prayer for their lives. They brought forth their tribute [which they had previously refused], and the king ordered the government anew." The military equipment of the Syrians was excellent; among other spoils 924 chariots and more than 200 shirts of mail of the best workmanship are mentioned.



TRIBUTE FROM THE PHŒNICIAN ARVADITES
Thothmes III. made two great campaigns in Syria, and in the second captured Arvad, which, however, rebelled, and had to be reconquered.

The description of the terror with which Thothmes III inspired his enemies when he appeared in battle is representative of the typical method of conceiving such events in Egyptian art. The capture of Megiddo was a signal success, and must have entirely changed the low esteem in which the power and self-reliance of the Egyptian king had hitherto been held. The king's assertion that the capture of that town, in which the majority of Assyrian rebels were gathered, would cause the fall of thousands of others was not altogether an exaggerated statement. A list of towns in Karnak contains several hundred names. The neutral Asiatic princes also came over by degrees. The prince of Assur or Assyria, then a ruler of no particular importance, was the first to introduce the custom of exchanging gifts with Egypt. The first mention of the Assyrians in an Egyptian document dates to the preceding reign, that of Hatshepsut, when the name of an Assyrian slave was recorded at Der el-Bahari. Fresh campaigns were necessary to convince the districts south of Lebanon of their obligations of obedience to Egypt. In the twenty-ninth year of the king, a date that can be fixed by the Karnak inscriptions, it appears that a great war against the Iranian kingdom of Naharina, or Mitani, situated athwart the Euphrates, from the Orontes to the Tigris, was the result of these expeditions. The fortress of Tunip, north of Damascus, was conquered and

dedicated to the sun-god. Subsequently the Phœnician Arvad or Aradus was captured, and treated with such severity that the inhabitants immediately revolted. Consequently, in the following year operations became necessary for the reconquest of Arvad and of Sumur, which was situated to the south of this town. This victory had been preceded by the fall of Kadesh, on the Orontes, which, however, shortly afterward again became a centre of resistance. On this occasion Amenemheb, a young comrade of the king, who became a general at a later period, appears for the first time. On this campaign he made two prisoners, and was decorated in consequence. His tomb in Thebes is ornamented with an abstract of his recollections of war, which, although somewhat confused, contain interesting references to several minor campaigns, of which, however, the dates are unknown. In the course of the next few years Thothmes made only a few short visits to Thebes in order to pay his thanks to Amon, his father's god, for the wealth which flowed to him from the spoils and the tribute of the conquered. Most of his time was spent in long, and not always successful, campaigns, in the prosecution of which he displayed a rare constancy of purpose. In the thirty-third year of his reign the Egyptians advanced to the Euphrates, to the point where Thothmes I. had set up his memorial stone, and erected a new monument in the same place. The city of Nii, situated somewhat to the north of Aleppo, surrendered, after a Phœnician army sent to its relief had been defeated beneath its walls. Thothmes III. made this town his headquarters for a time and erected another inscription. From the names of those countries which sent tribute and presents at the end of the year it can be inferred that an armistice had been entered into by Thothmes and the kingdom of Naharina. The king imposed such conditions upon his conquered enemies that any show of hesitation on the part of the governor of a town or district, no matter how loyal he might seem, might be construed as indicative of double dealing. This vigorous prosecution of operations within his own sphere of interests proved so objectionable to the neighbouring ruler of the Mesopotamian lands that two years later he sent out another army to prevent the capitulation of Araana. But the Egyptians were finally successful, and peace was at last made in the king's fortieth year, about 1460 B.C..



"CLEOPATRA'S" NEEDLE
Erected by Thothmes III. at Heliopolis, removed to Alexandria by Cæsar, and finally set up in London on the Thames Embankment.

The enemy beyond the Euphrates at once began carefully to consider whether some spark was not to be found which might be fanned into a conflagration. In the forty-second year of his reign Thothmes III. once more, and for the last time, appeared in Asia with an army. First "his Majesty took the way along the coast in order to chastise the town of Irkata," a community in the north of Phœnicia. Tunip also seems to have been in a state of revolt. Kadesh, on the Orontes, however, was the centre of resistance. The siege was interrupted by a battle and a victory over a relief force from Naharina, and ended with the crossing of the moats and storming of the city. The king presented large scarabs, bearing inscriptions in his honour as conqueror of Kadesh, to all who were present at the siege or took part in the festival of victory held in Thebes. At this

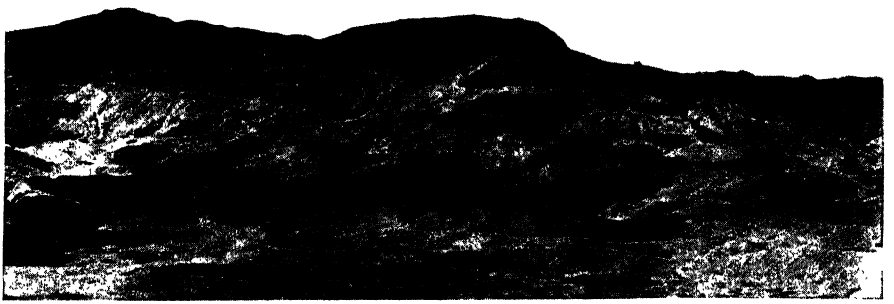


THE MUMMY OF THOTHMES III. AFTER 3,300 YEARS
Thothmes III., a little man of coarse features, as we know from his mummy, was a ruler whose successes were due to a temperate conception of his duties and energetic action at the right moment.

point the Karnak inscriptions come to an end. We know only that Thothmes visited Nubia once again in his fiftieth year and terrified some dissatisfied tribes into submission. An extremely fine monument to commemorate this victory, inscribed with the indispensable poetical formulæ of adulation, was set up in a special position in Karnak. Amon-Ra is here represented as addressing the king: "I give to thee power and victory over all peoples. I set thy spirit and the fear of thee over all countries, and the dread of thee goeth to the four pillars of the heaven. I make thy power great in all bodies. I make thy shout to pursue the people of the nine bows. The great of all lands are joined together in thy hand. I, even I, raise my arm and bind them for thee. I

Influence of Sea-power on History

III.) at Thebes. In these tomb-paintings we see the Minoan chiefs of Crete marching in procession, carrying precious vases as gifts, just as they are represented in their own fresco-paintings in the palace of Cnossos in Crete, excavated by Dr. Arthur Evans. They appear as tall, slim-waisted, dark men with long, wavy black hair hanging below their waists or knotted on the top of their heads, like their successors the "long-haired Achaians," just as they represented themselves on the frescoes of Cnossos, the steatite vases from Agia Triada, or the golden cups of Vaphio. Crete escaped real tribute because the Egyptians had as yet no seagoing fleet; we have here one of the earliest instances of the "influence of sea-



A LONELY VALLEY OF THE DEAD: THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS AT BIBAN EL-MULUK

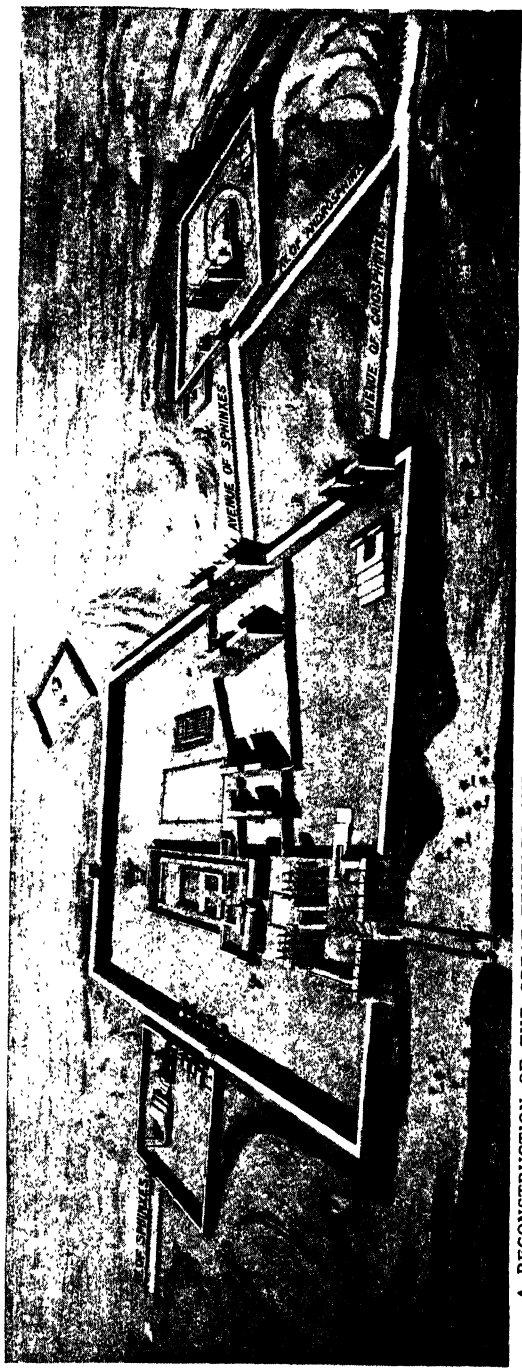
Thothmes I. abandoned the use of small pyramids and introduced a new royal sepulchre, causing his tomb to be tunnelled into the cliffs in the desert valley west of Thebes. Similar burial places were constructed there by his successors.

gather together the Ethiopian nomads for thee as living prisoners by tens of thousands and the inhabitants of the north by hundreds of thousands." And so on for ten symmetrical stanzas, which tell us, among other things, how the renown of the king had spread even to the isles of the Mediterranean, which may well have feared lest the attention of the great conqueror should be turned in their direction. But though Cyprus (Yantinay or Yatnan) sent tribute, being too near Palestine to escape wholly, Crete (Kefti) did no more than send complimentary embassies with presents, as it had done in the peaceful days of Hatshepsut. We have representations of these embassies of the Cretan "Keftiu" in the tombs of Senmut (reign of Hatshepsut) and Rekhmara (reign of Thothmes

Tribute from Cyprus

power on history." The land of Asya, or Alasya, sometimes considered to be Cyprus, but more probably on the Cilician coast, sent regular tribute as a subject ally.

Egypt had now for the first time become so nearly a military state that the learned classes were alarmed. It would have been neither wise nor grateful for them to have complained during the lifetime of the great conqueror. The wealth of Asia was distributed with great liberality by Thothmes III., but Amon, the god of Thebes and of the royal house, was favoured above all other recipients. With a premonition of the danger liable to result from such excess of favour, the king turned his attention to the other temples upon the conclusion of his campaigns—as, for instance, at Heliopolis.



A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE GREAT TEMPLES AND SACRED ENCLOSURES OF THEBES BUILT DURING TEN DYNASTIES

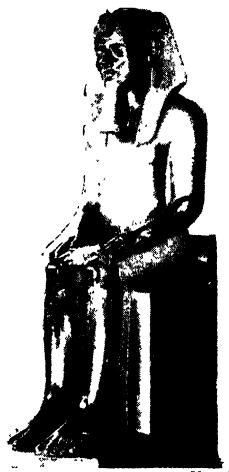
Nevertheless, the dislike of the learned classes of Egypt to their soldier king may have found expression lasting into after years; it seems that the recollection of him as a popular hero was carefully discouraged. At any rate, it can be demonstrated that the priests designedly avoided all mention of the name of Thothmes in later years. When Germanicus visited Karnak, in the year 19 A.D., an aged priest translated the annals to him literally, and named as their author "King Rameses."

Besides caring for Thebes and Heliopolis, Thothmes erected new buildings at Memphis and Dendera, the seat of Hathor. At Elephantine also an extensive sanctuary, the ruins of which were levelled in 1832, was erected or restored by Thothmes III. A few fragmentary inscriptions, rescued in later times, are of chronological importance for the calendar information they contain.

Much was done for Nubia, especially in Amada and Wadi Halfa. The tomb of the conqueror was not discovered until the year 1898, though his mummy had been found fifteen years earlier in its hiding-place at Der el-Bahari. So far as has yet been determined, it seems that Thothmes I. had introduced a new style of royal tomb; abandoning the use of the small detached pyramid with its vestibule, and a tunnel in the rock behind it, leading to the tomb-chamber, he caused his tomb to be tunnelled into the cliffs in the desert valley to the west of the Theban necropolis. Similar sepulchres communicating with the upper world by one door alone, without a pyramid or external chapel, were also constructed there by his successors, so that this lonely valley of the dead still bears the name of the "tombs of the kings" (Biban el-Muluk). Although the neighbouring subterranean tombs of the Ramessides were explored

long since, M. Loret discovered, in 1898, at a point then untouched, the shaft, sixty or seventy feet long, which led into the sepulchral chamber of Thothmes III. The walls of the innermost room, in which the sarcophagus stood, were covered with a painted tapestry of texts from the Book of the Dead. The entrance chamber was also ornamented with more than 700 images of the gods.

Very little is known of Aakheperura Amenhotep II., about 1450 to 1425 B.C. From the fragmentary remains of his inscriptions, and the biographical details given by his general, Amenemheb, we can only conclude that, as a warrior, Amenhotep II. ("Okhpruria") was no unworthy successor to the terrible "Manakhpirria." Hardly had he been crowned in Thebes when the news came that several of the Syrian provinces refused to send him the presents betokening their homage. The king suddenly appeared in Galilee, crossed the Orontes, utterly defeated a division of the enemy, and appeared before Nii, the gates of which town were immediately opened to him. At the conclusion of a campaign against the land of Takhisa, Amenhotep sent to Thebes the bodies of seven princes of that district, which were hanged by the legs from the bow of the king's ship, in accordance with the triumphal customs of the period; six of them were subsequently exposed upon the city walls, and the seventh corpse was sent on to Napata, or Gebel Barkal, in the Sudan.



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AMENHOTEP III., THE LION
Amenhotep III. worshipped himself, choosing the lion as his symbol

A movement of the Nubian tribes forced Amenhotep to advance as far south as the modern Khartum. No trace of Egyptian supremacy at this time has been found further south than Gebel Barkal, where two small figures of stone belonging to this period—Amenhotep is represented as presenting offerings of wine on his knees to the god Khnum—were dedicated. They were actually found much further south, in the Roman-Ethiopian temple of Ben-Naga, south of Shendi, to which they had been removed in later times.

Triumph in Syria

The tomb of Amenhotep II. is somewhat poor both in design and elaboration. In it were found the mummies of a man, a child, and a woman bound fast to wooden boats, apparently intended as companions of the king on his journey to the nether world — unless they were judicial victims of the privy court of the following king, Thothmes IV. They were placed in the tomb before the process of drying was completed, and one of them received in consequence a deep cleft in the skull, though this may possibly have been inflicted by a thief in later times. The mummy of Amenhotep II. was also found in the tomb, and with it the remains of seven other kings, which were laid in a side chamber about 1100 B.C., that they might escape the raids of plunderers, while the others were deposited in the shaft of Der el-Bahari.

In the Tomb of Amenhotep II.

With the accession of Menkheperura Thothmes IV., about 1425 to 1415, the reaction, which the non-military grandees had long desired and prepared, began to make itself felt. The class of "scribes" succeeded in making a change which had certainly not existed under Thothmes III. All the high positions of military command became their monopoly, and indeed were given to officials who were already in occupation of other posts. Thus, at the time of the Ramessides matters had come to such a pass that the "king's first charioteer," who also held the offices of ambassador and "chief of the foreign lands and peoples," proceeds in a poetical letter solemnly to dissuade his young subordinates from entering the "stable of the king" or the infantry. Officers of this type, who quite obviously thought only of the flesh-pots of Egypt in time of war, were certainly never willing to march to Syria, but preferred to open a career to foreign mercenaries on the Nile.

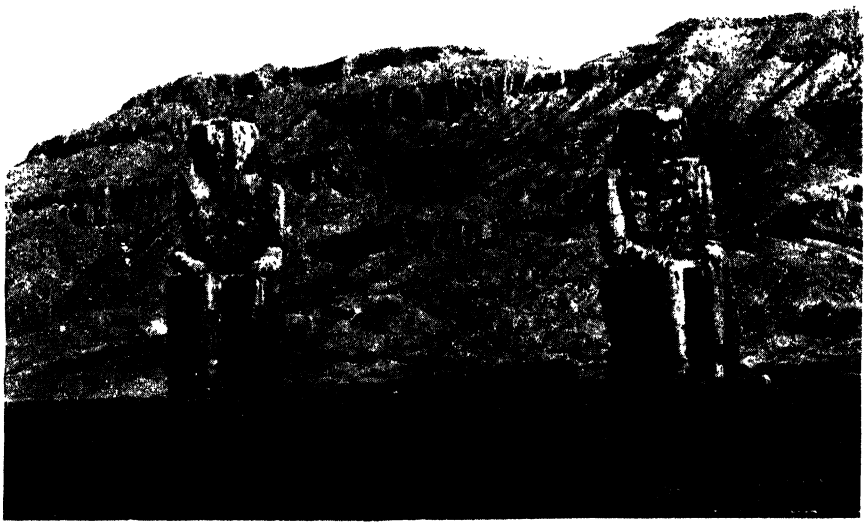
We find a similar phenomenon nowadays in China, where it is the man of books, who has passed the highest

examinations in learning, who rules, and though he may possess many military posts in title, in reality leaves the despised soldiering to the "Tartar generals" and the Manchus.

King Thothmes IV., who was not perhaps the chosen successor of his father, on ascending the throne immediately ordered the great sphinx at Gizeh to be cleared of the sand beneath which it had long been buried—the consequence of a dream of this pious monarch: vainly, however, since the monument was immediately covered again with the sand. The priestly class favoured the prince. But the time had not yet come for him to enjoy a peaceful reign. Thothmes IV. was first obliged to subdue the Ethiopian tribes, and also to reduce certain rebellious cities in Phœnicia to obedience; his campaigns, in fact, are said to have extended as far as Naharina on the north, and to the Nubian land of Kare on the south. Moreover, the generals of the old school of Thothmes III. and Amenhotep II. had not entirely passed away; to them belonged Menkhepru-Ra Meri-Amon, the "first of the commanders." The mummy of Thothmes IV., which was found in the tomb of his father, reveals him as a handsome young man, not thirty years old. We cannot divine the reason of his death at so early an age, after a reign of only nine years. His body shows no sign that he was murdered, so that in all probability he fell a victim to some sudden illness, which the Egyptian physicians had no real knowledge how to treat. Life in Oriental countries is often cut very short by ignorance both of sanitation and of therapeutics. Considering the shortness of his reign, many monuments to this king exist, and many scarabs bearing his name are found. His actual sepulchre, from which his body was removed to the tomb of Amenhotep II. in the time of the priest-kings, was discovered by Mr. Theodore M. Davis. The tomb was found to contain many remains of the royal funeral state; most especially worthy of notice being a chariot-body of embossed leather, decorated with representations of the sphinx trampling down Asiatic enemies; a piece of tapestry woven in colours, representing the royal cartouche on a ground, in heraldic language, *semée* of lilies and papyrus-flowers, like the fleurs-de-lis on the oriflamme of

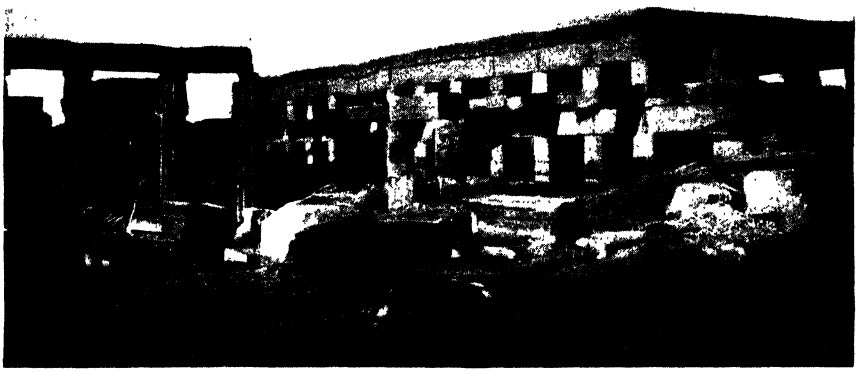
The Sphinx Uncovered

Royal Funeral State



THE FAMOUS "SPEAKING STATUES" OF MEMNON AT THEBES

These two colossal statues of Amenhotep III., known as Memnon, were famous in classical days for the vocal sounds they were supposed to emit at sunrise. They were 70 feet high, and were erected as warders of a temple of which not the slightest trace now remains. Another view, during an inundation of the Nile, is given on page 2018.



RUINS OF THE TEMPLE OF AMON, BUILT BY THOTHMES III. AT KARNAK 3,300 YEARS AGO
Thothmes III. spent much of the wealth gained in his Asiatic campaigns on temple building, and Amon of Thebes was favoured above all other gods. He also erected great sanctuaries at Heliopolis, Memphis, Dendera and Elephantine.

ancient France; and a collection of vases of a most wonderfully brilliant blue glazed faience. An interesting point with regard to this tomb is that it had evidently been violated even in the short time between the reign of its owner and that of Horemheb, probably in the period of anarchy which prevailed at Thebes during the reign of the heretic Akhenaten (Amenhotep IV.), for in one of the chambers is a hieratic inscription recording the repair of the tomb in the eighth year of Horemheb by Maya, superintendent of works in the Tombs of the Kings.

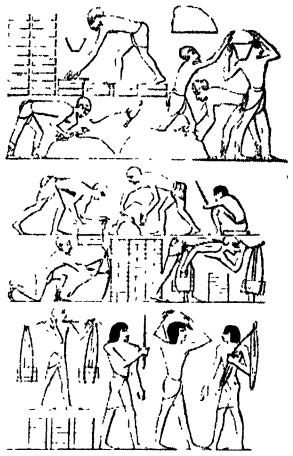
Thothmes IV. inaugurated a practice novel in the house of the Pharaohs. He married a foreign princess, the daughter of Artatama, king of Mitani, the already mentioned Iranian kingdom of Northern Mesopotamia. This princess was the mother, in all probability, of Amenhotep III., who during his reign showed peculiarities probably due to his half-Iranian origin, and handed them on in an exaggerated form to his half-mad son Amenhotep IV., or Akhenaten.

On the fertile soil of the western bank of the Nile, at Thebes, which is overflowed by the river in autumn, rise the two famous colossal sitting statues, one of which was supposed in the Roman period to give out a ringing sound at sunrise, and was known as the statue of "Memnon," a name which it has retained. The name of "Memnon" is derived from that of the erector of these statues, Amenothes, or Amenhotep III. (about 1415 to 1380), the son and successor of Thothmes IV., who ordered these stone images of himself, each of which is some seventy feet high, to be erected by his high official, Amenhotep, the son of Hapu, as warders of the gates of a new temple, which has now almost vanished. The legends of later times represent the king and his namesake, the wise son of Hapu, who "seemed to have a share in the divine being" by reason of his knowledge, almost as inseparable companions. The "prince and royal scribe," Amenhotep, who was subsequently permitted to build a private temple in the neighbourhood, and edified posterity as the author of magic litanies, was something more than a distinguished member of the circle of priests who assembled about the new king. We know of only one campaign undertaken



SCULPTURE OF QUEEN TEIE
The "Great Royal Consort" of Amenhotep III., who was worshipped for centuries as divine.

by Neb-maat-Ra—or "Nibmutria," evidently often pronounced "Nimmuria" or "Nimmuaria"—Amenhotep III. at the outset of his reign of thirty-six years; this was directed against Nubia. He posed as an Asiatic conqueror; probably he did not wish to allow this honourable claim to fall into disuse. The foreign policy of the kingdom was now directed to prevent any outbreak of war by paying over a portion of the money appropriated to military equipment in presents to the independent kings of the neighbouring states. There was, too, the further advantage that the custom enjoined the return of friendly gifts of this nature. Obviously, in times of peace intercourse of this kind between the courts had always existed. It is due only to chance that a large portion of the Egyptian archives recently brought to light, and known as the Tell el-Amarna tablets, should have belonged to the latter part of the reign of Amenhotep III., and to that of his successor. Nevertheless, in these clay tablets, written in cuneiform script and mostly in Babylonian Semitic, the general diplomatic language of that period, allusions have been found indicating the existence of less friendly relations in earlier reigns. King Tushratta of Mitani declares that a daughter of his grandfather, Artatama, had been given to Thothmes IV. only under compulsion, and in like manner his sister, Gilukhipa, had been sent to Amenhotep III. When, however, Tushratta himself gave his daughter, Tadukhipa, with a large dowry, to the ageing Egyptian king, he received a great quantity of gold in return, together with the assurance that a sufficiency of Egyptian gold would always be found in Mitani. The general connection shows that this hint was given with the object of obtaining a return of similar favours. However, contemporary letters from Assyria and the kingdom of Alashya prove that the great gifts of gold from Egypt to Mitani aroused the wonder and envy of all other nations. Consequently, Amenhotep III. must have abandoned the previous policy of intimidation in favour of an attempt to establish a community of interests. His mistake, however, soon became apparent. There is no doubt that the kings of Western Asia soon began to distrust one another as a result of their rivalry for the gold of the Pharaoh. Individual sovereigns immediately raised their demands higher and higher, so that toward the end of the reign of Amenhotep III. friendly relations, at any rate with Babylonia, had become somewhat strained. The drain upon the treasury caused by these continual gifts was probably the reason for the diminution in the presents received by the "brother" whose dominions were farthest from Egypt, Kadashmanbel of Babylonia. A pretext for this reduction was provided by his demand that the Egyptian king, who desired a Babylonian princess for his harem, should give one of his own daughters in return. The answer, that never yet had a royal princess of Egypt been given to anybody, quickly put a stop to this scheme of alliance by marriage. But the insulted ruler of Babylonia now demanded to know what had become of his sister who



CAPTIVES MAKING BRICKS
From the tomb of the chief architect of Thothmes III., showing foreign slaves making bricks for the temple at Thebes.



THE DIVINE QUEEN TEIE
Teie, the consort of Amenhotep III., was honoured as few queens before her, though, apparently, not of royal birth. Her name was always associated with the king's, and a temple was erected to her in her lifetime.

had previously been given in marriage to Amenhotep. The "reassuring" answer of the Pharaoh has been preserved in the original text. It is characterised throughout by a tone of derision and contempt, and no doubt the royal chief scribe at Thebes obtained his master's approval to the terms of his reply.

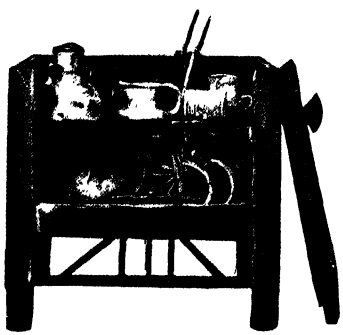


A LADY'S WIG
Worn about 3,500 years ago, when the Egyptians did not dress their own hair.

There are other letters of the time of Amenhotep III. preserved among these archives which came from Tarkhundaraush, king of Cilicia, and from the princes of the Khatti, or Hittites, who were now pressing southwards into Palestine. Tushratta refers to his wars with them when they helped his rebellious brother, Artashumara, against him. In all these letters the Egyptian king is referred to in terms of great deference, for he claimed to be what no Semitic ruler ever was considered—a living deity on earth. The "good god," as the Pharaohs had long been known to their subjects, made an advance toward deification under Amenhotep III., who began to worship himself, or more correctly his own soul in bodily shape; indeed, an extremely stately temple at Soleb, in Nubia, was specially devoted to the worship of its builder, who introduced himself in this case as the god of the country of Kush. As his symbol, the king chose the figures of lions couchant; their majestic expression and the artistic skill displayed in their execution aroused even then such general admiration that they were carried away by the Ethiopian king Amonasru to his residence, Napata. That the imagination of Amenhotep III. ran continually upon lions is shown by his preference for the lion-headed goddess Sekhmet, and also by a scarabæus of frequent occurrence bearing an inscription to the effect that the king had killed 102 lions in the first ten years of his reign. One of the figures at Soleb was named "Amenhotep III., the Strong Lion." Hitherto the bull had been regarded as a symbol of bodily strength. Buildings erected by King Amenhotep III. are numerous also in Egypt. In Memphis he built the oldest part of the Serapeum and entombed therein an Apis bull. Thebes, however, was chiefly benefited by his efforts. He enlarged the temple of Karnak on all sides, and first gave it the massive character it now bears. From the sacred lake Asher, constructed by Thothmes III. near Luxor, for a distance of over three-fourths of a mile northward he erected a series of new edifices connected by alleys of sphinxes. A road of sphinxes was also laid out from Karnak to Luxor. The main part of the temple of Amon at that spot, with its finely ornamented columns, was also built by this king. In one of the chambers the birth of the god-king is represented as an event which was accomplished only by virtue of the greatest exertions on the part of the gods. The tombs of many officials and private individuals who lived under the long reign of Amenhotep III. have been preserved. They supply no information of value beyond indicating that the art of ancient Egypt entered upon a really flourishing period under the eighteenth dynasty.

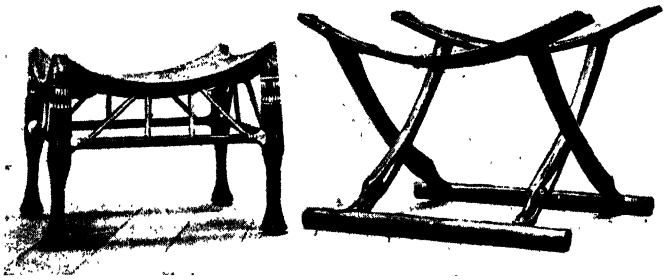


NECKLACE OF AN EGYPTIAN LADY OF THE TIME OF THOTHMES, 1500 B.C.
A fine example of ancient Egyptian jewellery, made of gold, carnelian, lapis lazuli, and felspar beads.



A TOILET TABLE 3,500 YEARS AGO
Containing vases of unguents, eye-paint, a comb, a bronze "shell" on which to mix the unguents, cushions, and a pair of sandals.

Princess Giiukhipa of Mitani, in spite of her royal birth, did not receive the rank of a "great royal consort"—that is, the rank of a reigning queen—and



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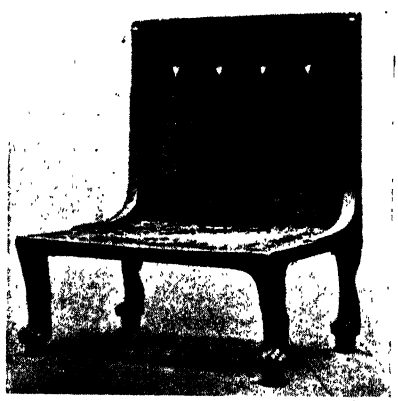
STOOLS USED AT THE TIME OF THE 18TH DYNASTY

The stool on the left is of ebony inlaid with ivory, while that on the right, with the legs ending in ducks' heads, was a folding stool and had a leather cover. Now in the British Museum.

her niece Tadukhipa fared no better at a later time; both found this position already occupied. Tu, or Teie, the daughter of one entitled Iuaa and his wife Tuyu, had anticipated all competitors, and was moreover honoured as few queens before her. Whenever there was a ceremony to be performed, the king associates the name of Teie with his own. She even shared in the increased divinity of the son of the sun, and a temple was erected to her at Sedeinga, not far from Soleb, in Nubia. The fact that her worship after death was continued under the Ramessides and at a later period, enables us to gain some idea of her popularity during her life. Mr. Theodore N. Davis, of Newport, R.I., has for several years been exploring the valley of the tombs of the kings and has there discovered the tombs of Hatshepsut and Thothmes IV.; he found also in 1905 the tomb of Iuaa and Tuyu, and in 1907 that of Teie. The queen's body was not found in the tomb, but instead of it the remains of a young man, who is quite possibly Akhenaten, her son, to whom the coffin certainly belonged. Evidently the burials of mother and son had been confused in the hurry of a probably secret removal. But we have compensation for the loss of the queen's body in the beautiful portraits and busts of her which formed the tops of some alabaster "canopic jars" found in the tomb, which show us a very beautiful face. Far different was the condition in which were found the mummies of her parents. The bodies of Iuaa and Tuyu are perfectly preserved, exhibiting very interesting Egyptian types. There is no real proof that Queen Teie and her parents were of non-Egyptian blood, though it has often been supposed that they were Mitanians. Whatever foreign blood there was in the royal family came, not from Teie, but from Amenhotep III. himself, who was probably half-Iranian in blood.

As in the tomb of Teie, gold was freely used on the objects discovered with the mummies of Iuaa and Tuyu. These consisted chiefly of most magnificent and beautiful examples of Egyptian cabinet-work—chairs, beds, and so forth. Many of the chairs remind us strongly of those of the period of the "First Empire" in France.

Soon after the arrival in Thebes of the young princess Tadukhipa, the king's health began to fail. He sent a request to his old friend Tushratta to send a statue of the goddess Ishtar of Nineveh to Egypt, probably to heal him. The "day of departure" apparently came upon him in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, about 1380 B.C., and his mummy remained for about three hundred years in the silent "valley of the kings."

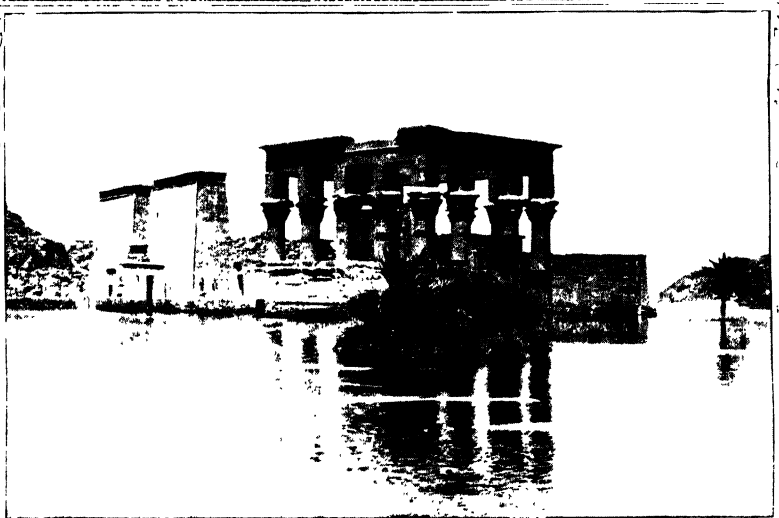


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EGYPTIAN CHAIR OF 3,500 YEARS AGO

There is little in modern furniture showing any great advance on this remarkable chair made about 1500 B.C.

EGYPT MAGNIFICENT IN RUIN



The past sacrinced to the present. Temples partly submerged as a result of damming the Nile.



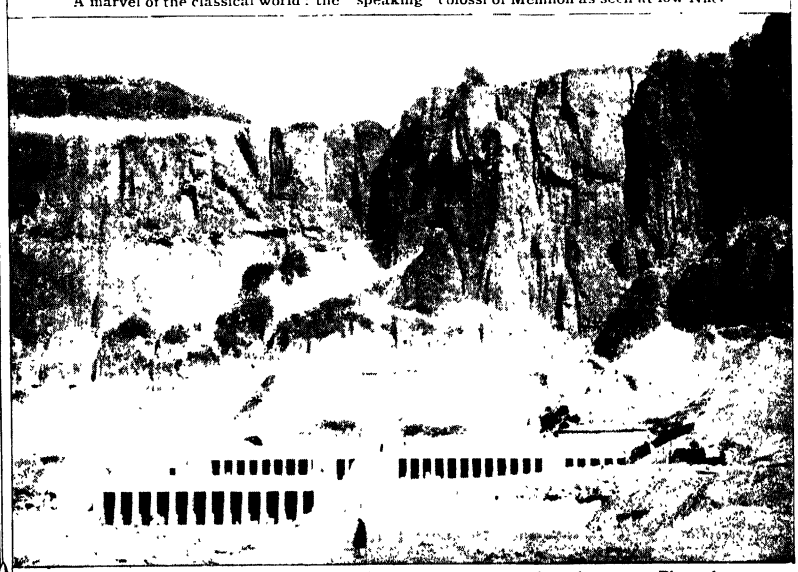
The magnificent Ptolemaic pylones as they appeared before the construction of the Nile Dam.

A TRIUMPH OF PTOLEMAIC ARCHITECTURE: THE TEMPLES OF PHILÆ

Nowhere in the world is there such a wealth o antiquities and well-preserved ruins of great age as in Egypt, owing to the dryness and invariability of the climate. In the following pages the difficult task has been attempted of selecting some of the more striking monuments of Egypt's ancient splendour.



A marvel of the classical world: the "speaking" colossi of Memnon as seen at low Nile.

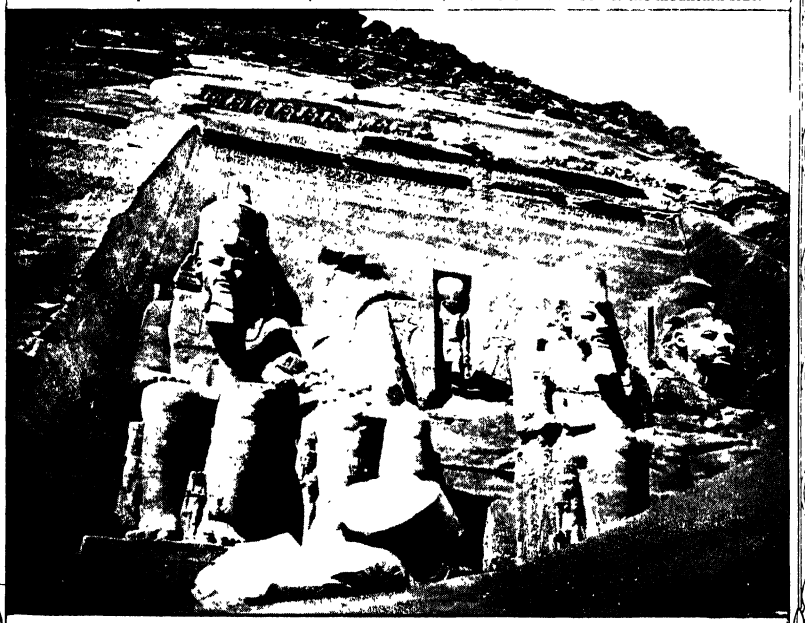


The great mountain temple at Der-el-Bahari built by Hatepshut, the woman Pharaoh.

THE GREAT COLOSSI AND THE ROCK-BUILT TEMPLES



Colossal sculptures of Rameses' temple at Abu Simbel, cut in the living rock of the mountain side.

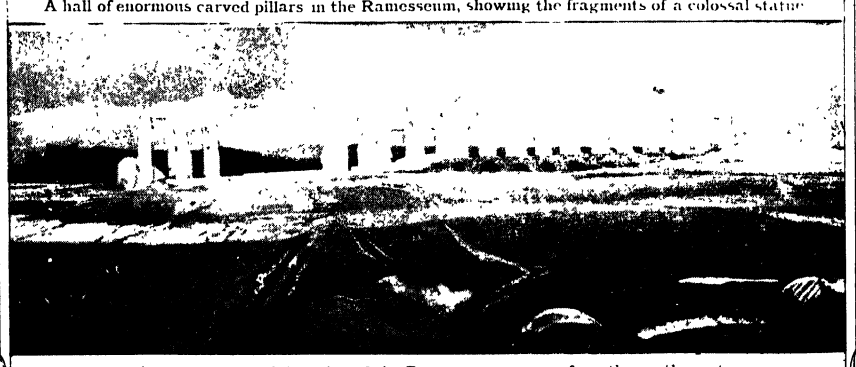


An entrance to the temple guarded by colossal statues of Rameses II., the builder.

EGYPT'S GREATEST TEMPLE, BUILT BY RAMESES II. AT ABU SIMBEL



A hall of enormous carved pillars in the Ramesseum, showing the fragments of a colossal statue

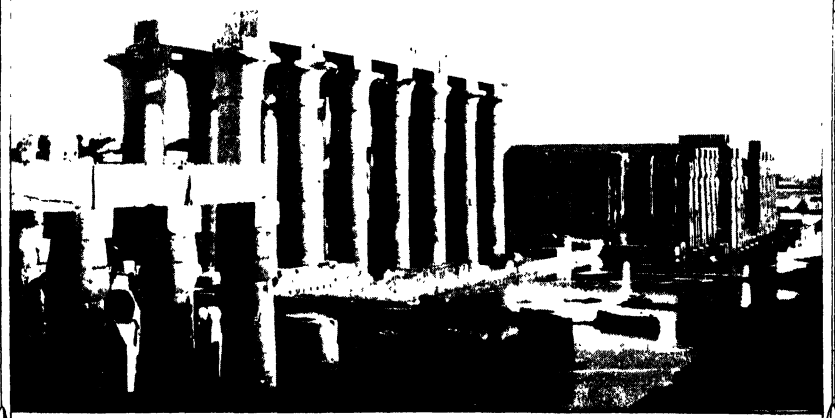


A general view of the ruins of the Ramesseum as seen from the north-west.

THE RAMESSEUM: RAMESES THE GREAT'S MONUMENT AT THEBES



Remains of a magnificent pillared portico guarded by colossi. An outer view of the same is given below.



The temple from the west as seen during the overflowing of the Nile.

TWO ASPECTS OF THE SPLENDID PILLARED TEMPLE AT LUXOR



An inner corridor of massive sculptured pillars.



Gateway of the temple, built by a Ptolemy

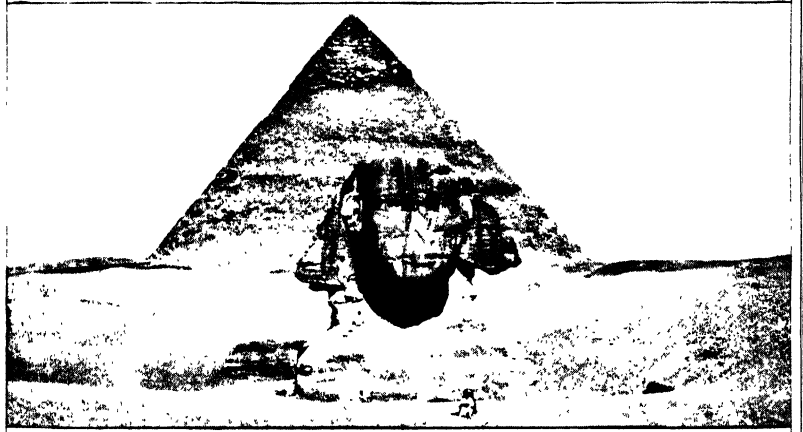


An interior view of the second court of the temple, showing the proportions of the immense stone pillars.

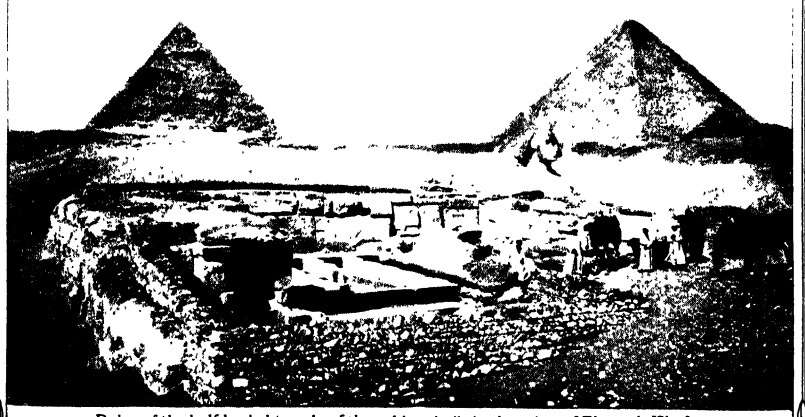
LATER ARCHITECTURE OF ANCIENT EGYPT: TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU



The sphinx, partly excavated, showing remains of a temple between its paws, now covered with sand.

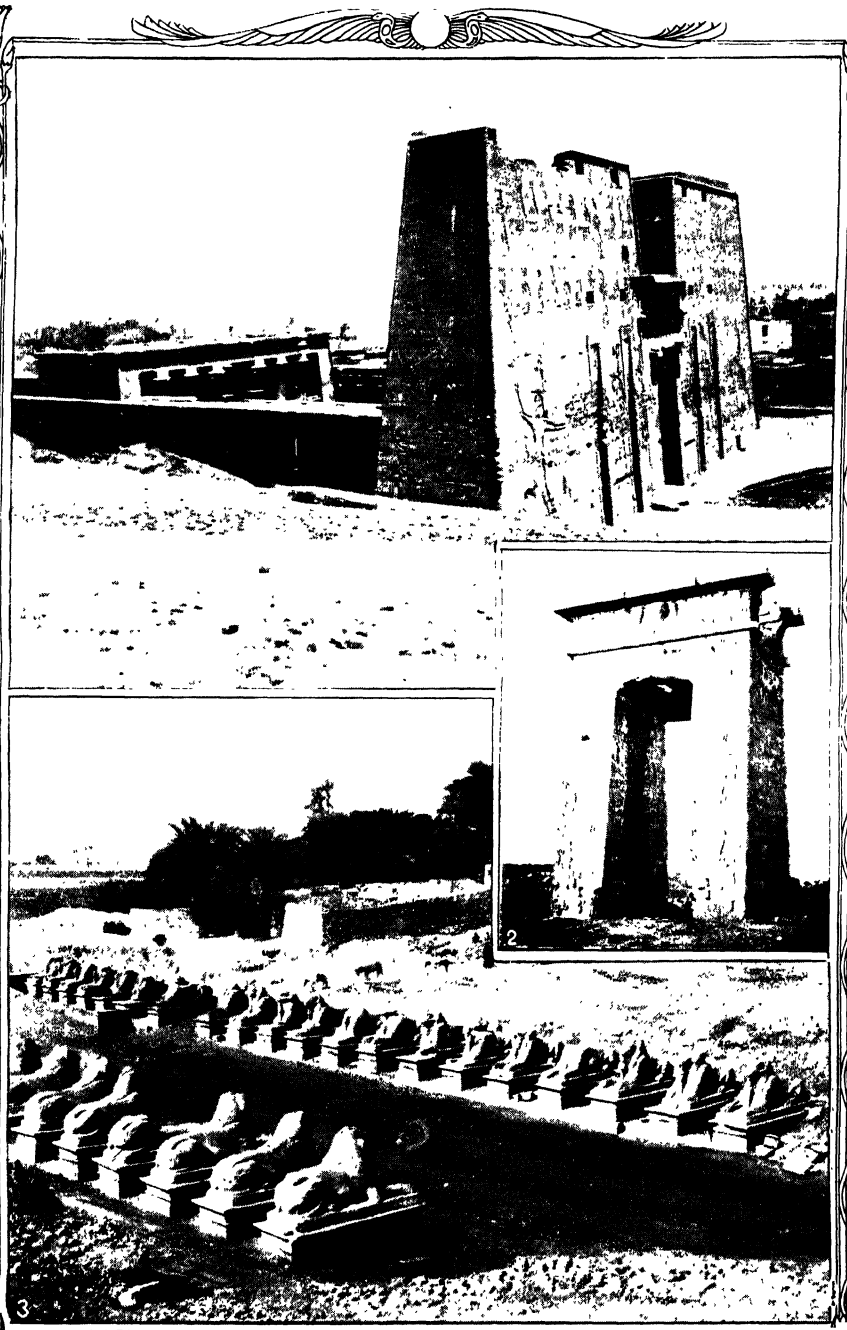


The sphinx and the great pyramid of Khafra, showing how the sphinx is again buried in sand.



Ruins of the half-buried temple of the sphinx, built in the reign of Pharaoh Khafra.

THE GREAT SPHINX, ONE OF EGYPT'S MIGHTIEST MONUMENTS



RICHNESS AND VARIETY OF EGYPTIAN ARCHITECTURE

The temple of Edfu (1) is one of the most impressive ruins in Egypt, and hardly less striking is the solitary pylone at Karnak (2), while the view of part of the remarkable Avenue of Sphinxes (3), one mile long, which ran from Luxor to Karnak, gives some idea of ancient Egypt's prodigality of sculpture.

This fine series of photographs is reproduced chiefly from the well-known originals of A. Beato, Luxor, and Bonfils, Beyrut



THE REIGN OF THE HERETIC KING

WITH AN ACCOUNT OF EGYPT'S RELIGIONS

ON the death of Amenhotep III. the accession of Amenhotep IV., the son of Teie, whose first name was Nefer-khepru-Ra—in the Amarna letters "Napkhuria" or "Napkhururia"—seems to have met with no serious opposition. The successor to his throne had apparently reached the age of manhood, and had long been fully prepared for this event. From the letters of foreign kings of the period it appears that it was not customary to take cognisance of the existence of a crown prince; hence Amenhotep III. cannot have promoted his son to the co-regency.

Equally scanty mention is made of Teie in previous correspondence with foreign powers. However, the lack of foresight displayed by Tushratta of Mitani in designating his daughter Tadukhipa as "mistress of Egypt" when he sent her to Amenhotep III. was now remedied on the occasion of this succession: Tushratta addresses Teie by this title, and the subordinate position of Tadukhipa who seems to have been handed on to the new king as a subordinate wife. The ill-will of the queen mother may have been aroused by difficulties in the harem excited by the pretensions of the daughter of the king of Naharina, and her displeasure may have been increased by Tushratta's importunate demands for gold. When this monarch attempted to extort money from the new Pharaoh on the doubtful pretext of an old promise given by the late Amenhotep, he received a refusal couched in unusually blunt terms. The ridiculous manner in which Tushratta subsequently sought to make it appear that nothing had occurred to disturb the relations of himself and his "dear brother" in Egypt forms one of the most entertaining comedies in the world's history. The Tell el-Amarna letters, which contain other amusing material, reached their highest point of literary skill in their references to this incident. Teie was personally requested by Tushratta to mediate in his favour, but seems to have taken no action in the matter, while the replies of Amenhotep IV. became more and more discourteous; at any rate, the old friendship between the two courts was almost a thing of the past at the date of the last letter which has come down to us.

A Comedy of Ancient Egypt

Quarrels With Babylonia

A similar quarrel took place with King Burnaburiash, the successor of Kadashman-Bel in Babylonia. Amenhotep IV. neglected to send his wishes for the recovery of this king, who had been ill for some time.

The Egyptian officials and tributary princes in Canaan also seem to have considered that nothing was to be feared from the Babylonians. They plundered Babylonian embassies and caravans of merchants in the most barefaced manner. Although this in itself was a sufficient ground of complaint, the reception of an Assyrian embassy in Thebes induced the Babylonians to make serious remonstrances. It was represented that the Assyrian prince Assur-uballit was a Babylonian vassal, that his people could have no business in Egypt, and that it would be well for Amenhotep to remember that the father of Burnaburiash had once suppressed the beginnings of a Canaanite revolt against Egypt.

None the less, relations with the Assyrians were continued, although Egypt gained no advantage thereby. The Egyptian envoy Hai appears at the court of Burnaburiash to fetch one of his daughters or relatives to Egypt, in exchange for whom an Egyptian princess must have been given. A short and unfortunately mutilated letter of the "king's daughter" to "her master," which was delivered by Kidin-Ramman, expresses the hope that the gods of Burnaburiash will protect him on his journey. The manner in which "thy city and thy

Exchange of Princesses

house" are further spoken of is probably to be explained as a reference to the removal to the new residence of Amenhotep.

The king of the Hittites and his modest neighbour, the petty king of Alashya, soon had reason to be dissatisfied with the change of rulers in Egypt. Shubbiluliuma, the former of these kings, was offended by Amenhotep IV., who addressed him in a manner involving a breach of etiquette, and received as good as he gave. The king of Alashya was obliged to defend himself against the accusation that his subjects had been in alliance with Lycian pirates. It is uncertain whether the Lycians landed in the Delta, or whether they had made a raid upon some Egyptian settlement in Alashya. At any rate, the people of Alashya were probably justified in complaining that the commercial relations between the two countries had been injured by the aggressions of the Egyptian customs officials. Not only the king, but also his chief official, "the Rabisu," issued edicts warning the "Pakeri" not to interfere with merchants, envoys, and ships from Alashya. But anyone who passed through Lower Egypt in order to transact business at the court of Amenhotep IV. found, so to speak, a dragon in his path in the person of the viceroy of the Delta (Yarimuta). From the Amarna letters we learn that, at that time at least, the power of this official was as absolute as that of the "prince of Kush"; thus Egypt proper was guarded on the south as on the north.

Viceroy of the Delta

The governor of Syria-Palestine had a wholesome respect for the "Rabisu of the king," who "is in the land of Yarimuta" —that is, the Delta. Two very amiable communications accompanied by gifts were also sent to this personage by the Rabisu of Alashya; consequently his name Yankhamu was one of the best known in the country. It apparently depended entirely upon the pleasure of this man whether the measures ordered by the Pharaoh should be executed slowly or promptly, sternly or with forbearance, and whether the pretexts or remonstrances of vassals should be seriously considered or be treated as deserving of punishment. Yankhamu accepted backsheesh, but at the same time he was apparently upright enough to act in entire accordance with the orders of his superiors and not to yield to the counter claims of his own personal inclinations. None the less, the prestige of the Egyptian supremacy in the Asiatic provinces rapidly declined.

The Power Behind the Throne

In the meantime, events were taking place in Thebes such as the Egyptian people had never before heard of, and, indeed, were never again to hear of, after the period of their occurrence. The king became involved in a quarrel with the priesthood of Amon, which had been steadily increasing in wealth and power. Amon, at first the god only of his own house, had gradually been raised to the head of the Egyptian pantheon. And now Amenhotep became the champion of a new heresy.

It is certain that long before this time a new creed had been formulated by the society of priests connected with the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis, which was extended to exalt above all the hybrid deities of the Nile the visible sun in the sky, "Aten," as the sole creative and preservative deity. This doctrine had probably become more or less fashionable at the court of Amenhotep III., which prided itself on its intellectual atmosphere and lent a ready ear to any new theory. What, however, was but a pastime to his predecessor, Amenhotep IV. considered as the serious business of his life. For whatever reason, relations between Amon and the new king were strained to breaking point, and an open rupture took place between the fourth and sixth years of his reign. The court left Thebes, and a religious reform on the lines of the Aten doctrine was begun with severity and zeal.

The Egyptian Pantheon

Now the system of the Egyptian pantheon is obscure. The various conquests of a much-conquered country had their usual effect here as elsewhere. The captured territory is considered by the new arrivals as a gift of the gods who accompanied them thither; and to these the previous possessors, deities as well as men, must first be subjected, and with them ultimately be incorporated. Thus is explained the great antiquity of such of the purely Egyptian conceptions as originated in the configuration of the country. To these belong the divinities of the water and the desert, as well as the simple harvest gods. The first movement recognisable as such among the gods of Egypt begins with the rise of Horus and his

struggle to break down the obstinacy of Set. In Nubia, as a rule, the conquering Horus received the offerings of the kings of Egypt, who erected temples and dedicatory inscriptions. But he did not have the field to himself. Under the Ramessides, Amon, Ptah, and Ra also appeared in company with Horus with earlier divinities such as Merula, Didun (the Tithonos of the Greeks), and He.

Min of Coptos, a deity who had fallen into obscurity as early as the period of the Middle Empire, was rediscovered in Nubia by the kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, worshipped there with the greatest enthusiasm, and, in consequence, eventually restored to importance in Egypt also. Min, however, was an ideal rustic deity, who must have once been worshipped throughout a wide district, extending far beyond the frontiers of Egypt to the south, and perhaps also to the south-east. As a result, Coptos, the point of junction of several desert roads from the south, continued for a long time to be a secure stronghold for the worship of Min, even after he had been supplanted elsewhere by deities of later origin. In the god Khem of Achmim (north of Coptos), who was originally the counterpart of Min, the Greeks immediately recognised their own Pan; accounts of the primitive rustic character of his festivals have been preserved. But though Horus, who usually intruded upon such occasions under the most extraordinary disguises, was unable to prevail against Min, the ape god Bes, a rival from the southernmost part of Nubia, was more successful. This kobold-like dwarf with his bushy crown of feathers seems to have been closely connected with the goddess Thoueris (Egyptian Ta-ueret), whose image was an erect hippopotamus with the breasts of a woman. She may indeed have accompanied him upon his first arrival from Ethiopia, and have taken the place of the corresponding deity Apet, who was worshipped in Thebes at a comparatively late period. At any rate, Bes and Thoueris played a very important part in the Egyptian pantheon after they had deprived Min and Apet of their important office as patron deities of midwifery.

Egypt's Rural Deities

The subsequent introduction of Bes and Thoueris into the circle of sun divinities and their ritual companions, the gods of the dead, ended their advancement. However, such an instance of the overthrow of primitive Egyptian deities by gods of yet earlier origin from the south is absolutely unique. As a rule, the ancient Egyptian gods were only in part replaced by deities introduced from the north, who failed to eject them completely. Thus the ancient capital of the first or southernmost nome of Upper Egypt was Ombos, on the eastern bank of the Nile, the temple of which was sacred to the crocodile god Sebek. The worshippers of Horus were late in establishing themselves in the nome, and were restricted for a time to the island of Elephantine, which was not consecrated to Horus but to Khnum; he, as creator of the world in the age preceding the birth of Osiris, and as the father of Horus himself, was a god eminently suitable for a region so exposed, where he bears the title "defender against the Nubians." When, at a later time, Ombos opened its gates to the new cult Horus had become humbler, and contented himself with one half of the Sebek temple. The result was that, together with his neighbour "great Horus," Sebek also assumed the attributes of a sun-god, and from this time forth was known as Sebek-Ra, one of the most extraordinary of the many mythological fusions which took place in Egypt. Unfortunately, little has remained to us of the myths in connection with the temple at Ombos. A fragmentary account from this source indicates that Osiris was there born to Apet, the hippopotamus goddess.

Strange Fusion of Myths

It is certain that Sebek was one of the chief divinities of the Nile valley prior to the Negada period, and also suffered less than any other primitive god from the antagonism of later times. In the age of the Old Empire the crocodile god was generally worshipped, and at the time of the Middle Empire he rose to great distinction, and possessed temples in various parts of Egypt, though more especially in the Fayyum, until the final disappearance of the native beliefs. Their inalienable characteristics as deities of the water may have proved a valuable support both to him and to the hippopotamus goddesses; but between the desert god Set and the religion of the historical period a relation of armed neutrality invariably persisted. All,

Worship of the Crocodile

however, that is known about Set is intimately connected with his mythological struggle with Horus.

Horus never lost his traditional character as a champion and conqueror of the land; his name signified sovereignty, and was assumed by every Pharaoh. The mythic story of the wars fought by Horus against Set and his allies *throughout* the whole of Egypt has been preserved to us in two versions in connection with each other. The earlier of these represents Horus as a son of the beneficent god Osiris, who appeared as a human king and refined the bestial manners of Egyptian life by teaching the duties of cultivating the soil, worshipping the gods, etc. But Osiris was entrapped by his evil brother Set, who enticed him into a great coffer, which he immediately closed and set adrift on the sea. During the despotic rule of Set the adherents of Osiris either left the country or withdrew into hiding-places; but when the body of Osiris was recovered by his sister and wife Isis in the Phœnician seaport Gebal—first mentioned in the time of the twelfth dynasty—their son Horus arose and conquered Set after a long struggle. During the war with Set, Isis and Horus were assisted by Thoth, the ibis-headed god of wisdom, and Anubis, the jackal-headed deity.

Horus the Champion

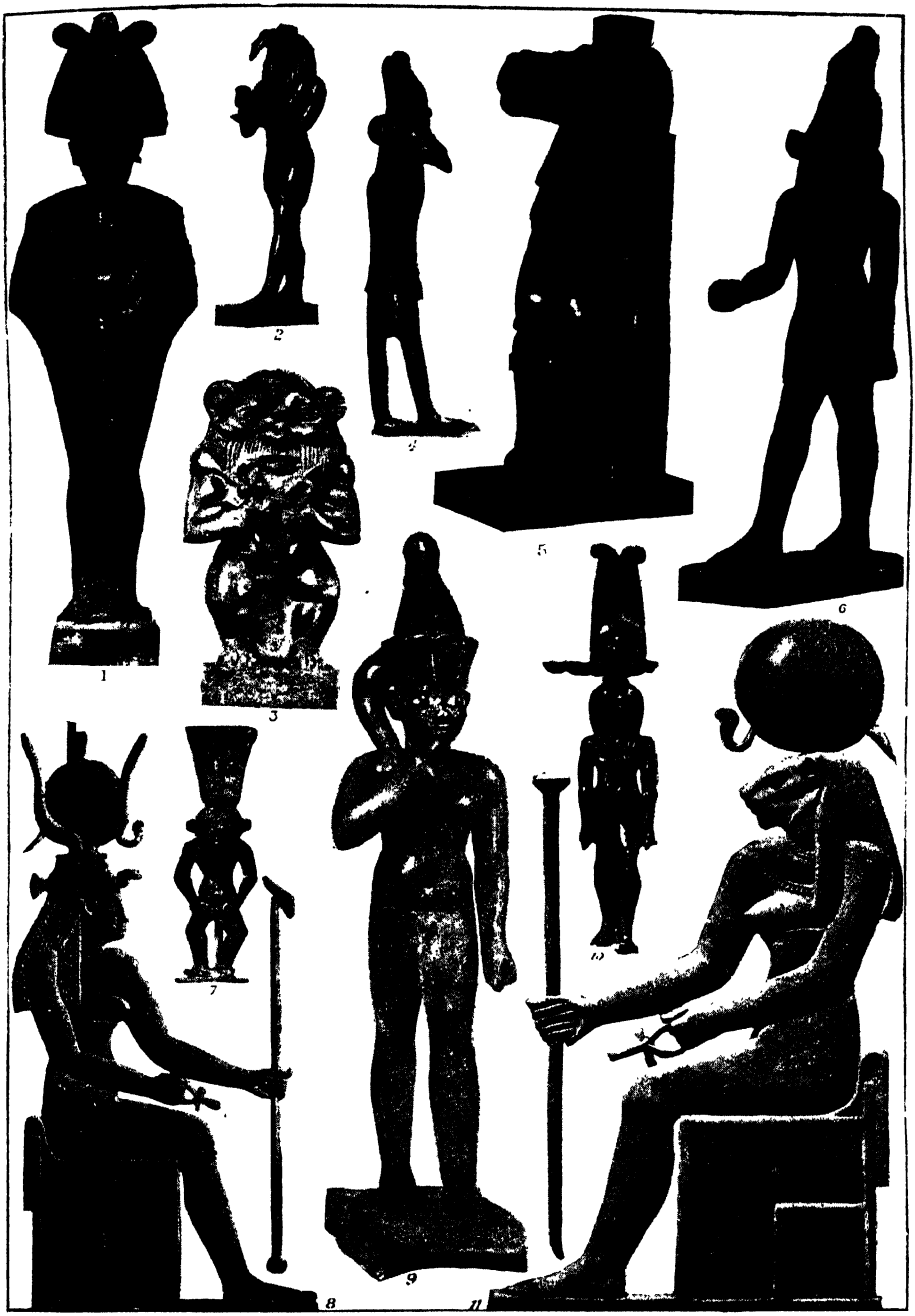
Although we are indebted to no earlier authority than Plutarch for this myth, and although in Plutarch's original the Delta only is represented as the Egyptian scene of action, nevertheless numerous versions of and allusions to the story in ancient Egyptian texts prove not only its genuineness but also the fact that it was equally current in Upper Egypt. A calendarian list, in which horoscopes and rules of conduct for favourable or unlucky days are given, states that on the 17th of Athyr, the day of Osiris's death, the lamentations of the goddesses Isis and Nephthys at Saïs could be heard as far as Abydos, the final resting-place of Osiris. The length to which the process of mythological transformation could be carried among the Egyptians is well shown in a later version of the myth, which may have been remodelled during the New Empire, and met with ready acceptance by the priesthood of the temple of Horus at Edfu. In this adaptation Osiris has entirely disappeared, his place being taken by the sun-god Ra of Heliopolis, whose annihilation was indeed neither possible nor desirable. Consequently Horus appears as the son of the Sun in the form of the winged solar disc. His struggle with Set and his brood of crocodiles is represented as a chastisement inflicted upon conspirators, whose crime consisted simply in their rebellion against Ra. Nevertheless, even from this greatly altered variant of the myth several valuable additions can be obtained which supplement the account of Plutarch. Thus one passage reads. "Hereupon the enemies of Ra went into the river. They metamorphosed themselves into crocodiles and hippopotami. But Ra entered a boat, and when he came within reach of the animals they opened wide their mouths in order to injure the majesty of the god. Then came Horus—that is, the Edfu Horus—and the servants of his train—Shemsu-Hor—bearing weapons of bronze; each carried a lance of iron and a chain in his hands. Then they smote the crocodiles and hippopotami. And they dragged forth 381 enemies and put them to death in sight of the city of Edfu." These words take us back to the period of Negada, which marks the beginning of the bronze age in Egypt, when the Horus people perhaps invaded the land.

Death of Osiris

Likeness of Horus and Marduk

Not Ra, but Osiris, was the original deity who opposed Set and assisted Horus to victory. There is some ground for tracing back Osiris and the Babylonian god Marduk to a common origin; but if this identity ever existed it must have early disappeared, for in the comparatively late period during which we first hear of Babel and its Marduk this deity was a warlike hero, world-creator, and at the same time father of Nabu, the god of wisdom. Osiris, on the other hand, appears as early as the Ancient Empire as the moperative god of the dead, and his merit must be considered as resting chiefly upon his former sufferings. The resemblance of Horus to Marduk, however, becomes so striking that it is difficult not to believe that this part of the genealogy of the Egyptian deities must once have undergone a fundamental change.

The opposing god, Set, who was represented symbolically in an extraordinary animal form resembling nothing so much

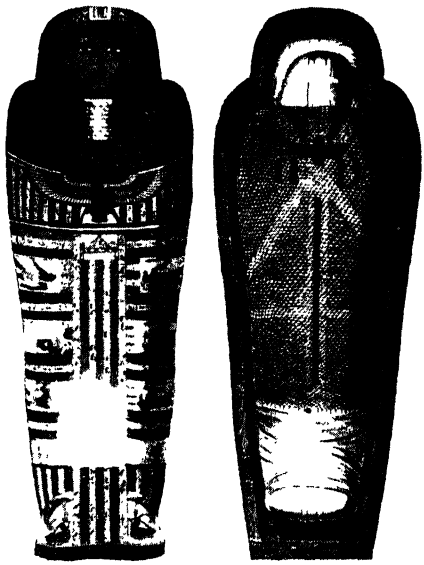


THE PRINCIPAL DEITIES OF THE EGYPTIAN PANTHEON

Osiris (1), the god of the dead, was the chief of the gods, and husband and brother of Isis (8 and 11), the queen of the gods; their son Horus (9) carried on great mythical wars with the evil desert-god Set (4), who had murdered Osiris. In this struggle Horus was assisted by Thoth (2), the ibis-headed god of wisdom, and Anubis (6), the jackal-headed assistant of Osiris in the judgment of the dead. The dwarf ape-god Bes (3 and 7) and the erect hippopotamus goddess Thoueris (5) were two primitive Nubian deities who displaced the native primitive gods Min and Apet They, and Sebek (10), the crocodile god, were admitted to the circle of the sun divinities.

Photos by Mansell

as the okapi, but who was also in the habit of transforming himself into a snake in combat, was recognised quite as much as Horus as a deity of the empire. The kings of Egypt wear the uræus serpent above their foreheads as a badge of dignity, and are the favourites not only of Horus but of Set. Not until the end of the empire was the conclusion drawn from the legend of Osiris that Set, who, as "Sutekh," had begun to assume the attributes of the Phœnician Baal, was an object of worship unworthy of a truly pious Egyptian. Thus the ancient deity finally fell from his high estate, after a sudden and vain attempt to disguise himself as a sun-god at his principal residence in Tanis. Nevertheless, as a local deity at Ombos, and to a still greater extent in the western frontier nome Oxyrynchus, where his worship had been preserved in its greatest purity, he survived all hostility. As a son of Nut, the goddess of heaven and tutelary divinity of the Nile, Set seems to be the most purely Egyptian of the deities who retained their general characteristics during historical times.



HOW THE EGYPTIAN DEAD WERE BURIED
The Egyptian belief in the resurrection of the body was limited to those bodies that remained intact; thus extraordinary care was taken in embalming and bandaging the body, as may be seen in this mummy and its case.

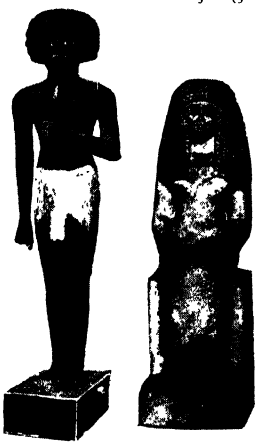
No information as to the origin, growth, and development of the Egyptian doctrines of a future life is obtainable from the myths of Osiris. We can only give a short account of ancient Egyptian conceptions of a future life as they appeared in historical times. It was necessary that the bodies of the dead should be preserved. This fundamental condition was satisfied by the process of mummifying. An additional safeguard in the case of the wealthy classes was the construction of tombs of masonry, the forms of which varied with the religious idea of different periods. The mummy was looked upon as the home of the "spiritual parts" of the deceased, which could leave the body at will. There were several of these spiritual parts, chief among which was the Ka, or dream-soul. Even during a man's life his Ka showed a tendency to wander. Whoever made journeys during





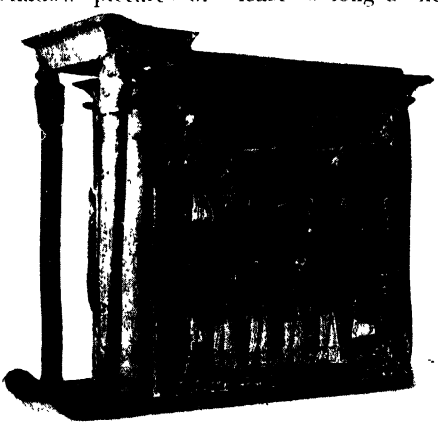
A CHAPTER HEADING FROM THE BOOK OF THE DEAD: THE JUDGMENT OF THE SOUL
The Books of the Dead consisted largely of formulæ to plead for the dead in the judgment court of Osiris.

his dreams and experienced good or evil while his body lay in sleep knew that his Ka had been active. The Ka proved its power of free movement still more definitely by appearing as a physical being to others in their dreams whether its unconscious owner were alive or dead. Two further spiritual elements, the Khu—that is, the "shining one"—and the Ba, which had the form of a human-headed bird, seem to have represented one and the same conception—that is, the renown of the deceased. In all probability the same was the case with the Sahu and the Sekhem, which are depicted as wrapped mummies or free figures; the difference of form and name was due to local variation of doctrine. It is strange that the shadow of men was included among the spiritual elements; possibly it was a later parasitic conception. for the kingdom of the dead of Osiris was by no means an abiding place of shadows. Consequently it was entirely opposed to Egyptian piety to supply their departed with shadow pictures of bread, meat, dishes, etc. During the Negada period it appears that the sacrifices—that is to say, the repasts for the dead—were still offered *in natura*. In later times, imitations made of stone, clay, or wood, which were supposed to become permanently endowed with nourishing qualities by the recital of magical formulæ, were employed. Other formulæ of this kind, of which the tedious literature of the "Books of the Dead" is largely composed, were thought to assist the deceased to overcome the difficulties and dangers of the way to the throne of Osiris, to plead for him before the court of judgment in the nether world, and even to influence the turn of the scales in which the gods Thoth and Horus weighed every heart against a feather, the symbol of truth. What happened to those found wanting at this final judgment was an obscure and apparently a forbidden subject, although a vicious-looking female animal resembling a pig, with the head of a crocodile, called the "devourer," always sat before or close to Osiris. But on and after the interment the dead man was called "true to his word," his righteousness and consequent salvation being thus presupposed. Thus blessed, he was straightway sent to Osiris and led by the god to the fields of Aalu, where all was well. There was room for everyone at the richly-decked table of Osiris, and whoever desired more had but to go to the tree of life close at hand, from which the goddess of heaven freely dispensed her gifts to the dead.



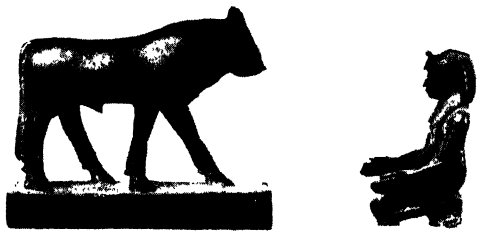
IMAGES OF THE DEAD
Such realistic statuettes of the deceased were frequently placed in tombs of the ancient Egyptians.

The offerings of food, etc., were also intended to secure to the deceased, at least so long as he remained in the tomb, that welfare which he could not have enjoyed in any other way. It is a striking fact that even the kings fully shared the general desire of their subjects to be buried, if possible, in the Osiris city Abydos. They could not, however, well be actually buried there, but commanded their bodies to be interred in Thebes, like those of their great nobles. But probably the popular custom of sending the mummies of the deceased to Abydos, whence they were transported back to the starting point, where their graves awaited them, was considered necessary by the kings. The kings of the first dynasty, some of whom were buried

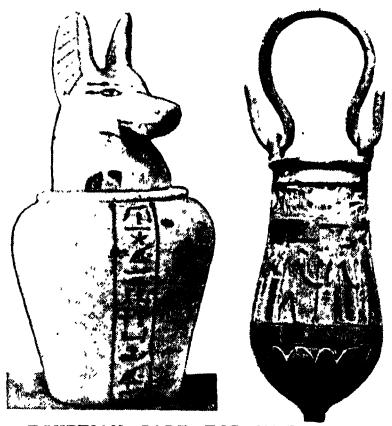


AN EGYPTIAN FUNERAL SLEDGE
In sledges of this type the bodies were drawn to the tomb.

probably at Negada, others at Hierakonpolis, had a series of imitation tombs, or commemorative "Houses of the Ka," built for them at Abydos. These cenotaphs were provided with all the requisites for the continued life of the Ka in the other world, even including actual slaves, who were killed and buried with the kings. That is to say, the commemorative "Ka-houses" at Abydos were complete tombs, with all the necessary appurtenances, except the corpse. With the exception of Ra, it is seldom that any information of importance can be extracted respecting the gods of Ancient Egypt. Overladen as they were with changing attributes, their original forms are now unrecognisable; their myths also are still unknown. Ptah, the ancient god of Memphis, is now only to be found—except when he is identified with the god Tatenen—represented as garbed in the swathing of mummies; therefore he must have adopted the character of Osiris, or vice versa Herodotus considered Ptah as the Egyptian Hephaestus; in fact, he was often represented surrounded by dwarf gods, his assistants in the creation of the world. Ptah may have been in some way connected with the Nile god Hapi, who possessed an unusually magnificent temple in Memphis, and was subsequently worshipped in Rome as the classic "father of the waters"; he was also accompanied by gnomes, who, though they signified the proper height of the Nile in ells, resemble the kobolds of Ptah. Memphis was also the scene of worship of the Apis bulls, whose divine attributes had been recognised as early as the Ancient Empire. A connection between Ptah and Apis can scarcely be proved. During his lifetime the bull seems to have formed a part of the Ra cult, and after his death to have belonged to that of Osiris. Thus it is possible that the soul of the bull was finally transformed into an independent deity, Osiris-Apis, who, after personification under Greek influence, received the name of Serapis, supplanted Osiris, and became associated with Isis as deity of the dead. The great mausoleum of Apis bulls discovered by Mariette at Sakkara still contained the heavy stone sarcophagi in which the mummified remains of the animals had been successively laid from the time of the eighteenth dynasty, in order somewhat parallel to the succession of mummies of the Egyptian kings. Pharaoh and Apis possessed the attributes of personal divinity in death as well as in life. The other sacred animals found in the temples are merely incarnations of the various gods, such as the Suchos-crocodile in the Fayyum, the Mendesian ram, and the bull Mnevis of Heliopolis, whose worship fell into decay at different times. Together with Mnevis, a fabulous creature known as the bird Bennu—the "Phœnix" of the Greeks—had his headquarters at Heliopolis. Perhaps a rare species of heron was bred there. Finally, on arriving at the stone sphinxes—for the most part the heads of kings set upon the bodies of animals, an inversion of the conception of gods with animal heads—we find ourselves within the domain of sculpture and architecture.



KING MAKING AN OFFERING TO THE APIS BULL
Memphis was the scene of the worship of the Apis bulls, considered divine, while other animals were merely incarnations of various gods.



EGYPTIAN CARE FOR THE DEAD
On the left is a canopic jar, sets of four of which, containing various organs of the deceased dedicated to particular gods, were always placed in tombs. On the right is a beautifully cast bronze situla, which contained votive offerings on behalf of the departed.



THE PASSING OF A PHARAOH FUNERAL CEREMONIES OF A KING OF ANCIENT EGYPT

At Dendera a temple of the goddess Hathor inscribed with accounts of the worship as well as with the history of its building, still remains in a good state of preservation From this we learn that at the beginning of the third summer month this Egyptian Aphrodite was accustomed to set out upon a ceremonial journey to the god Horus in Edfu which was not far distant After or within five days she then returned home in her boat The Greatness of Love This custom is in complete correspondence with the name of the goddess which signifies the house of Horus ' Curiously there was a group of seven Hathors who presided over births who in their turn are connected with Nekhebet the goddess of births worshipped in El Kab and they appear also in the form of vultures hovering about the king protecting him during his lifetime Hathor herself on the other hand is often represented with the head of a cow and even when pictured as a woman she retains the cow s horns and often the ears The Greeks identified their own Leto with Buto the oracle goddess in the Delta town of Buto and Athene with the goddess Neith, worshipped at Sais The symbol of Neith originally a square shield with two arrows crossed behind it was transformed into a shuttle in later times worn as a national token by the Libyans who appear in Egyptian

drawings. This points to a Libyan origin for her; but she, together with Hathor, Buto, the cat-headed Bast of Bubastis, and almost all the female divinities of the ancient Egyptian pantheon, subsequently lost all traces of their original character under the influence of the Isis myth. A closer examination makes it plain that even those divinities which appear to have an individuality of their own are mere variants of Isis, "great in enchantment" (Ueret-hekau). The exception to this rule is Maat, the goddess of truth and justice; for she, as an abstraction, was above all influences of mythological transformation. She is sometimes represented wearing the well-known bandage over her eyes, "for justice decides without regard of persons." Of the god Khuns, or Khonsu, who perhaps represented the new moon and formed a counterpart to Ioh or Aah, the god of the full moon, nothing need here be said, except that he, like so many other divinities, was ultimately merged in the "sun." Under the twentieth dynasty a vain attempt seems to have been made to restore him to his proper dignity. War-gods appear in increasing numbers under the New Empire. The valiant Month (Mentu) was often summoned by the kings from Thebes to inspire them with bravery in battle equal to his own. The worship of Month in the nome of Thebes was perhaps even more ancient than that of Amon, for the chief sanctuaries of both were in local opposition. The goddess Sekhmet, the destroyer of degenerate mankind in the Ra myth, obtained a certain degree of preference from Amenhotep III., and appears in the papyrus literature as the lion-headed spreader of panic who marches in the vanguard of armies. In other respects she belongs to the family of Ptah. In later times, however, it was said of the Isis-Hathor at Philæ that she was "kind as Bast, terrible as Sekhmet," so that this divinity also was deprived of her original characteristics. The Syrian divinities also acquired a certain standing in Egypt, especially under the Ramessides. The chief of these were Baal and Astarte, Reshef and Anath.



SUN-GOD, RA



AMON-RA
Ra, the Sun-god, was, after Amenhotep III., combined with Amon as Amon-Ra, king of the gods.

The sun-god Ra, as is plain from his myths, had his first centre in Heliopolis as early as the period of the Ancient Empire. None the less he was the youngest of all the greater divinities. This fact is proved by the comprehensiveness of his nature, as compared with the Hades nature of Osiris and the solar conception of the sun offered by Horus. Before Ra came to Egypt he had attained a certain mythological maturity within the imagination of another people, and hence the rapidity of his success. But apart from this, he possessed all the attributes which make for popularity. The new sun-god is the absolute lord of creation; he traverses the entire heaven and the nether world in his narrow boat within twenty-four hours, annihilates all that is evil, or at any rate makes it inoperative so long as he is present, and so compels every other god who is desirous of being termed "good" to enter his company. Thus within a comparatively short time the solar disc of Ra becomes the predominating symbol among the other gods; indeed, this same symbol was unconsciously accepted as the sign of divinity in general, and was ultimately borne even by those gods who, from their very nature, were and remained opponents to Ra. Conversely, the sparrow-hawk of Horus became an emblem of the true sun-gods; Ra himself was represented with a bird's head. He also appropriated to himself many other external marks borrowed from earlier rites and conceptions. However, he clung all the more tenaciously to his main office. He who had been the friend of Ra during life had the right to claim in death a place on his boat when it passed through the heaven during the day. Thus the deceased arrived in the nether world under the auspices of a powerful protector, and far more easily than by the solitary and dangerous way of the Osiris doctrine. When Ra had arrived at his territory in the nether



DEATH IN THE MIDST OF LIFE: PROCESSION OF THE CORPSE AT AN EGYPTIAN FEAST

The care and reverence of the ancient Egyptians for their dead, and the detail and number of their funeral ceremonies, amounted to actual worship; and though there was an unorthodox section which did not accept the doctrines of immortality, the bulk of the people did, and were accustomed to be reminded of the shortness of life by the presence of a corpse at their feasts. This reproduction is made from an engraving of the picture by Edwin Long, by permission of the Fine Art Society, 148, New Bond Street, London

regions (which implies that Osiris and other deities of darkness had a considerable domain) he disembarked the souls in the fruitful field, where they continued an existence resembling their earthly life. In consequence of the division of Ra's subterranean dominions into twelve sections of one hour's journey each, divided from one another by "doors," the dead under his protection could unfortunately enjoy the sight of the god, the sun, for only one hour, and were left in darkness for the rest of the time. However, during this short period of light the greatest activity prevailed, for the protégés of Ra had also to labour in the land beyond the grave; they sowed, they ploughed, irrigated their land and gathered their harvest, in order not to suffer the pangs of hunger.

Life Beyond the Grave

It is interesting to remark that members of the wealthy classes made provision for both the Ra and the Osiris theories of the future life. Near the mummies, together with their Book of the Dead, and their supply of food for the next life, on the Osiris theory, are found small figures of wood, called "Shawabti," or Ushabti, that is, answerers, equipped for the most part as slaves or field labourers, and in many cases inscribed with the name of the dead man to whom they belonged, whose duty was to answer for the deceased and to act as his substitutes if he should happen to arrive at the fields of Ra and there be called upon to work.

At what period of the early history of Egypt the sun-god Ra secured the chief position in the popular beliefs cannot be determined with certainty. If the legend concerning the origin of the fifth dynasty can be trusted, the characteristic title of the kings, "sons of Ra," which was invariably emphasised in subsequent times must have originated at that period. This, however, would only roughly indicate the close of the first stage of development. During the long and obscure period of transition from the Ancient to the Middle Empire many a convulsion must have shaken the existing body of religious belief. A result of the conclusion of peace between Horus and Ra was undoubtedly the appearance of the popular mixed deity Ra-Harmachis, which was associated in the legends with the winged solar disc, flanked on each side by a small uræus snake. This token, which was to be seen over the entrance of every temple, possessed the significance of a symbol of union, which was ultimately extended over all the gods of the country. Nevertheless, in the Tell el-Amarna period the letters of the Syrian officials to the Pharaoh almost invariably employ a form of address which represents him only as the son of Ra, while Rib-Adda of Gebal employs another, and perhaps older, set of titles, in which no mention whatever is made of the sun.

Rise of the Sun-god

In view of the difference of opinion among the Egyptians concerning the life after death, and the increasing confusion in the mythology, together with the slight efficacy of the formulæ of enchantment, a spirit of scepticism could not have failed to arise. Whether traces of a belief that the dead ascended to the stars are to be included among the evidence for this spirit is still a matter of uncertainty; at any rate, such a conception does not seem to be of Egyptian origin. A stronger piece of evidence is, however, the fact that occasionally, though not on the memorial stones, we seem to find doubts of, at any rate, the happiness of a future life. Side by side with all the priestly doctrines of the adventures which the dead undergo in the next world before fully attaining felicity among the followers of Ra, we meet with the idea that the deceased lay rigid in eternal darkness, yearning for the delights of earthly life. For this reason man was to make the best use of his existence, to seek joy and pleasure, and to cast away all sorrow. Generally popular under the new kingdom was the "Song from the tomb of King Antef," composed by the harper.

A Creed of Cheerful Paganism

This minstrel appeals in turn to ancient sages who taught: "Ruined are the dwellings of ancestors; they are as if they had never been, and no one returns from the beyond to tell us what has become of them." To the living the advice is given: "Adorn thyself as beautifully as may be, and let not thine heart fail thee so long as thou remainest upon earth. Trouble not thyself until the day of mourning breaks. For he whose heart has ceased to beat hears no lamentation; he who rests in the grave shares not thy grief. Therefore, let your days be glad, your countenance joyful, and be not idle; for no man takes his possessions with him, nor does he ever return."



A FUNERAL RITE OF ANCIENT EGYPT: THE TRIAL OF THE DEAD

Before the body of an Egyptian could be borne to the caverns of the dead it had to undergo trial by the judges of the dead, before whom any man might accuse the departed, burial in sacred ground being denied if the charges were proved.

The poetical "dialogue of one weary of life, with his soul," is, as regards its fundamental conception, a precursor of the Book of Job. Moreover, its fate seems to have been similar to that of the Biblical work, in so far as a recapitulation is added establishing a connection with the current religious belief, although the book was doubtless composed with the object of exposing the illogical nature of the orthodox creed.

The "one weary of life," ill and feeble, deceived by the world and abandoned by his relatives and friends, entreats his soul to follow him into death. But at this prospect even this last companion desires to abandon him, and is with great difficulty persuaded to agree to a compromise. In the course of the argument it becomes clear that the Egyptians were not only inclined to scepticism, but also that some of them regarded the useless pyramids and the worship of the dead with mockery and contempt. The soul expresses the opinion in no measured terms that precisely the same prospect awaited the most carefully preserved mummy and the body devoured by fishes of "a weary one who died on the river embankment leaving no posterity."

In all probability this remarkable composition was considered by its readers as belonging to the class of popular productions, the possession of which was not to be proclaimed aloud before the guardians of public morals and manners. The later addition of a short deprecatory hymn to Ra as the giver of happiness was intended to secure a measure of toleration for the work.

Two affecting songs of the man tired of life—a complaint against the world that indefatigably persecutes the tender-hearted but opens its arms to the insolent, and a salutation to death, the deliverer—give the work a high place in the literature of the world, and incline us to regard more charitably many of those features of ancient Egyptian life which we are inclined to consider with aversion. Even the refractory soul makes the admission when the deserted one has shown it that the earth is full of evil-doers: "Death stands before me to-day like the near fulfilment of the longing which a man has for his home after many years of imprisonment."

The soul then promises to accompany him : " Thy body shall return to the earth, and where thou abidest I also will abide ; we two will make our abode together."

Thoughts such as these were certainly of themselves incapable of initiating a reform in the national religion in Egypt. Nevertheless they are evidence that an intellectual movement had begun, and that a small number of educated men had cast away their fears of the unknown and their belief in the enchantments and " protections " which were to ensure to them an orthodox heaven; that they were beginning to direct their more rational praise to the sun-god, as the obvious author of all life and fertility on the living globe. Most of the epitaphs belonging to the decade immediately preceding the reform appealed separately to Osiris, the god of the dead, and Ra, the god of the living, and the hymns addressed to the sun-god increase in fervour. Amon himself comes to be invoked in monotheistic terms as Amon-Ra. The tendency increased under the eighteenth dynasty. Constantly we find worshippers referring to Osiris, Ra, or Amon, as if he was the only deity existing in the universe. The conception of pure divinity is often met with, and this often savours of pure monotheism.

Beginnings of Religious Reform

Under Amenhotep IV. (Akhenaten) the worship of Ra, or rather of Harmach, was - in his actual visible form of the Aten— exalted by royal favour into a real monotheistic cult. The symbol of the Aten cult was the simple solar disc pouring down its rays. Each ray was represented as ending in a little hand. Some of these hands are open, while others hold the emblem of life, the well-known ringed cross. Whenever the king, or, as was now customary, the assembled royal family, performed a public ceremony the sun's disc stood immediately above their heads, so that, if possible, every person might be struck by one of these emblems at the end of the rays. The " doctrine " itself was formulated in a long hymn, of which one passage must suffice for our quotation : " Thou didst create the seasons for the completion of thy work, the cool winter and the hot summer ; thou alone didst build the vault of heaven, thy lofty path, whence thou surveyest all that thou hast made. Thou art Aten, the day of the world ; my heart belongs to thee, but no one knoweth thee as doth thy son [the king] Nefer-khepru-Ra. Thou hast revealed to him the knowledge of thy mighty coming and going. On that very day when thou establishedst the world thou didst cause it to be created for thy son, who is the express image of thy glory, even for the king of Egypt, the truly living one, the lord of both lands, Nefer-khepru-Ra, the son of the sun that existeth in verity, Akhenaten, who liveth for ever. And with him the great, the beloved royal spouse, the mistress of both lands, Nefer-neferu-Aten, that is, the immortal and flourishing Nefertiti."

Monotheistic Worship of the Sun

The " doctrine " was thus established as the official religion, as had once been the case with the worship of Amon, only on a more comprehensive scale. The creed was inclined to monotheism in so far as no room is left for the existence of other deities, which indeed were not so much as mentioned, and soon were formally rejected. Thus, whenever the night was spoken of, any reference to the stars was carefully avoided, as it was not desired to refer to the stellar deities, the " host of heaven." The day had been generally considered to begin at sunset, whereas the new doctrine did not preach that the day consisted of " the evening and the morning," but that it began with the rising of the sun. Far from believing in any beneficent influences exerted by the star and moon deities, the sun doctrine hinted rather at the opposite. The wonders of Aten are the marvels of nature and not the result of enchantments. It was argued that if the king, like his predecessors, was a god and a son of the Sun, he must necessarily increase in majesty by the introduction of the new religion ; hence the curious avowal of the natural conclusion that Aten created the world with the knowledge of his son, who reigned upon earth, and indeed for his especial benefit.

Strange New Doctrines

Thus it is indisputable that in the Aten worship of Amenhotep IV. we may see the germs of religious conceptions which have hitherto been attributed to a much later period. The king of Egypt, who was a god in virtue of his position during his life, who chooses for his father a unique god, the creator of the world, consequently becomes, at least historically, connected with this god as his associate from the very outset.

With Amon and his circle all the other (non-solar) deities were proscribed. The king permitted those who were weak in faith to consider Ra as the equal of Aten. Ptah, Osiris, Horus, and Isis fell from their high estate. But the various formulæ and rites belonging to the worship of the dead, even those pertaining to Osiris, continued without opposition. The beliefs of the mass of the people with regard to the life after death could not be lightly interfered with. Indeed, upon this delicate question the sun doctrine in general acquiesced in the legend of Ra's—nightly journey. And since Aten was the god of the day and of the living, he had nothing to do with night and the dead, so that the "doctrine" had nothing to say on this subject. Amenhotep and his court were buried in tombs of the usual type, though no representations of the traditional wanderings of the soul in the underworld were inscribed on their walls the subject was tacitly avoided—but Amon and the other gods were persecuted, and their names were erased from the temples.



THE PORTRAIT SCULPTURE OF EGYPT

Two very fine examples of ancient Egyptian sculpture. That on the left is the famous wood-carving known as the Sheikh el-Beled, and that on the right an alabaster head of a Pharaoh of Sais, both obviously likenesses.

Amenhotep IV. probably died at the outset of the seventeenth year of his reign, thus occupying the throne from about 1380 to 1364 B.C. His children by his wife Nerfertiti, who seems to have been without a rival in his affections, were all daughters; hence the succession devolved upon some future son-in-law. For the moment, however, the attention of Amenhotep IV. was occupied chiefly by the opposition offered to the "doctrine" by the adherents of Amon in his capital at Thebes. Had the Pharaoh merely neglected the orthodox worship of Amon, such lack of piety might have been tolerated; but that which could not be forgotten or forgiven was his omission of the gifts customary on these occasions. Since the time of Thothmes III. these gifts had been an ever-increasing item, and had become a serious burden to the royal treasury during times of peace. Since the industrial population of Thebes was far more dependent upon the college of Amon than upon the court, the probable effect of the change is obvious. Finding his position in Thebes untenable, the king, who had begun to build a sanctuary of Aten in Thebes itself, decided to found a new sacred city on a more satisfactory spot, to be consecrated to the sole worship of the "solar disc" and of his son. The new residence "Khut-Aten"—that is, the horizon of the disc—was founded almost precisely midway between Memphis and Thebes, on the eastern bank of the river. This spot was then believed to be the centre of the world, and therefore well adapted to the requirements of the new religion.

The Unorthodox Pharaoh

A New Sacred City

All that remains to us to-day of the city of Khut-Aten is the mass of ruins at Tell el-Amarna. The tombs in the surrounding cliffs, together with their texts, which are of high importance as a source of information for the worship of the solar disc, have long been objects of attention. It was also known that the ground plan of the town could be clearly recognised and the sites of the most important buildings be determined. But it was not until the discovery, in the spring of 1888 of the archives, written in cuneiform characters on clay tablets, treating of the relations between Egypt and Asia that further excavations were undertaken, with the result that both the ruins of the king's palace and of the Aten temple were brought to light. This period was a time of reform in art as well as in religion. It is a remarkable fact that many of the sculptured bas-reliefs discovered in the tombs of Tell el-Amarna deal with the domestic life of Amenhotep IV. Intended primarily as tokens of homage, these scenes show very clearly how naturally the divine son of Aten lived and moved among the children of men. Hitherto there had been no more than half a dozen

poses in which the sculptor or designer was permitted to represent a king; he might be seated, for example, stiffly on his throne or no less stiffly in his war chariot, making offerings, etc. Now, however, we see him in the company of the queen and his family of little princesses, though always caressed by the hands terminating the rays of Aten, or distributing from a balcony golden decorations to deserving co-religionists. He goes forth in a chariot of gold and silver, with a bodyguard running at his side, or is shown in the act of performing ceremonies. The figures are naturally grouped and motion is naturally indicated. The traditional stiffness is replaced by an effort at correct portraiture, at any rate in the case of the king himself.

Domestic Life in Egypt

The personal appearance of Amenhotep IV. was by no means attractive. His face was disfigured by prominent cheek-bones, a protruding chin, and a wrinkled mouth; he had also thin legs and a large stomach. However, he insisted that all defects should be faithfully reproduced; and the whole court, the queen included, were depicted with the same physical peculiarities. One relief, for instance, represents the king with a particularly forbidding expression of countenance in the act of kissing his eldest daughter, with the queen and two other daughters sitting opposite.

The probability that foreign influences had led to the development of a new style of art has been confirmed by the discovery of a richly-painted stucco floor in the palace, representing a marshy landscape filled with animals, as well as by objects made of variously coloured glass and numerous vases and fragments closely resembling those of Mycenæ and Cyprus. A corresponding stucco floor and glazed pottery in the same style have been found in Amenhotep's palace. The stucco floor painting is, of course, purely Egyptian, but the imported foreign pottery is a mark of the extensive connection with lands over sea which is characteristic of the eighteenth dynasty. Traffic by sea with the Greek coast must, however, have begun much earlier, for we find pottery of the middle and early Minoan period—contemporary with the twelfth and sixth dynasties; and we have already seen that ambassadors from Minoan Crete visited the Egyptian court at the time of the eighteenth dynasty.

Foreign Artistic Influences

The command to build the city of the solar disc must have coincided with the removal of the court from Thebes. Possibly the king retired to Memphis pending the completion of his new residence. Nevertheless, the "Horizon of the Sun" was occupied before the city was half constructed. Not until the completion of this work, about the year 1374, did the sovereign feel himself entirely free; he then discarded the name of Amenhotep and chose the title of "Akhenaten"—that is, the spirit of the solar disc. His family and adherents followed his example, and named themselves after Aten.

This was practically a declaration of war against Amon. The refractory town of Thebes was finally compelled to submit and to tolerate the authority of a governor who believed in the "doctrine." The systematic effacement of the word "Amon" from inscriptions, even from those of the tombs, was only too thoroughly carried out. A measure of persecution was also directed against Mut and Khuns, the nearest relatives of Amon. King Akhenaten, as he is now styled, obviously desired to obliterate the memory of Amon throughout Egypt. As we learn from the stele of King Tutankhamon, recently discovered at Thebes, the priesthood of Amon was dispersed, and the goods of Amon were confiscated to the Aten. Not only at Thebes, but at Heliopolis and in the northern capital, Memphis, as well as in the "colonial" capitals of Napata in Nubia and Jerusalem (?) in Palestine (Khinatura), temples of the Aten were set up, bearing the same name, Dester-Aten ("Red is Aten") or Gem-Aten ("Found is Aten"), as the heretical shrine at Thebes. This last was probably never finished, and certainly the new worship could hardly be carried on for long safely in the city of Amon, dethroned and dispossessed though her great god might be. We know that for a time anarchy reigned at Thebes, and the royal sepulchres in the Biban el-Muluk were abandoned to the depredations of tomb-robbers. The temple of Amon was replaced by a magnificent new shrine of the solar disc at Khut-Aten, which was established as a national sanctuary. The high-priest bore the same title as the high-priest at Heliopolis. The king never wearied of the task of celebrating the various festivals of consecration. The

The Egyptian Reformation

queen-mother Teie did not appear at Khut-Aten until the court had already been settled there; she was then inducted by her son with great display of pomp. In the meanwhile, however, in spite of all the proofs of devotion and piety shown by the Aten worshippers under the eyes of the king, the fact remained that the new belief became more and more unpopular among the people. One of the new boundary stones of the precinct of Khut-Aten was even found one day to have been destroyed.

Akhenaten therefore considered it of all the more importance to strengthen his cause by a conversion of distinguished men. He seems therefore to have considered the conversion of the "divine father," Aï, who had apparently risen to this relatively modest hierarchical dignity in the temple of Amon, as an event of special significance. Aï was already fan-bearer at the king's right hand, chief master of the horse, and the "truly beloved royal scribe," when the king ordered the treasurer to "lay gold on his neck, on his back and on his feet, because he has hearkened unto the doctrine." And when Aï married the "king's nurse," who also bore the name of Teie, the couple became the recipients of still richer gifts of gold. Aï ordered "this beautiful event" to be immortalised in sculpture and described in detail on the walls of his tomb in Tell el-Amarna, which, however, he never occupied.

"Divine Father" Converted

The opposition between the beliefs of the Egyptians and those of Akhenaten was of itself sufficient to prevent the king from embarking upon such warlike enterprises as had been undertaken by Thothmes III.; the Pharaoh could not venture to leave his country. Nevertheless, at the time of his death the Egyptian possessions in Asia, though internally in a state of complete disruption, seem to have continued to recognise the supremacy of Egypt; they did not, at any rate, break into open revolt before the beginning of the struggles which put an end to the reformed doctrine. Our information concerning the destruction of the heresy and the consequent fall of the eighteenth dynasty is unusually scanty. Akhenaten himself seems to have been the last male representative of his line. Of his six daughters, Mekt-Aten died before her father, and was laid in a splendid tomb at Tell el-Amarna, which she seems to have shared with her father, the king, whose body must at some time, however, have been removed to Thebes, like that of his mother, Teie, for the mummy of the heretic was found with the other royal bodies in the tomb of Amenhotep II. Since he had been buried in the orthodox way, no formal destruction of the heretical king's body was attempted. Akhenaten was succeeded by Semenkh-ka-Ra, who a short time before had married his eldest daughter, Merit-Aten. Inscribed wine-jugs from the ruins of the palace at Tell el-Amarna show the seventeenth year of Akhenaten to be the earliest possible date for this event. The fact that there were several younger daughters, one of whom, Ankhs-en-pa-Aten, became the wife of a certain Tut-ankh-Aten, was soon turned to advantage by the oppressed Amon party. This latter couple laid claim to the throne on their own account, and recognised the faith of Amon. Both reappear in Thebes as King Tut-ankh-Amon and Queen Ankhs-en-Amon - apparently rival rulers either to Semenkhka-Ra or to a third brother-in-law.

Fall of the Eighteenth Dynasty

Buildings and restorations to the Theban temples, carried out by Tut-ankh-Amon, as well as a large representation of the reception of tribute from Syria and Ethiopia, discovered in the tomb of one Hui, point to the fact that the orthodox Pharaoh was for a time the absolute ruler of the whole kingdom of Amenhotep; on the other hand, indications of the continuation of the heresy during this period are not wanting. Marriage into the family descendants of Akhenaten probably enabled other ambitious lords to put forward pretexts to the throne. After Tutankhamon, the "divine father," Aï, was able to get possession of the throne. His wife, Teie, who was at most a very distant relative of Amenhotep IV., served to give him a claim to the succession. As before, in the days of his patron, Aï was once again able to adapt his views to altered circumstances. He occupied the royal castle at Thebes, abjured his former errors, and added the title of "divine father" to his official name. The length of Aï's reign is a matter of conjecture. He was followed by a more famous ruler from the heretical

Rule of the "Divine Father"

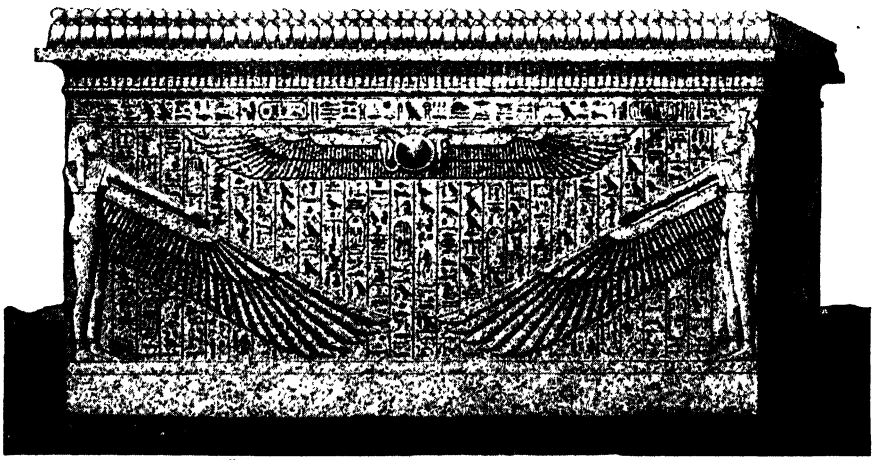
party. A certain Horemheb had risen to be commander-in-chief of the north under Akhenaten, who, on his tomb at Sakkara, was able to speak of himself as "chief of chiefs, greatest of the great . . . who had been sent forth by the king at the head of an army against the lands of the south and of the north. To him the king had entrusted the administration of both lands, and he caused them to rejoice, he, the companion of his master, on the day the Bedouins were defeated." The mention of campaigns against the east is of interest in spite of its brevity, for under the successors of Horemheb it appears that the empire had lost a portion of its Asiatic possessions. Aï gave Horemheb his full confidence. But the commander-in-chief was only waiting a fitting opportunity to seize the supremacy of Egypt for himself. It was first necessary to secure the support of the priesthood of Amon at Karnak by means of great promises, which were afterward performed. When the priesthood gave the signal, Horemheb appeared in Thebes at the head of his troops, and perhaps put an end to the government and even to the life of Aï, and received from Amon both the crown and the princess who was heir to it, about 1350 B.C. The princess was called Netjem-Mut. She may have been a sister of Nefertiti, although, as in the case of the younger Teie, there is probably here nothing more than a similarity of names and an intentional transference to the usurper of the claims necessary to his purpose. Rarely has the policy of a king been so clearly marked out before him as was that of Horemheb. His task was the ruthless persecution of the worshippers of the solar disc, and the destruction, so far as was possible, of all traces of the "doctrine." Wherever the name of Amon had been effaced, it was restored; but wherever that of Aten appeared upon tombs or elsewhere, there was immediate work for stonecutters and painters.

A Soldier Seizes the Throne

A new era of prosperity began for Thebes; the losses suffered by Amon were repaid with usury so far as circumstances permitted; in Karnak the king undertook the construction of large edifices. Of Horemheb's military operations we hear only by way of allusion. However, it is probable that he retained the approach to the Nubian gold-mines, and despatched marauding expeditions into Asia.

A remarkable inscription in the temple of Karnak complains of the general disorder in the country, and threatens the officials, and especially the troops, with severe corporal punishment unless they cease their robbery and embezzlement. Consequently Horemheb himself was obliged to march through the country in order to enforce his rights, as the indefatigable Thothmes III. had done before him. A period of dilettantism, of religious activity, and of new tendencies in art had been followed by the downfall. Now began the slow and difficult process of reconstruction.

Beginning of Reconstruction



SARCOPHAGUS OF AÏ, A "DIVINE FATHER" AND HERETIC PHARAOH OF EGYPT



UNDER THE SPLENDID DYNASTY

WE do not know how the question of the succession was settled on the death of Horemheb; it seems, however, that the transition to the new dynasty was peacefully effected. The double crown descended to a new family. Rameses, or Ramses, I., the first king of the nineteenth dynasty, was a ruler of no historical importance, and almost immediately appointed his son, Seti I., or Sethos, to the co-regency.

Seti I., about 1320 to 1310 B.C., is chiefly remarkable for his name, which suggests Set, and opposition to the national Osiris-worship, and no doubt points to an origin in Lower Egypt for this dynasty. The predilection of Rameses II. for Tanis, in the Delta, points the same way. The king was alive to the fact that his name might be unpopular, and therefore styled himself "Osiri" in the inscription on his own temple of the dead and magnificent tomb in the necropolis at Thebes, in order to avoid the possibility of making an unfavourable impression upon the ruler of the next world by a mention of the name of his enemy Set. In later times, when the god Set became more nearly identical with the devil, the Egyptians attempted to efface the name of Set from all secular memorials.

Rule of Seti I.

The comparatively short reign of Seti was distinguished by the erection of many buildings, some of which are of considerable size. Thus, for example, he began the construction of the great hall of columns in the temple at Karnak, the completion of which was left to his successor; he also undertook extensive restorations in Thebes, which continued to be the royal residence. Buildings were also erected by him in Memphis, and a palace in Heliopolis is said to have been his work. The attention of Seti, however, was chiefly directed to the south. Supported by Amen-en-apt, prince of Kush, he effected so many improvements in Nubia that in a short time the country was but little inferior to Egypt in respect of culture and density of population. His work was subsequently continued by his son Rameses II. Seti also undertook the systematic boring of wells in the desert of the Trogodytes; these, together with their handsome temple in the desert east of Redesiya, opened up a trade route by which the traffic with the coast of the Red Sea could be guarded and controlled. These desert roads also served as routes for the convoys of gold and emeralds. A very rude papyrus map of the Ethiopian gold-mines at Akita, the Wady Olaki, which is the earliest Egyptian map yet discovered, dates from the reign of Seti.

Improvement of the Desert

The body of the king has also been preserved to us. Seti I. was a tall, thin man, with an intelligent countenance and fine teeth, although he had certainly reached the threshold of old age before his death. Of the high officials of this period other than Amen-en-apt we are acquainted with a certain Paser, who stood at the head of the administration of Egypt proper. He must have been a very pious person, for he dedicated memorials of himself almost in every shrine in Egypt.

The campaign in Palestine and Phœnicia undertaken by Seti I. at the beginning of his reign was obviously intended to check the southward expansion of the Hittite kingdom, which had taken advantage of the anarchy into which Akhenaten had allowed the Asiatic dominions of Egypt to fall. From the Tell el-Amarna letters we see that Akhenaten, absorbed in his religious reform, allowed Palestine to fall into complete confusion. The letters of Ribadda, governor of Byblos, beseeching the king to send him aid against the revolted sheikhs, are alternately pathetically pleading and indignant in tone. But the philosopher-king did nothing forcible, as is the wont of his kind, in such emergencies, and the wandering Khabiri, or Hebrews, and the Hittites waged war in the land as if Pharaoh was not. The Amorite princes Abdashista and Aziru, his son, revolted in

Campaign in Palestine

Northern Palestine in concert with the Hittites and with Hakama, the Mitanian prince of Kadesh, on the Orontes, in spite of the efforts of Ribadda. In the south, Abdkhiba, the governor of Jerusalem, and Yankhamu, the viceroy of the Delta, were powerless against the Khabiri. The Egyptian general Bikhuru could do nothing: he did not know friend from foe, and his troops sacked Ribadda's city. It was about this time that the kingdom of Mitani came to an end. Shubbiluliuma, the Hittite, had taken from it the lands on the western side of the Euphrates, which since Thothmes III.'s day it had held under the suzerainty of Egypt. Tushratta, the king, was murdered, and his son, Mattinaza, as we learn from the documents lately discovered at Boghaz Köi, placed himself under the protection of Shubbiluliuma.



RAMESES I.
From a statue in the Turin Museum.

The pressure of the Hittite advance had already become perceptible on the Egyptian frontiers. The Bedouins, encamped along the eastern outworks, were speedily driven away by the army of Seti when, in his reign, the Egyptians deemed themselves sufficiently reorganised to reconquer their lost dominion; they also suffered a general defeat at an unknown stronghold in the south of Palestine by Seti I. All serious opposition seems then to have been overcome as far north as Carmel. Even Tyre delivered the customary tribute. While advancing northward in the direction of Galilee, Seti encountered a Hittite army, led by Mursilis, son of Shubbiluliuma, which he attacked and drove back, in the forest region Yenuam. The Pharaoh turned his victory to advantage by procuring a supply of wood for building purposes, which he commanded the petty chiefs of the neighbourhood to cut for him in all haste. After occupying two fortresses in the Lebanon mountains, and threatening Kadesh, he marched homeward. He was received with great demonstrations of homage by the high officials of Egypt assembled at the fortifications which guarded the entrance to Tjaru, near the modern Suez Canal. He had, in fact, successfully checked the Hittite advance. We also learn that Seti I. and his son began a war with the Libyans.



Mansell

RAMESES II.
Who made himself the most famous of the Ramessides, by appropriating credit for various achievements due to former Pharaohs.

The sharp contrast between the main characteristics of the Ramessides and those of the eighteenth dynasty first becomes definitely apparent in the son of Seti I. Rameses II. reigned sixty-seven years (about 1310-1243), much longer than any other Egyptian sovereign, if we except the ninety years of Pepi II. The account of his achievements set forth by his numerous and boastful proclamations was subsequently elaborated by legend. He was called by the Greeks, who obviously obtained their information from later Egyptian accounts, the great conqueror of the world, the law-giver and statesman, "Sesostris" by confusion with the Senusrets and Thothmes III., who vanquished the Scythians, Colchis, India, Arabia, and Libya. Rameses II. is now known to us as being nothing more than a ruler of average ability. He in no way deserves the title of "Great" which has been given to him, whereas Thothmes III. as certainly deserves it. Rameses II. was the first king to appropriate on extensive scale the credit of building the monuments erected by former rulers, by erasing their names and substituting his own. In this case the motive was not hate, as with Akhenaten, but petty vanity.

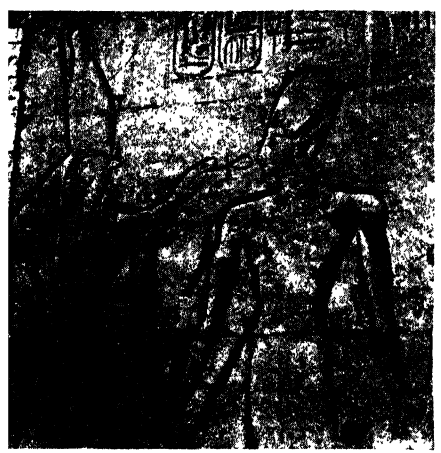
In all other respects Rameses II. pursued the policy of Seti I. The colonisation of

Nubia was continued, and at the end of his long reign there were prosperous towns where now remain only the ruined temples of Beit el-Walli, Wadi es-Sebua, and, above all, the celebrated structure of Abu Simbel. The Sesostris legend was first connected with this architectural wonder of Africa, which, with its numerous colossal statues, its graceful columns, and the perfection of its design and execution, marks the zenith of ancient Egyptian art, as far as rock-sculpture is concerned.



HEAD OF SETI I.
From a photograph of the mummy of this Pharaoh, who died over 3,200 years ago.

As is usually the case, the period of high achievement was followed by rapid decline. Side by side with edifices in Egypt proper, which in elegance of design are even superior to those of Abu Simbel, we find the remains of composite temples dating from the later years of the reign of Rameses II., which were hastily put together solely to create an effective impression from a distant point of view. The king's architectural zeal is mentioned both in the literature of classical antiquity and in the Old Testament. His activity in Thebes was almost boundless: the Ramesseum, dedicated as a temple of victory to Amon-Ra, and consequently of great value as an historical monument, was perhaps even excelled by the additions to the temple of Karnak, the state sanctuary, as well as by other improvements which the king made in his capital. Tanis and Memphis were equally rich in colossal edifices erected in his honour. Legend has also credited Rameses, and indeed other Egyptian rulers, with the temporary realisation of the old dream of a navigable canal from the Nile to the Red Sea. In short, Rameses II., on his own showing, was actually the sole creator of everything, and the Egypt which he left behind him bore throughout its length and breadth the impress of his usurping signet ring.



THE GOD HORUS GIVING LIFE TO SETI I.
eti I., or Sethos, who ruled about ten years from 1310 B.C., as the first of the Ramessides of historical importance.



RAMESES II.
Who claimed to be the creator of everything Egyptian. Reproduced from the actual head of his mummy.

It was not unknown, however, even to his contemporaries, that the king had depended largely upon the wisdom of other men during his long reign. What Amenhotep the son of Hapu had been to Amenhotep III., Prince Kha-em-uaset was to his father, Rameses II. As legitimate son of the Pharaoh he occupied a number of high ecclesiastical offices, such as the high-priesthood of Ptah; he assisted his father in ceremonies connected with the ritual, and is said to have discovered sacred books—an impossibility at that time except for clever men—and in later times acquired the reputation of a mighty enchanter. In temporal affairs Setau, the viceroy of Kush, seems to have gained especial celebrity. On the other hand, Prince Meri-Atum, the son of the chief royal spouse Nefertari—called "Naptera" in the Boghaz Köi tablets—was provided with the position of high-priest of Heliopolis. He styles himself a judge over men, whom the king placed before both lands, and whose counsel would be found good. But inasmuch as the mother of Meri-Atum died long before Rameses, at which time Kha-em-uaset, the son of Queen Nefereset, may have risen to the height of his power, we may presume that the counsel of Meri-Atum, the judge over men, was not in every instance found good by Rameses.

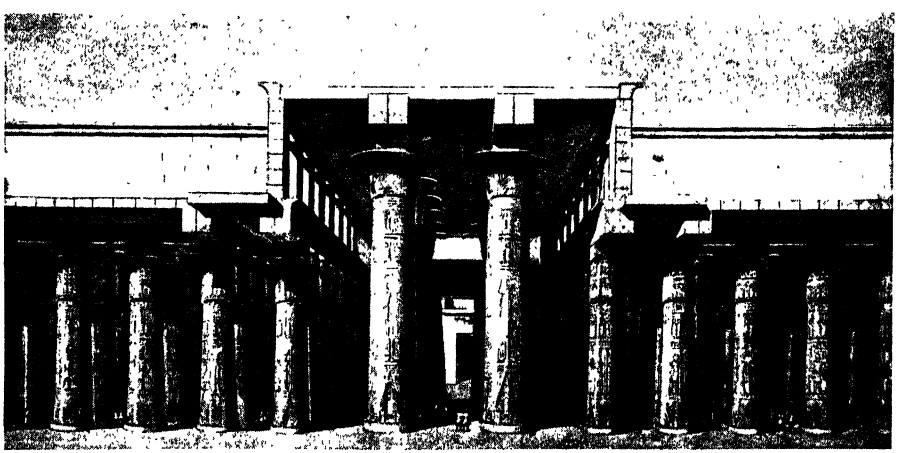
On the whole, it is probable that the leading personalities in the household and cabinet of Rameses were occasionally changed, in spite of the fact that they usually were his own sons. In an inscription at Abydos he credited himself with sixty sons, and in Wadi es-Sebua with as many as one hundred and eleven sons, together with thirty daughters. Toward the end of his reign his fourteenth son, Menep'th, was recognised as heir to the throne no doubt the majority of the older princes had preceded the king to the grave. The mummy of Rameses has been recovered from Der el-Bahari. We are able to compare it with a statue representing him in the prime of life. The characteristic of these faces is the absence of that strained expression which betokens a vigorous intellectual activity in the features of men, for example, those of Seti; in this case we are rather reminded of a proud but kindly "serenissimus." The face of the mummy is that of a highly aristocratic, but not very intelligent, old man. The mummy of the prince-minister Kha-em-uaset was found in the tomb of Amenhotep II.; and it has not yet been unrolled. There is a statue of him in the British Museum.



ONE OF THE MANY STATUES OF RAMESES II

Rameses II. was the greatest forger in Egyptian history, for, though a man of but average ability, he acquired the title of "Great" by substituting on many monuments and inscriptions his own name for those of previous rulers.

What Rameses II. was unable to carry out in person was effected by the foundations which he established. The school for the future officials of state, conducted by the priesthood of the Theban Ramesseum has left to us a considerable portion of its papyrus note-books, which were known almost one hundred years ago, "Select Papyri," which have now found a resting place in the museums of Europe. Boys who were destined for the higher offices of state were required to familiarise themselves with practical composition, writing, and with exercises in correspondence; hence our knowledge of the working of the state machinery under the Ramessides has

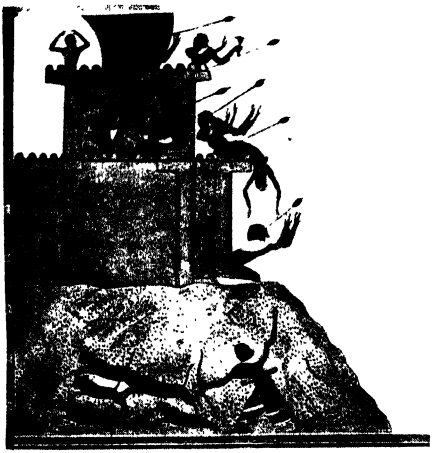


THE GREAT HALL OF COLUMNS IN THE TEMPLE OF KARNAK

The architectural zeal of Rameses II., apart from his dishonest claims to fame, was considerable, and this addition to the state sanctuary excelled perhaps all his other achievements. From a fine restoration by M. Charles Chipiez.

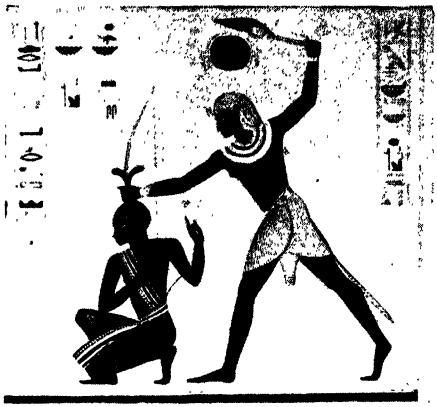
been greatly furthered by these papyri. They present us with the picture of a highly organised bureaucracy with all its corresponding disadvantages. The educated scribe considers himself a lord in the land; he looks upon the peasants, the sailors, and handicraftsmen as "asses," whom he had been appointed to drive. This overbearing superiority was naturally accompanied by strained relations between the officials themselves; disputes upon questions of salary are of constant occurrence.

The influence of foreigners steadily increased, and was already making itself felt in the written language, which begins to include words borrowed from the Semitic and other tongues. It was the court that



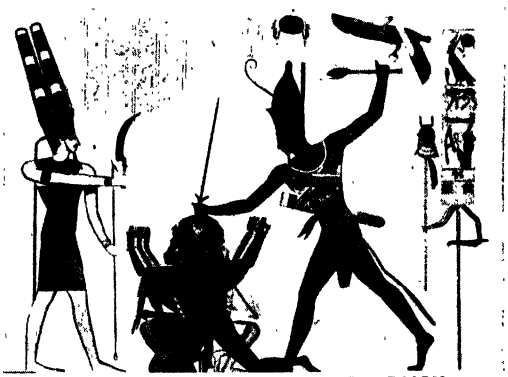
SIEGE OF A MOUNTAIN FORT BY RAMESES II.
Rameses II. carried on many wars which, as in this painting from a Nubian temple, were always recorded as victorious.

set the fashion in language, where the mixed Egyptian of the favourite Syrian slaves of the Pharaoh, and the barbarisms of his foreign satellites, excited interest and were imitated accordingly. For the rest, the Egyptian scribes knew very well that they were only rendering homage to fashion by imitating the language and customs of the "hereditary enemy." Whenever the Pharaoh bent his terrible bow, to the dismay of the miserable Asiatics, the poets on the Nile proceeded to tune their lyres in expectation of the—invariably great—victory. A poem which has come down to us in a copy made by a certain Pentaueret,



RAMESES II. STRIKING A NUBIAN CAPTIVE
From a painting in Rameses' temple at Abu Simbel.

or Pentaur, describes how the king himself, in his chariot, begins the attack upon the Hittites with his troops drawn up in line of battle. Just as he had come to close quarters and was looking before him, he beheld 2,500 chariots of the enemy enclosing his own; but "there was with him no prince and no charioteer, no officer of the footman; they had abandoned him, and no one was there to fight beside him." Rameses II. escaped from his dangerous position by recalling to his father Amon the long list of his acts of piety toward him. Finally, the god in distant Thebes heard his prayer, and bethought him of the pylons, monuments, gifts, and honours which the pious king had enumerated. "I have called from the end of the land, and my voice has passed through Hermonthis. Ra hearkens



RAMESES ON AN ASIATIC CAMPAIGN
Rameses often "bent his bow to the terror of the miserable Asiatics," a group of whom this painting depicts him in the act of striking.

[illegible] stretches forth his hand to me and says: 'Thou art not alone, for I am here, thy father; my hand is with thee. I am to thee more than hundreds of thousands. I the dispenser of victory, who loveth bravery!' Then I regained my courage, my heart rejoiced. Like Month I sent my arrows in all directions; like Baal, like the arrow of the plague, I came down upon them. And I found the 2,500 chariots laid low before my horses." The remainder of the enemy fled with great loss. Rameses long continued to tell the story of this brilliant exploit, and to hold it up before his troops as a shining example.

Amon Rescues Rameses

As a matter of fact, the Hittite struggle which apparently broke out on his accession and continued with long intermissions until 1297-1296 ended in the practical result that Egypt was obliged to renounce whatever empire she had possessed in Syria. Rameses constantly gathered all his strength to give battle to the Hittites, whose military power was now far superior to his own. The poem above mentioned refers to a battle fought not far from the town of Kadesh in the fifth year of the king. In the previous year the Egyptian army had marched through Phœnicia. Evidence of this fact is an inscription of Rameses II on the rocky bank of the Nahr el-Kelb not far from Beirut, to which another was added in later times, perhaps in his tenth year.

The great engagement at Kadesh was probably the conclusion of the chief incident of an advance by which Rameses frustrated an attempt of the Hittites under Mursitus to push farther south. The Pharaoh's army was encamped in the south of the city according to the inscriptions and reliefs in the temple at Luxor and in the Ramesseum, it was surrounded by a wall formed of the heavy shields of the infantry. But it does not appear to have been very well adapted for defence, owing to the disproportionate size of the baggage train. Amid the ox teams and sumpter asses were the king's tame lions. The battle ended with the defeat of the enemy's wing, which was driven across the Orontes. Many of the leaders and allies of the Hittite king were drowned or put to death in the flight. The Egyptians also must have suffered severe losses, which they were unable to conceal, and they so set out on their homeward march.

The Battle of Kadesh

During the next two campaigns the advantage seems to have been on the side of the Hittites. Not until his eighth year did Rameses succeed in securing his occupation even of Palestine, he re-conquered Askalon and several other fortified towns south of Lebanon, among them Dapur, situated in the highlands. The attitude of the Phœnician cities varied with the successes or failures of the Egyptians. Previously the Phœnicians had been among the most loyal of the Pharaoh's Asiatic subjects, however the long duration of the war together with the diminishing prospect of an ultimate Egyptian victory no doubt weakened their fidelity.

When finally the Hittite king Khattusil succeeded to the throne on the death of his brother Mutallu, son of Mursilis, peace was made. Our knowledge of the terms is derived from an inscription upon the south wall of the great Hall of Columns in the Karnak temple. Unfortunately the copy is incomplete owing to the omission of all paragraphs unfavourable to the Egyptians. Consequently we have in this copy not only the earliest instance of a treaty between nations, but also the results of a benevolent censorship, which passed over in silence that which it could not falsify. Numerous allusions are made to previous treaties which had been valid from ancient times until the reign of Mutallu and which Khattusil now renewed. The delimitation of the new frontier in Asia is missing, although the remainder of the agreement contains clauses which treat in detail of future support to be rendered by the contracting powers in the event of an attack upon either, and of the mode of dealing with deserters from both sides. It was also stipulated that in future the encroachments of individuals or communities upon the boundaries of either kingdom should not be permitted. Of her former Asiatic dominions, Egypt succeeded in retaining the cities of Phœnicia and Palestine south of the Lebanon. But the rise of the Palestinian kingdom of Judah deprived her, about a century later, of even this remnant of the conquests of Thothmes III. The last of the Ramesside Pharaohs seems to have had no possessions in Asia, except perhaps

Treaty With the Hittites



A PAGEANT OF ANCIENT EGYPT: RAMESES II., "THE GREAT," AND HIS LIONS IN PROCESSION THROUGH HIS ROYAL CITY

Gaza, beyond the eastern wall at the Bitter Lakes. The only subsequent reference to Egyptian dependencies in Asia is dated in the third year of Meneptah, about 1240; it is a short list of travellers who passed the frontier guard, in which mention is made of royal embassies to Tyre and of the work of Egyptian officials in Palestine. This important treaty ushered in a long period of peace. Khattusil and the king of Kode (the North Syrian coast) subsequently paid a formal visit to Egypt, where they were received with great honour by Rameses II. Although Rameses had married Khattusil's daughter, who received the name Urmaa-Neferu-Ra, according to the then existing conceptions of good faith between sovereigns, the king of the Hittites ventured to pay his visit only under the protection of a powerful escort, a portion of which immediately occupied the place of landing, while the remainder accompanied him on his journey inland.

Hittite Visit to Egypt

We have a record of the visit of Khattusil even in far Nubia, where Rameses sculptured a record of his coming at Abu Simbel, including the departure of the Hittite guest, who is speeded on his way to his northern home in Cappadocia with the hope that neither snow nor ice will hinder his passage over the mountain passes of the Taurus. Abu Simbel is a curious place in which to find a mention of snow and ice. That the treaty with Rameses was an offensive and defensive alliance is proved by this, no less than by the fact that the goddess of Kadesh was worshipped in Egypt; that grain was supplied "in order to nourish this Khetaland"; and finally by a subsequent legend, according to which Rameses II., while engaged in a victorious campaign in Naharina, married "the daughter of the great one of Bekhten, Neferu-Ra." When her sister, Bentresh, was seized by an illness, he sent the god Khuns from Thebes to Bekhten; there the people insisted on retaining the wonder-working image, until it finally freed itself by a further series of miracles. Bekhten is presumably another name for the Khetaland, Cappadocia, not Bactria, as used to be thought. We have very interesting evidence as to the relations of Rameses II. with the Hittites in the cuneiform tablets which have lately been found by Winckler at Boghaz Köi, the site of the Hittite capital, Khatti, the Greek Pteria, east of the Halys. These are diplomatic despatches of the same kind as those from Tell el-Amarna. Even a duplicate of the famous treaty between Rameses and Khattusil is said to have been found. This will give us the "Hittite text," so that we can see the reverse of the medal; audiebimus alteram partem! In these letters the Egyptian king is called "Uashmuariya satepuariya Riyamasesa Maiamana," which gives us approximately the real pronunciation of his name, which we conventionally write "Usermara setepenra Rameses meri-Amon."

Wonder-Working Image

Rameses II. died at an advanced age, and was succeeded by his son, Meneptah, himself no longer a youth, who cannot have reigned more than ten years (1243 to 1233). Although far from a military genius, the course of events during his reign involved Egypt in a severe war, which was conducted to a brilliantly successful issue. The Libyans and the Shardana, who probably had always been in the habit of passing through Libya to take service as mercenaries under the Pharaohs, rose in alliance against Egypt. Marmaiu, the Libyan king, succeeded at the same time in allying himself with a horde of pirates from Greece and Asia Minor, composed of Lycians, "Turisha, Akaivasha, and Shakalusha," who had "constantly made inroads into Egyptian territory, sailing up the river, and remaining for days and months in the land."

Brilliant Successes in War

They advanced as far as Heliopolis, but the god Ptah appeared to Meneptah in a dream and promised him victory; in fact, his army succeeded in routing the dreaded allies in a hard-fought battle near the city of Piari. Marmaiu fled before the final attack of the Egyptians, and left his camp, together with vast quantities of plunder, to the victors, who pursued him with a troop of cavalry, the first of which we hear in Egyptian history, until he finally escaped under cover of the night. More than 9,000 prisoners and a like number of dead bore witness to the military strength of the allies. At the same time the Shardana, serving in the Egyptian army, did not hesitate to fight bravely against their countrymen on this occasion. The suffix -sha is an ethnic termination, which occurs in Lycian in the form of -aza or -azi. The Turisha, Akaivasha, and Shaka-

lusha were probably Tyrrhenian, Achaian, and Sagalassian pirates. Meneptah united Nubia more firmly to Egypt by a campaign against the south, and again invaded Palestine with effect, as is proved by a granite stele discovered in Thebes by Petrie in 1896. Here, for the first time in an Egyptian text, mention is made of Israel, as Isiral, directly as a people, definitely settled in Palestine, which they had had plenty of time to become since the days when their ancestors, the Khabiri, had ravished Palestine in the time of Akhenaten. Till lately it was supposed that the exodus of the Israelites took place in the reign of this king Meneptah. There never were, however, any real grounds for this supposition, which is a mere guess. It is far more probable that the Exodus is really the same event as the expulsion of the Hyksos, as Josephus thought.

The warlike deeds of Meneptah were, however, of but small avail to Egypt. On his death the kingdom was seriously endangered by untimely quarrels as to the succession. His son, or, more probably, grandson, judging from the youthful appearance of the best of his excellent portraits, subsequently succeeded him as Seti II. After came his son, Amenmeses, and shortly afterward an ambitious grandee named Bai seized it for his own candidate, Si-Ptah, a brother of Amenmeses who married his sister, Ta-Usert. Bai seems to have administered the kingdom. From a statement of the revenue of Rameses III., drawn up some sixty years later, it appears that Seti II. and the older line of the Ramessides suffered under "years of want." The Nile god withheld his blessings and plunged the kingdom into misery. The nobles, who were already practically independent and continually quarelling, "put one another to death in their insolence and pride; they did what they pleased, for they had no ruler."

Years of Want

In the meantime a Syrian sheikh took advantage of the confusion. He invaded the country, overthrew the petty princes, and gradually made the once powerful land tributary to himself. We are acquainted neither with the name of this Syrian ruler, which was formerly incorrectly held to be "Arsu," nor with the situation and extent of his Asiatic possessions; apparently we have here to deal only with a temporary supremacy, the creation of which was facilitated by the general disorder in Egypt. Shortly before the year 1200 the Syrian conquerors themselves became destitute and began to plunder the temples; "they used the gods as they had used men, and ceased to make offerings." This treatment finally spurred the priests to work for the restoration of the kingdom.

Egypt Conquered By Syria

"And the gods installed Setnakht, their son, who had issued from their members, as lord of the land. He was as the god Set in his anger; he restored the whole land to order from uproar; he slew the enemies who dwelt therein." This is practically all that we know of the founder of the twentieth dynasty, the line of the later Ramessides. Setnakht himself was probably a scion of the older line.



MUMMY OF RAMESES III.
This small, rather hard-looking man was the last great Pharaoh of the New Empire of Ancient Egypt.

The restoration of Egypt, however, was far from complete. The majority of the temples still awaited the fulfilment of the divine promises. Half of the Delta belonged to the Libyans, and the former masters of the country, who had been driven into Syria, could scarcely have resigned themselves to the change when the liberator left the scene of his exploits, the details of which are in any case unknown. Rameses III. (1200–1168), who succeeded him, had already shared his father's government, and during the first four years of his reign enjoyed an interval of comparative peace. The recruiting of Libyans and Shardana for the Egyptian army seems now to have been carried on with great activity. This in itself tended to relieve the tension upon the western frontier. Perhaps the subjugation of "the mighty one, Kush," whose name occurs at the beginning of a later list of defeated opponents, also took place at this time. Thus, although Kush had remained under the government of an Egyptian viceroy, it is evident that

subsequently to the reign of Seti II. the first of a series of changes, ending in the independence of Ethiopia, took place. While the kingdom of the Pharaohs was visibly increasing in power, the countries of Syria were busily engaged in defending themselves against new invaders; consequently the Libyans were obliged to make their attempt against Egypt in 1195 unassisted, "but their schemes were broken and turned against them." Before the various tribes were able to unite in full force they were intercepted by a clever disposition of the Egyptian forces and dispersed with great loss. The attacks of the last of the Libyan princes ended in flight before the troops of Rameses III., by which time the enemies' losses amounted collectively to more than 12,500.



RAMESES III. AND HIS QUEEN NEFRARI

Reproduced from two splendidly coloured portraits copied by M. Champollion, from the walls of a Nubian temple.

The effects of this defeat were still felt by the Libyans when, in the eighth year of the reign, about 1192 B.C., the storm which had long been threatening from Asia approached the eastern frontier of Egypt.



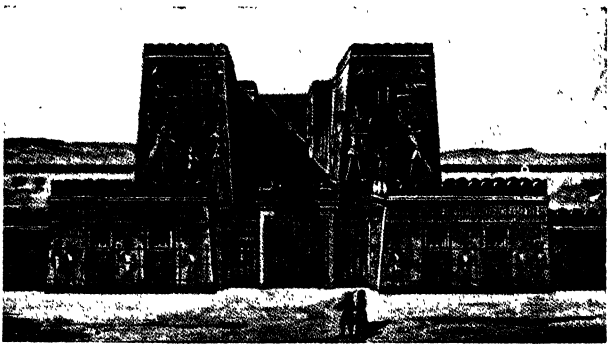
RAMESES III., THE VICTORIOUS, IN HIS CHARIOT

Rameses III. was almost as great a warrior and conqueror as Thothmes III.; he rescued Egypt from Syria and recalled the glories of the New Empire.

The attack was again made by the Turisha and Shakalusha, now materially strengthened by the addition of new peoples—the Pulesti, or Philistines; the Zakkar, or Cretans of Zakro (Teukrians ?); Danuna, or Danaans (*na* is also an ethnic suffix in Lycian); and Vashash (Axians from Crete ?), who had come from their distant coasts; and finally the Shardana of the sea, that is to say, robber bands belonging to this western nation, who had been unable to maintain themselves in Asia, and had therefore joined the oncoming host. Although the Egyptian artists were occasionally careless in matters of detail, nevertheless a comparison of the drawings in which the Shardana appear shows that their national headdress was a round white helmet, with the horns of the moon branching from each side; when they entered the service of the Pharaoh, a spike was added to the helmet, terminating in a metal disc, as it were the badge of the sons of the sun. The Turisha and Shakalusha were probably neighbours and relatives of the Lycians, while as early as the time of Amenhotep III. the Shardana and Danuna are mentioned as mercenaries on the shores of Palestine, and also as settlers there. The Pulesti, the Philistines of the Old Testament, and the Zakkar seem to have been Cretan tribes who had settled on the coast of Palestine. This agrees with the old tradition of the Cretan origin of the Philistines. We find Solomon's guards called Cherethim (Cretans) and Pelishtim (Philistines); so that we have the same Cretan tribes acting as the Varangians of the Israelitish kings as they had a century before for the Pharaohs. Under the twenty-first dynasty the Zakkar are still mentioned as pirates on the Palestinian coast.

This mixed horde of Cretans and other folk from the Ægean and Asia Minor, after subduing Alashya and Kode (Cilicia), the kingdom of the Hittites, and finally the Amorites, assembled its forces in their territories for an invasion

of Egypt by land and sea. Their well-manned fleet, consisting of long, narrow sailing vessels, arrived first, and endeavoured to force an entrance into one of the eastern mouths of the Nile. But the fleet and army of the Pharaoh had concentrated in the threatened district under his personal command, and were in a position to fall upon the enemy at the first favourable opportunity. Driven towards the coast by the Egyptian navy, and there received with showers of arrows by the land forces, the enemy suffered a severe defeat, losing many ships. The remainder were in no condition to continue the struggle, and disappeared from Egyptian waters; this is the first great naval battle known to history. The tactics of King Rameses III. recalled the skill of Thothmes III., the great conqueror, and although the strategy of the former was confined to a smaller compass, it in no way suffers by the comparison. The land forces were immediately despatched to Asia, and overtook the main body of the enemy in Southern Phœnicia, not far from the former frontier of Egypt. The peoples of the north, for the most part armed for hand-to-hand conflict, drew up their ox-waggons, in which they placed their families, after the manner of modern gipsies, into squares, forming a zareba of waggons behind which the shields of the defenders made a further bulwark. The battle was won by the Egyptians, chiefly owing to the powers of the Tuhirs, or "mighty men," of the Shardana in Egyptian service, who, like mercenaries all the world over, had no scruples about fighting against their kith and kin. But in spite of the severe losses sustained by the enemy, especially in prisoners, they remained sufficiently numerous to reconquer within a short time the coast of Shephelna, between Gaza and Carmel, which Rameses III. had recently triumphantly defended. In the meanwhile the Pharaoh followed up his momentary success, and turned against the Amorites of Lebanon to punish them for their alliance with the enemy. Tidings now arrived of a threatened movement upon the Libyan frontier, and when Rameses III. withdrew his army in consequence, the last remains of Egyptian supremacy in Syria disappeared. However, the blow delivered by the king against his foes on the west, under their sole prince Mashashar, the son of Kapur, in the eleventh year of his reign, was only the more severe. The Libyans were completely subjugated; fixed settlements were assigned to their chiefs under the supervision of Egyptian officials.



THE LAST OF THE GREAT TEMPLES OF ANCIENT EGYPT

A restoration, by M. Chipiez, of the splendid funerary temple built by Rameses III. at Medinet Habu. It was the last of the great temples of Ancient Egypt.



THE FIRST GREAT NAVAL BATTLE

About 1192 B.C. a horde of Asiatics, including Philistines and Cretans, attempted an invasion of Egypt, but were defeated by the Egyptian navy at a mouth of the Nile, in the first great naval battle known to history.

The last great temple was now built in Thebes, the Ramesseum serving as its model. It is the funerary temple of the king. Its imposing ruins now bear the name of a former Coptic village, Medinet Habu. Our knowledge of the exploits of its royal builder is derived

from the rich inscriptions, and especially from the decorations on the walls. These vigorous drawings often illuminate for us the meagre words of the text.

The summary of the reign of Rameses III. concludes with the words: "I made the country to be inhabited by people of all classes and of both sexes. I made green trees to grow and to cast their shadows in all places. I brought it to pass that the women of Egypt could go about freely without molestation from scoundrels. During my reign foot soldiers and chariot warriors lived orderly lives in their towns; the Shardana could roll about on their backs, drink and be merry. They no longer had to march to the posts; their wives and children were with them. Every man was filled with loyalty and courage, for I stood there in power to protect them with the terror of my name."

A Reign of Peace and Plenty

Nevertheless, we learn from the papyrus records of a secret prosecution of conspirators in the palace of Rameses III. that certain members of his court formed a plot to set up a new king, who would then be compelled to bestow wealth and high offices upon other people—that is to say, the conspirators. A harem lady of high rank, Tii, the mother of a prince, was at the head of the conspiracy, which was secretly furthered by the chief eunuch and other persons in authority. Letters from the royal harem to a commander of troops in Ethiopia, who was to march to Thebes and there seize the unsuspecting Rameses, seem to have been delivered to the wrong person; and thus the restorer of Egypt was saved by chance from a fate unworthy of him. It also appears that even after this timely discovery his most faithful adherents regarded him as a lost man. But the victor in so many dangerous campaigns proved capable of grappling with this hidden danger. The details of the trial are interesting for the history of law and of civilisation. All the conspirators of rank were examined under fictitious names before a court chosen by the king from his own retainers, while the official judges belonging to the bureaucracy presided only at the trials of lesser conspirators, slaves, maid-servants, harem guards, etc., who had merely acted as messengers or worked for concealment. The son of Tii, who was probably the candidate for the throne, was forced to commit suicide; in other cases the verdict was paraphrased, "He was found guilty and his punishment was carried out"—probably the same penalty elsewhere referred to as "the great punishment of death, of which the gods say, 'Let it be executed upon him.'" Under ordinary circumstances the courts of Ancient Egypt could only pass sentence, and were not allowed to inflict the penalties, the execution of which lay in the hands of the Pharaoh alone; consequently their extraordinary powers were derived from a verbal authorisation.

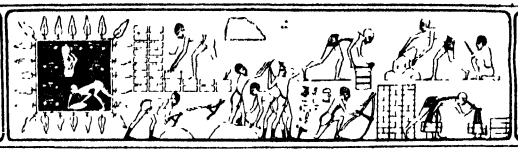
A Secret Court Trial

Rameses III. died on his throne. When the mummy of this small, well-proportioned, rather hard-looking man was conveyed to the valley of the tombs of the kings the last great Pharaoh of the New Empire had gone to his rest. He was succeeded by no less than nine kings, all bearing his name, none of whom was of any historical importance, and several of whom were his sons. The exhausted dynasty of the later Ramessides was allowed to retain the throne solely in consequence of the deep-rooted conviction that only a legitimate Pharaoh could bring prosperity to his country. Perhaps the high-priests of Amon, who were already practically independent in the south, hoped to become supreme in the Delta, where an equally independent monarch guarded the frontiers.

The Last Great Pharaoh

The numerous official documents of the period throw some light upon the condition of the working classes at a time when wages and money were unknown. Payments in kind by the state, as well as by the temples, to their numerous bands of workmen were delivered to the labourers collectively, not individually. If the foreman happened to be brutal or knavish, the division of payment was unpunctual, and want, misery, and vexation resulted. Not all labourers were bondsmen; but probably, on the whole, the freemen were worse off than the slaves.

For the rest, long intervals of cessation from toil were willingly agreed to, and the most remarkable excuses seem to have been readily accepted from individuals who had taken a holiday. Starving workmen were in the habit of enforcing the payment of arrears of wages by noisy demonstrations and insurrections if the scribe persisted in forgetting the time when their claims were due.



DAYS OF THE LAST DYNASTIES

WITH the accession of Smendes, the first of the kings resident at Tanis, begins Manetho's twenty-first or Tanite dynasty, so called from the name of this capital. Our historical knowledge of the Egypt of this period is practically nil. Herihor, who was perhaps a grandson of Rameses VI., and his successors, ruled in Upper Egypt as autocratic high priests, although at the same time they at first recognised the Tanite kings as legitimate Pharaohs and allied themselves to the royal family by marriage. Manetho enumerates seven Tanites: Smendes (Nisbanebded), 26 years; Psusennes I. (Psbukhanu, "the star appearing in the city"), 41 or 46 years; Nephelkheres, 4 years; Amenophthis (Amenemapet), 10 years; Osokhor, 6 years; Psmakhes, 9 years; and Psusennes (Psbukhanu) II., 14 or 35 years a list in which some of the names are more correct than the number of years assigned to the several sovereigns.

Rule of the High Priests

In Thebes, Herihor was succeeded for a short time as high priest by his son Piankhi. Pinetjem I., however, son of Piankhi, and husband of the Tanite princess Hent-taui, finally assumed the royal insignia. Menkheper-Ra, the son of Pinetjem I., appears first as the high priest of Amon and later as king, at which time the spiritual office devolved upon his brother Masaherta. His reign was a long one. We also hear of princesses who were "women of god" of Amon, and princes who filled lower positions in the service of the same deity. It follows that during the twenty-first dynasty Upper and Lower Egypt were for a time ruled by two Pharaohs and two high priests. Consequently, a great sanctuary of Amon must have then been established in Northern Egypt independent of that at Thebes, in the vicinity of which the Tanites constructed their tombs, although it is not probable that the Tanite high priest could permanently have filled the office side by side with a descendant of Herihor of equal rank. The supposition that there was a temple of Amon in Lower Egypt helps us to understand how it came about that a sanctuary subsequently famous was established in the Libyan oasis of Siwah.

The last ruler of the twenty-first dynasty seems to have made an attempt to restore the authority of Egypt in Asia.

End of the 21st Dynasty

According to Hebrew tradition, Solomon married a daughter of the Pharaoh, receiving as a dowry the Canaanite city Gezer, which had been conquered by his father-in-law. Chronology shows that this transaction can be attributed only to the above-named personalities. But that Egypt remained at that time for almost a century and a half at peace with all nations is not probable. All architectural work ceased. About the year 1000, even the outhouses of the Rammeseum had become so dilapidated that their site was used as a burying-ground. The temples of Der el-Bahari were treated in the same way. The Pharaohs of the twenty-first dynasty, in spite of their ecclesiastical veneer, ingloriously gave up the struggle with the robbers of the tombs of the ancient kings. Finally the threatened mummies were hidden in the cleft in the rock above Der el-Bahari, which was enlarged for their reception; and here the bodies of Thothmes, Seti, and Rameses lay undisturbed for almost 3,000 years. Finally the secret of the whereabouts of the gallery and sepulchral chamber was obtained from the fellahin, and the contents of this hiding-place were removed to the museum at Bulak.

For a long time a hereditary commander of mercenaries, descended from a Libyan royal family, had enjoyed great influence in Bubastis. Ever since the Shardana had disappeared from the service of the successors of Rameses III. their Libyan comrades, more especially the warriors of the Mashawasha, not only formed the nucleus of the imperial army, but now prepared to resume possession of the Delta by migration. Nemart, commandant of

Mercenaries Come to the Throne

Bubastis, "the great of the great," son of a Tanite princess, married a relative of the royal dynasty. A son was born to them, named Sheshonk. He, again, as well as his son Osorkon, married daughters of Psusennes II., and thus looked upon the throne of Egypt as assured to his descendants. Jeroboam had already found protection at his residence when fleeing from Solomon. But as events moved more rapidly in Palestine than in Egypt, the war between Rehoboam, Solomon's successor, and the adherents of Jeroboam was carried on for some years before the twenty-second dynasty of the Bubastites ascended the throne of Egypt.

Dynasty of the Libyans

King Sheshonk (about 930 B.C.), the Shishak of the Old Testament, began a career of conquest immediately upon his accession. The greater part of a list of cities and provinces in Palestine conquered by him, probably about 930, has been preserved in Karnak. Jerusalem must have stood among the twenty-three names which are to-day illegible, for the Old Testament expressly mentions that Shishak took away the treasures of Solomon. Of the remaining 133 names, many belong to Northern Israel, whence it is to be concluded that the victory of Jeroboam over Judah was chiefly due to Egyptian support. How long the two Israelite states continued to pay tribute to Egypt is unknown; according to the later Jewish view, thirty years.

Although the Libyans of Bubastis as commanders of the Egyptian army had succeeded in making good their claims to the double crown, and had begun their rule of 170 years with a brilliant campaign in Asia, Egypt continued to decay still more rapidly under their government. The kings built temples and monuments in Memphis and the Delta cities, awakened anew the memory of the Ramessides, and occasionally called their younger sons or cousins "royal children of Rameses"; otherwise, the customs of the Tanites were retained. Sheshonk I., whose favourite wife Karama also bore the title of "god's wife," appointed his son Aupuat high-priest of Amon, according to the precedent laid down by Pinetjem. Ethiopia began more directly to menace Upper Egypt. We know practically nothing of Osorkon I. (900 B.C.), and his successors Takeloth I. and Osorkon II.

Egypt's Decay Unchecked

Takeloth II., who succeeded Sheshonk II., reigned about 850, and spent the first eleven years of his reign struggling with insurrections in all parts of Egypt; subsequently he commanded his son to restore the worship of Amon in Thebes. Apparently the later years of his reign were also disturbed by rebellions.

It is certain that at about this time the various Libyan governors of cities, who were equals of the king, began to look upon themselves as independent. According to the inscriptions in the Apis tombs, which are of great importance to the chronology of this period, Sheshonk III. reigned fifty-two years—that is to say, until about 780. The list of his deeds inscribed in the "Bubastic corner" of the temple of Karnak concludes, however, at his twenty-ninth year. Hence it may be inferred that Thebes fell into the hands of the Ethiopians about the year 800.

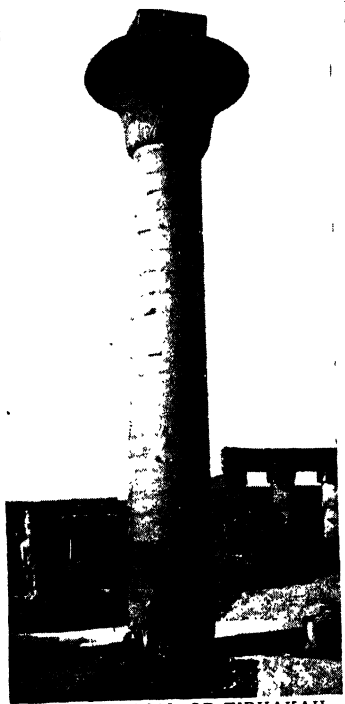
The last two kings of the dynasty, Pimai and Sheshonk IV. (750 B.C.), had to fight for the possession of Middle Egypt; and the army of Sheshonk once advanced as far as the island of Sehel at the first cataract. The colonial kingdom in Ethiopia had been really independent of Egypt for centuries. The kings of the eighteenth dynasty had founded a sort of priestly colony of Amon-worshippers from Thebes at Napata under the shadow of Gebel Barkal. This always maintained friendly relations with the mother-temples at Thebes; and when the priest kings of the twenty-first dynasty were finally deposed by Sheshonk and the Bubastides, there is no doubt that Napata received members of the dispossessed family, who erected an Ethiopian kingship for themselves there. From these exiles was descended Piankhi, the conqueror of Egypt.

Independence of the Colonies

With the aid of the Bubastic dynasty the kingdom fell apart into a number of independent principalities, whose chiefs usually assumed the insignia of pharaohs. At the beginning of the campaign of the Ethiopian king Piankhi against Lower Egypt, about the year 730, the state of the country was somewhat as follows. In Saïs, a king Tefnakht had arisen, who added Memphis to his territory and made preparations for the restoration of the empire of the Pharaohs. Of four other "kings," three were in all probability members of the Bubastic dynasty—Osorkon of Bubastis, Aupuat

of Tent-remu, and Nemart of Shmun or Hermopolis Magna. They attached themselves "like dogs"—according to Piankhi—to Tefnakht, while the fourth king, Pefdudubast of Herakleopolis, or Ahnas, favoured the Ethiopians. Fifteen additional adherents of Tefnakht were for the most part mercenary commanders, in possession of the town districts; two called themselves hereditary princes. In Letopolis the high priest of Horus was supreme. This condition of government is termed by Manetho the twenty-third dynasty," to which he assigns four kings in succession - Petubastis, Osorkho, Psammus, and Zet.

According to a long inscription on Mount Barkal, near Napata, in which the events of his life are set down with an accuracy unknown to Egyptian chroniclers, Piankhi must have advanced in person into Egypt in the twenty-eighth year of his reign; therefore his rule in Egypt dates from about 750. Puarma and Lamersekni, the two Ethiopian military governors installed in Upper Egypt by Piankhi, had been defeated by Nemart, prince of Shmun, while at the same time Tefnakht threatened Herakleopolis. Upon the receipt of this news, Piankhi at once set out in person, celebrated the festival of the new year before Amon in Thebes, and then hastened "to let the lands of Lower Egypt taste the flavour of my finger." After a stubborn defence Nemart was forced to surrender in Hermopolis. The conqueror, who was received with great ceremony on entering the town, did not trouble himself about Nemart's wives and court attendants but immediately examined the plunder, setting aside a portion of it for Amon. "His Majesty then went to the stables and to the foal paddocks. He perceived that these animals must have suffered from hunger, and said [to Nemart]: 'By my oath it seems to me that the most evil of thy sins is that of allowing the horses to all starve!'" The fortifications at the entrance of the Fayyum were also unable to hold out. On the other hand, incited by Tefnakht, Memphis, which was surrounded by new walls, resisted until it was stormed from the river side. How Piankhi straightway set a guard over the temple of Ptah and made a pilgrimage to it, and to the temple of Ra at Heliopolis, is described in the inscription with an attention to detail which has proved of great value to the study of religious ceremonial, and also throws considerable light upon the bigotry of Ethiopian pietism. Aupuat and several petty princes had already appeared with tribute before Piankhi in Memphis, and when the conqueror advanced to Athribis a general submission followed. Tefnakht alone insisted that he should be permitted to take the oath of allegiance at home in Sais before the emissaries of Piankhi.



THE MEMORIAL OF TIRHAKAH
Tirhakah, who gained the throne by force, was the first to struggle seriously with the Assyrians for the possession of Egypt.

During the few years of obscurity which followed the personal retirement of Piankhi to Napata, Tefnakht's son, Bocchoris or Bokenranef, regained authority in Lower Egypt, with his capital at Memphis, contemporaneously with the rule of king Kashta, the successor of Piankhi, in the south. Bocchoris was, according to the Greek historians of later times, a wise lawgiver and sagacious judge; others represent him as an avaricious and ungodly weakling. Manetho asserts that he was the sole representative of the twenty-fourth dynasty, and that he was taken captive and burnt alive by Sabako.

Shabaka, or Sabako, the second successor of Piankhi, succeeded in re-subjugating the whole country about 715. Amenerdis, the sister of Sabako, is constantly mentioned in Thebes as the "woman of god" of Amon; she was the daughter of King Kashta, and appears as queen regent and consort of a younger Piankhi, who also seems to have become king. Manetho

places Sabako as the founder of the twenty-fifth dynasty, eventually known as "Ethiopian." Circumstances seem to have brought him into collision with Sargon of Assyria, for he appears as the ally of Hanno of Gaza, and as the Seveh of the Bible, on whose help the last king of Northern Israel thought he might rely. Sabako's son and successor, Sebichos—in Egyptian, Shabataka—built a small storehouse on the sacred lake at Karnak, where his portrait is still to be seen ornamented with a turban cap and earrings, in the usual Nubian style. Amon-Ra promises to place all foreign countries beneath the sole of his foot, an undertaking not likely to be performed in view of the Assyrian advance in Asia. The victory of Sennacherib at Altaku in the year 701 was gained over a confederacy which had long previously been united for the relief of Jerusalem, and with which the Egyptians can hardly have failed to co-operate. Herodotus relates a pious legend of the "Sethos priest of Hephæstus," the successor of Sabako. Sennacherib is said to have marched against Egypt, which had been left defenceless by a mutiny of her soldiers; but field mice, sent by the gods, gnawed all the leather work of the weapons and the bow-strings by night in the camp before Pelusium, and Sethos was saved. Mice, and still more rats, usually precede an outbreak of plague, and in these details the story is in harmony with the Biblical account of the saving of Jerusalem from Sennacherib.

Supremacy of the Ethiopians

Taharka, or Tirhakah, was the first ruler to enter seriously upon the struggle against the Assyrians for the possession of Egypt. He was a son of Piankhi III., and grandson of Kashta. It is probable that he deposed, and probably killed, Shabataka about 693 B.C. his collision with Esarhaddon, the dissolution of the Ethiopian monarchy north of Assouan, and the capture of Thebes by the army of Ashurbanipal in 668, detailed in our history of Assyria. The supremacy of the Sargonide kings of Assyria, from 671, was of no long duration. Ashurbanipal proposed to execute his authority in the Nile valley from so far a distance as Nineveh by means of a numerous body of town governors and nomarchs, twenty of whom were specially created by the great king. These form Herodotus's "Dodekarchy."

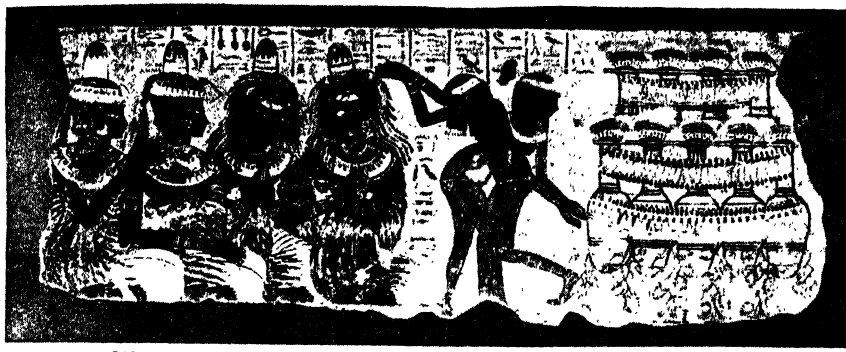
Struggle with Assyria

When the plunderers of Thebes retreated, Prince Nekau of Sais and Memphis found success much more nearly within his grasp than had Tefnakht a century before, but he was prevented from seizing his opportunity by death.

His son Psametik—probably pronounced Psamatiko; Greek, Psammetichos—found very little difficulty in making himself "lord of both lands." He continued to pay tribute to the Assyrians, and possibly rendered other services in view of this special opportunity. In return, he received forthwith the reinforcements which he required to repulse the advance of Tanut-Ameu—called by the Assyrians Tandamane—the successor of Taharka, who had been expelled to Nubia by the Assyrians. Shepenapet, an Ethiopian princess and a niece of Amenerdis, continued to rule as "god's wife" in Thebes under Psametik I.; hence it appears that he was anxious to promote a good understanding with Ethiopia. However, an indispensable preliminary was the acknowledgment of the new king's daughter Nitocris, or Neitakert, as the future successor to the throne. Although the majority of the petty princes of Egypt may have been inclined to support Psametik, the remainder could easily have combined to do him a mischief. The further Ashurbanipal pushed his eastern campaigns, the higher, in the opinion of the confederated petty kings of Egypt, rose the prospects of a restoration of the "balance of power," a primary condition of which was naturally the recall of the Ethiopian kings.

Petty Kings of Egypt

Psametik could expect no help from Libya. That narrow strip of land, having relieved itself of all its superfluous population by over-sea emigration and fruitless attacks on Egypt, had become much weakened; what is now the territory of Barka had been colonised by Greeks in the eighth century B.C.; the Greek city of Cyrene now dominated the inhabitants of the interior, who no longer looked to Egypt as an overlord who might demand assistance from them in war. The Cyrenaica was now a Greek state, with the usual Greek city-constitution in Cyrene. During the eighth century B.C., the Nile delta had constantly been visited by the trading ships of the prosperous Greek towns in Asia Minor; to this fact is due the more accurate knowledge which we possess of the



GIRLS DANCING TO THE PIPE AT A FEAST IN ANCIENT EGYPT



GRAPHIC PICTURE OF A FOWLER SNARING WILD DUCKS IN THE PAPYRUS MARSHES



A DOMESTIC SCENE: GOOSEHERD AND A GROUP OF SERVANTS MAKING OBEISANCE

Photos by Mansell

AN ART REVIVAL IN ANCIENT EGYPT SHOWN IN THE TOMB PAINTINGS OF 1000 B.C.

Ethiopian conquest, of the liberation by means of Asiatic intervention, and of the "rule of the twelve kings" mentioned by Herodotus. At the present moment an alliance with this foreign people was the more attractive, inasmuch as they had been united into a strong kingdom under Gyges. Reinforcements of Ionian and Carian—that is, Lydian—troops soon enabled Psametik to rid himself of the burdensome city governors and nomarchs. The supremacy of Assyria disappeared with their expulsion about 660 B.C.

The Assyrians Expelled

The empire which a favourable conjunction of circumstances in Further Asia enabled Psametik I. of Saïs (664 to 610) to found endured for about 140 years, and bears only a superficial resemblance to the Egypt of the Pharaohs. The influence of Hellenism during this period and under the Persian supremacy made for progress on new lines. These northern foreigners whom Psametik settled at that time in Bubastis and on the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile in the "Milesian camp"—that is, bazaar—proved a valuable support to the new Egyptian dynasty. The old Phœnician-Semitic influence, which had never made for much improvement, was replaced by the far higher and more civilised influence of Greek ideas.

At first, indeed, the anti-Semitic reaction took the form of a return to the "good old days," when the Egyptian was an Egyptian, the "golden age" of the pyramid-builders, for inspiration not only in art but also in national life generally. This ultra-nationalism naturally militated against Greek influence, but, on the other hand, Greek influence was the only foreign influence that just at this time the Egyptians would have admitted at all. And, no doubt to their surprise, the Egyptian priests found that the Greeks were not all traders and warriors, but possessed philosophers and wise men who were profoundly interested in Egyptian antiquity. Concerning the history of this period, it is important to observe that the Greeks alone have transmitted a connected account of it, though one composed from their own point of view. The Ionian wise men who visited Egypt, the historiographers like Hecatæus of Miletus, and Herodotus of Halicarnassus after him, were keenly interested in the annals of the land in which so many of their countrymen were settled, and have left no accounts of the history of this period treated from the Egyptian point of view. Our information upon the state of civilisation, as derived from this source, can be supplemented in certain details by the memorials belonging to the period of the Saïtes.

First Contact with Greece

In general outline the changes which took place within the empire resembled the reorganisation of Greece which was introduced by the removal of Constantine to Byzantium. Upper Egypt rapidly lost the traces of its former importance, which it never in any respect recovered. "Thebes of the hundred gates," notwithstanding the proud and pious recollections of its past, fell into a state of irrevocable decay. The administration was no longer capable of keeping even the vast temples in repair, although during the Persian period rebel kings took a pride in restoring shattered walls or pillars in Karnak and Medinet Habu that they might set their names upon them. Memphis, however, as in antiquity, again became the political centre. Its favourable site at the head of the Delta system gave it geographical advantages over Thebes akin to those possessed by Corinth over Athens. Saïs, the capital of the Psametik kings, though provided with many stately buildings, remained a town of moderate size compared with Memphis.

Decay of Thebes

In conformity with this change in the conditions of government, Ptah and Osiris laid claim to that supremacy which the divinities of Amon had lost, Osiris now rising to be lord of the sky from his previous position as monarch of the dead. Isis maintained herself at his side, though the Libyan Neith imposed some temporary limitations upon her influence. Horus acquired the attributes of Ra. These expressions of the change in religious belief were equivalent to the restoration of the primitive doctrine of the country, and were continued in the conscious choice of customs and types belonging to the old régime. Names and titles from the old kingdom and its language as written and spoken were now revived. The learned classes prided themselves upon that antiquarian knowledge which filled Herodotus with respect. The art of the period naturally underwent a corresponding change. Goose-herds and basket-makers, market and harvesting scenes, were again employed as decorations for the

tombs and represented in the rough style of primitive Egyptian art, though touches of the realism of later days are occasionally apparent. This is the archaistic revival in art, mentioned above.

The "history" of the Saïtic rulers comes fresh to us from Greek sources. We have a detailed account of the impossible undertaking of Psametik I. to discover the sources of the Nile and the origin of language; whereas we have but short references to the fact that he strengthened the frontier forces of Daphne at Pelusium, Marea on the west, and Elephantine on the south; that he conquered the Philistine town of Ashdod after a struggle extending over twenty-nine years, and drove back from Egypt the Scythians, who had advanced into Palestine. The king died after a long reign at the moment when the fall of Assyria was clearly inevitable, and the supremacy in Further Asia changed hands. Nekau, or Necho, II. (610 to 595 B.C.), the son of Psametik, invaded Palestine in 608 B.C., and induced the former Assyrian vassals to accept his supremacy, though some few of these princes, among them the Jewish king Josiah, continued to defend the cause of the Assyrians. They were defeated at Megiddo, or Migdol, by the mercenaries of Necho, who then captured "the great town of Kadytis," or Kadesh, on the Orontes. The Egyptian headquarters were situated for a time at Ribla, close at hand, and it was from that spot that Necho arranged the succession to the throne of Judah. However, in spite of the footing which he had gained within the country where Thothmes III. had previously begun the conquest of Syria, this new attempt at expansion came to a rapid end. In the year 605 the army of Necho was utterly routed by Nebuchadnezzar on the Euphrates at Carchemish; by the year 601 B.C. Egypt had lost the last of her Asiatic possessions. The remarkable story related by Herodotus of the circumnavigation of Africa, which was accomplished in three years by Phœnician sailors at the command of Necho, necessarily implies the supremacy of that king in Phœnicia for a period of years. The supposition that Necho resumed the construction of a canal from the Delta to the Red Sea, but suspended the work after it had cost the lives of one hundred and twenty thousand labourers, is legendary, but must rest upon a historical foundation. Under Psametik II. (594 to 589 B.C.) monuments occur in much greater abundance than during his father's reign. Egypt again attempted expansion southward. The army advanced as far as Abu Simbel if not farther—the mercenaries were commanded by Psamatichos, the son of Theokles—and scratched their names upon the columns of the Rameses temple in Greek and Phœnician and perhaps also in Cypriote letters. "When King Psamatichos came to Elephantine," the chief Greek inscription reads, "those who sailed with Psamatichos, son of Theokles, wrote this. Now, they came above Kerkis as far as the river let them go up. And Potasimto led the foreigners, and Amasis the Egyptians. And Archon, the son of Amoibichos, and Pelekos, the son of nobody, wrote us" (that is, the letters). According to Herodotus the king died before the struggle had been definitely terminated.

Last of the Asiatic Possessions

A Suez Canal Attempted



QUEEN AMENERITIS
A fine example of the Egyptian art revival from Gizeh.

He was succeeded by Apries, or Haa-ab-Ra. Once again Egyptian politicians dreamed of conquest upon the disputed ground of Syria - Palestine. About the appearance of Apries in Phœnicia and his operations by sea against Tyre and Sidon our information is scanty. It can, however, be supplemented by the Biblical references to the untrustworthy character of Pharaoh "Hophra" when Jerusalem was reduced to extremities. The surrender of this city and the subjugation of Judah marked the firm establishment of the power of Nebuchadnezzar in West Asia. An inscription of Nsihor, the governor of Elephantine, also refers to disturbances in Upper Egypt, which were apparently suppressed only by means of treachery and cunning. The interference of Apries in the long-continued struggle of the Libyans against the Greek state of Cyrene led

to no result. According to Herodotus, it even brought about the overthrow of the Pharaoh. His general, Amasis, availed himself of the refusal of the Egyptian militia to expose themselves to further defeats in the west for the purpose of seizing the throne. Apries then marched against Amasis at the head of his foreign mercenaries, but was defeated and captured at Momemphis. For a time he was imprisoned at Sais and treated kindly; but eventually the dethroned monarch fell a victim to the popular resentment, and was then given a royal burial.

A Soldier Seizes the Throne

It has now been established that Amasis was by no means of "low birth," as is asserted by the Greek historian. His mother, Tseneset, was a daughter of Psametik II. It appears to be certain that Amasis and Apries ruled in conjunction for several years. The facts as to the death of Apries are given in an inscription which has been translated by M. Daréssy. The elder king, always friendly to his foreign mercenaries, escaped from Saïs and joined a force of Greeks which was ravaging the Delta. Amasis followed, and defeated him at Andropolis. But later on Apries and his Greeks reappeared, only to be again attacked by Amasis. Apries was then murdered by some country people as he was asleep in the cabin of his boat, and Amasis gave him royal burial, pardoning him his sin against the gods.

Such is Amasis's own account. It is evident that Amasis represented a national Egyptian movement against the too great friendliness of Apries for the foreigners. A fragmentary inscription of Nebuchadnezzar points to the fact that the Babylonians invaded Egypt about 568-567 B.C. Possibly the change in the dynasty is connected with this event. The date 564 given by Herodotus as the end of the reign of Apries appears to be too late. Amasis, who regarded his brother-in-law as a legitimate monarch in spite of all their dissensions, probably began his own reign as early as 570, and it was in his third year (567-66 B.C.) that the death of Apries took place.

Amasis, a Cunning Knave

The reign of Amasis is estimated at forty-four years by contemporary historians. However, the king's foreign policy is characterised by an entire lack of enterprise. Indications are not wanting that Amasis must be regarded as nothing more than a cunning knave, notwithstanding the Greek anecdotes which represent him as the personal friend of Thales, Bias, etc., as the wise law-giver and the humane philanthropist. His sole object was to gain for Egypt a short respite from destruction. He made no effort to save Lydia from her fall, and Xenophon's references to the help lent by Egypt are pure fiction. He occupied the island of Cyprus for a time, but soon evacuated it in favour of the Persians. After the fall of Sardis his chief anxiety was lest the source of his supply of Greek troops should now be closed; for this reason he entered into negotiations with the towns on the east coast of the Ægean, which still preserved their independence, and presented gifts to their temples, as Necho had once made gifts to the temple of Branchidæ. A typical example of this policy is the well-known story of the alliance between Amasis and Polykrates of Samos—especially typical as regards the extent of the help which the "reed of Egypt" was accustomed to lend to others in their hour of need.

In other respects, however, the Greeks might in every case count upon preferential treatment. Amasis dealt gently even with the turbulent Cyrene. Not far from the later Alexandria, on the Canopic mouth of the Nile, about seven hundred Greek merchants, apparently Ionians from Teos, had already settled. Their factory grew to the size of a foreign settlement, and was given the name of "mighty in ships," Naucratis. After the fall of Lydia—that is, about 545 B.C.—Amasis thought it advisable to oblige the sudden stream of immigrants from the towns of Ionia and Doria to settle in Naucratis by the issue of a decree forbidding them to land elsewhere for trading purposes. The town received the privilege of self-government. Its central shrine was the Hellenion, in the provision of which nine privileged towns and islands took part. It was, however, overshadowed by the fame of the Apollo temple of the Milesians, an offshoot from the temple of Branchidæ. Greek tradition has evinced a spirit of gratitude to King Amasis for his protection of their nationality, which he continued for at least twenty years. Egyptian historians are less laudatory. In fragments of a demotic text of the Ptolemaic period containing a large number of references to past history, Amasis is reproached for

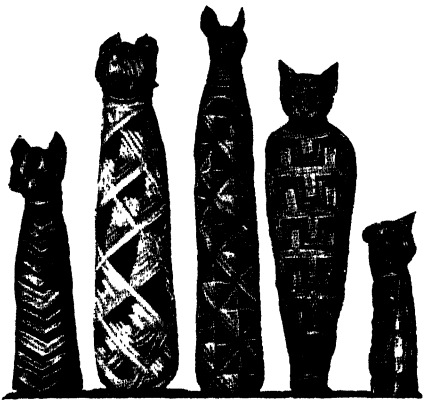
A Greek Town in the Delta

diverting the incomes of the temples of Memphis, Heliopolis, Bubastis and Saïs to the payment of his mercenaries. Ultimately, the gods suffered a considerable loss, both of wealth and of landed property.

The army of Cambyses, king of Persia, met with no resistance to its conquest of the country in the summer of 525 B.C., nine months after the death of Amasis. The highly paid mercenaries of Psametik III., the last of the Saïte kings, were defeated by the Persian at Pelusium after a hard struggle. A traitor, Phanes of Halicarnassus, is then said to have betrayed to Cambyses the easiest mode of approach through the desert. Psametik retired to Memphis. The zealous defenders of this town soon lost heart, surrendered after a short siege, and are said to have been treated with severity. Legend reports other cruelties by Cambyses. The destroyer of the Saïte dynasty, which was friendly to the Greeks, is naturally represented by their historians in the worst possible light, and we have no Egyptian confirmation of these stories; rather, Cambyses appears in Egyptian records as interested in the people he had conquered, and in their religion. We must remember that Cambyses was no monotheistic Persian, like Darius, but an Elamite, and probably a polytheist, like his predecessor, Cyrus. It was the later fanatical Persians who really behaved cruelly to the Egyptians, and persecuted their religion. Psametik III. seems to have sworn allegiance as tributary prince. However, he immediately set a revolt on foot, and his execution became inevitable. Egypt had now lost her native rulers and paid tribute to Susa instead of to Saïs. Naucratis soon lost its commercial privileges, the retention of which was naturally impossible under the Persian government. No further innovations were made during the Persian period, which lasted for about two hundred years, though interrupted by rebellion. The high officials of Persian origin installed within the country were scanty in number and exercised not the smallest influence upon the nationality, the civilisation, or the religion. Even the permanent garrison maintained in the "white fortress" of Memphis was not necessarily sent out from the distant capital of Iran; subjects of the great king of other than Egyptian nationality were considered capable of performing this service. Egypt was thus able to continue its development undisturbed. The preference for the old régime displayed by the upper classes seems to have continued for some time. Under the shadow of the Una's pyramid in Sakkara members of prosperous families were laid to their rest as late as the year 540 B.C.; examples are Psametik and his son Petenisis after him, during the reign of Darius I. The tomb of the admiral Tjanehebu, discovered in 1900, contains a collection of valuable objects displaying high artistic finish. The preference for heavy stone coffins increased. It was considered of special importance to cover thickly the internal and external surfaces with pictures and written texts. The later kings, Nekhthorheb and Nekhtnebf, left behind sarcophagi displaying twenty thousand hieroglyphics, besides a thousand pictures. The animal worship of this period increased far beyond the limits of the earlier cult of Apis and Mnevis. It became customary to mummify the sparrow-hawk, the ibis, the ram, and the cat; to envelop them in wrappings, provide them with coffins, etc. In the Ptolemaic and Roman periods crocodiles, snakes, and fishes, as well as dogs, mice, and beetles, became the objects of a piety that had degenerated into childishness.

The Persian Conquest

Egypt Under the Persians



THE ANIMAL WORSHIP OF EGYPT
During the period of Persian supremacy, which had no influence on Egyptian development, animal worship increased to the point of childishness; it became customary to mummify cats and other animals, as here illustrated.

Saïs had also opened its gates to the Persian kings. Cambyses there appears as a legitimate Pharaoh, with the fore-

name Mesut-Ra—literally, child of Ra. He offered solemn sacrifices in the temple of Neith after purging the shrine of intruders, who were apparently members of his own army. Greek historians are our sole sources of information concerning the reported despatch of a division to the western oasis of Amon and the mysterious disappearance of these troops in the desert. Cambyses's unsuccessful campaign against the Ethiopians, about 524, is supported by more definite statements. An inscription, belonging probably to Napata, set up by the Ethiopian king Nastesen, or Nastasenen, mentions a certain hostile "Kambasuden" who invaded his country from the sea and was defeated. This is, no doubt, Cambyses. But under Darius the Nubian Kushites are tributary to the Persians and furnish a contingent of troops.

Cambyses, a Persian Pharaoh

Cambyses endangered his throne by remaining in the Nile valley until 522 B.C. When he was recalled by the revolt of Gaumata he entrusted the government of Egypt to the satrap Aryandes. Events in Persia left this governor in an almost independent position, and he succeeded in subjugating Cyrene; but Darius I. drove him out in the year 517 B.C., and visited the country in person with the object of subjecting the valuable inheritance of the Pharaohs to the general administrative reforms which he was then introducing. The benefices of the priesthoods were improved, the priestly colleges in Sais were fully restored, and no doubt the same procedure was followed in Memphis, Heliopolis, and other sacred centres. When Darius had settled the yearly contribution of the Egyptian-Libyan satrapy at 700 talents—about £225,000—and had secured a number of minor sources of income to himself, he was yet able to go to some expense in the construction of temples, as at El-Kharga in the Great Oasis. Fragmentary inscriptions also state that the king completed the long projected canal to the Red Sea, and it is not improbable that Indian commerce can have passed to the Mediterranean by this route at that period.

Darius Completes the Canal

However, these new regulations did not bring peace to the country. About 487–486 B.C., or later, a native chief, by name Khabbash, assumed the title of king, presented a piece of land to the goddess Buto—since known as the "land of Buto"—and took careful measures to place the coast in a state of defence. Xerxes put an end to this interlude in the year 484 when he restored the satrapy and handed it over to his brother Hakhamanish, or Achæmenes. After the murder of Xerxes, in 465 B.C., disputes arose in Susa concerning the succession, and the revolts of Inarus in 460 and Amyrtæus in 450 began in Lower Egypt. When the Persians were able to re-establish their supremacy, about 449, Artaxerxes I., "Longimanus," preferred to leave the sons of these revolters, Thannyras and Pausiris, to rule as independent chiefs in their swamps. Darius II. resumed building operations upon a temple in the oasis of Kharga, which the first Darius had founded there. These are practically the last memorials that any Persian king erected in the country.

From the year 415 B.C. Egypt ceased to be a part of the Persian empire, and maintained its independence to the middle of the following century. A Saïte prince, Amyrtæus (II.), perhaps the grandson of the previous bearer of the name, enlisted Greek mercenaries, declared himself "lord of both lands," and drove out the Persians, who were prevented from taking the offensive by the outbreak of disturbances in other parts of their enormous empire. The monarchy thus restored certainly gained a breathing space in which to prepare for defence against foreign aggression, but it was impossible to check the autocratic behaviour of the highly paid auxiliaries from Hellas, who were now largely recruited from Greece proper. As far as can be seen, this behaviour was partly due to the reckless payments distributed by Egyptian chiefs who were anxious to seize the throne. A similar phenomenon appeared in the period of the Diadochi, and assumed larger proportions under the prætorian emperors.

The Persians Driven Out

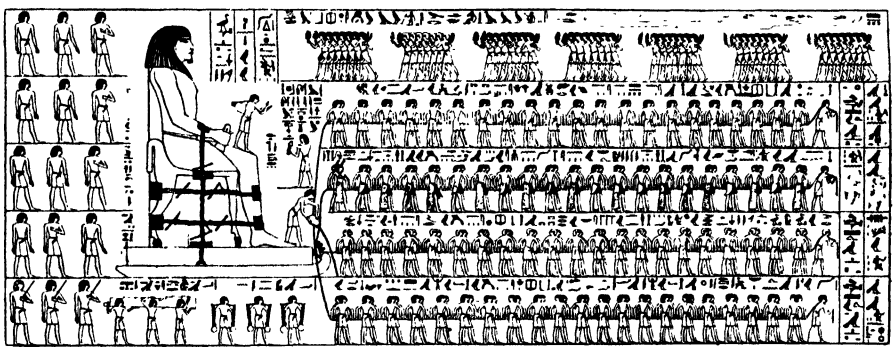
About 409 B.C. the mercenaries deposed Amyrtæus and replaced his dynasty with that of Naifaaurut, or Nepherites, of Mendes. When, however, the new king created his son Nectanebus, or Nekhthorheb, co-regent, "the people" were irritated by this precautionary measure, and forced Nectanebus to retreat to Sebennytos. In 404 B.C. Hakor, or Akhoris, was made king by the troops. He reigned until 391 B.C., and his piety found

expression in the construction of temples at different places. Psimut, or Psammuthis, his successor, who had already been the ruling power in the Delta about 400—if he is to be identified with the "King Psametik of Egypt" of Diodorus—was considered a godless ruler; for this reason his reign lasted only a year, and he was not recognised throughout the country.

Piety returns in the person of "Muthes," who was also able to maintain his position only for a year. Dissensions then divided the mercenaries. After putting a second Nepherites to death, they restored the "old right," apparently by the recall of the king's son Nekhthorheb, or Nectanebus I., about 385 to 363 B.C., who had been formerly driven from the court. Under him Egypt plays a more important part in the revolts of Further Asia. But when the Cyprian Evagoras had submitted to the Persians in defiance of his convention with Nectanebus, the danger of reconquest threatened the Nile valley. In the year 374 B.C. a great army appeared from Syria under a Pharnabazus. After the surprise of Mendes by the Athenian Iphicrates, who commanded the Greek mercenaries, the two commanders quarrelled, and Egypt was saved by the rise of the Nile. Tjeho, or Tachos, 363 to 361, the son of Nekhthorheb, availed himself of the next great revolt in Syria to invade that country in force. His careful preparations were, however, ruined by the Greek mercenaries. The Spartan king Agesilaus, who "sailed the sea for gold" in his old age, suddenly declared for the cousin of Tachos, Nekhtnebf, or Nectanebus II. Tachos, who was then in Sidon, saw his army melt away, and he himself went over to the great king, by whom he was kindly received. Agesilaus was, in the meantime, obliged to overthrow a new aspirant to the throne from Mendes, and died shortly afterward. With the accession of Artaxerxes III. in Persia, in 358 B.C., the struggle was renewed. An attack of the king on Egypt was repulsed by Diophantus and Lamius, the Greek generals of King Nekhtnebf, but the Persians returned to the attack when Egypt supported the last general insurrection which broke out upon the coast-land of Further Asia. After the capture of Pelusium and Bubastis, Nekhtnebf made a timely escape to Ethiopia with his treasures to avoid being sold into the hands of his enemies. The buildings of Nekhtnebf (361–343 B.C.), far surpassed those of all the other rebel kings. The splendid temple of Isis on the island of Philæ, the construction of which was begun by the Ptolemies, was planned by him.

Fresh Invasion of Syria

Greece and Persia in Egypt



AN ARMY OF LABOURERS MOVING A COLOSSUS FROM THE QUARRIES TO ITS TEMPLE

No memorials survive to mark the short period of the Persian administration (343–332 B.C.). When the Macedonians advanced into Asia and Alexander had won the battle of Issus, he was confronted by a practically new Egyptian kingdom under his compatriot and personal enemy, Amyntas, the son of Antiochus. This partisan of the Persian king occupied Memphis, but the inhabitants of the surrounding country were encouraged by the Persian governor Mazakes to attack his scanty forces, and Amyntas fell in the struggle. Almost exactly a year afterwards, at the end of 332 B.C., Alexander the Great entered Egypt unopposed.



THE DEATH OF CLEOPATRA, THE MOST FAMOUS OF THE PTOLEMY QUEENS
The famous Cleopatra, daughter of Ptolemy XIII. and the seventh of her name on the Egyptian throne, the beloved of Julius Cæsar and of Marcus Antonius, committed suicide by allowing an asp to bite her when Augustus landed in Egypt.
From the picture by the Hon. J. Collier, by permission of the Oldham Art Gallery.



FROM ALEXANDER TO MAHOMET

THE development of Egyptian civilisation under the Macedonian supremacy extends over exactly three hundred years, for which period we have a mass of historical material in the shape of papyrus texts. Museums now contain any quantity of evidence upon the life and social customs of every class of the people, the government of the country, of the nomes, temples, and villages, upon the administration of justice, upon beliefs and customs. Only a portion, however, of this material has been examined.

Upon the division of the empire into its provinces after the death of Alexander, Egypt fell to the share of the Macedonian general Ptolemaios, the son of Lagos, who was only forty-four years old and began his rule in 323 B.C. It was not until the year 304 that he assumed the title of king, with the further title of "Deliverer" (Soter), apparently in imitation of Antigonus. About the end of 285 Ptolemy Soter abdicated in extreme old age in favour of his son Ptolemy II., Philadelphus (284 to 247 B.C.), and died two years later. This ruler was followed in direct succession by Ptolemy III., Euergetes (247 to 221 B.C.), Ptolemy IV., Philopator (221 to 205 B.C.), and by Ptolemy V., Epiphanes who did not attain his majority until 198. This ruler left behind him three young children, namely, Ptolemy VI., Philometor, his successor to the throne, a daughter Cleopatra, and Ptolemy Euergetes (II.).

Succession of the Ptolemies

As a result of Syrian interference, the kingdom was divided for the space of a year in the year 170 B.C., as follows: Philometor ruled in Memphis, Euergetes in Alexandria the latter is now to be entitled Ptolemy VIII., as a son was born to Philometor about 165, who must be reckoned as Ptolemy VII., and who bore the surname of Eupator. From 169 to 164 B.C. all the three members of this family ruled in common as the "Philometor gods." Ptolemy VI., who was temporarily expelled, returned in the year 163, when the Romans compelled his brother to content himself with Cyrene. However, in the year 146 B.C. Philometor was killed in Syria. Ptolemy VIII. appeared a few weeks afterwards in Alexandria, killed the young Eupator, and ruled from that time, though with many interruptions, in association with his sister and her niece of the same name, till 116 B.C. In 115 Cleopatra, the niece, appointed her son Ptolemy X., Lathyros, as co-regent. Ptolemy IX. was a son of the elder Cleopatra and of Euergetes, and died in 119 B.C. as king of Cyprus; in 117 he was obliged to retreat to Cyprus, and evacuated Egypt in favour of his brother Ptolemy XI., Alexander. Alexander murdered his mother in 101 B.C. In the year 88 B.C. he died, and Lathyros returned. He was succeeded by a daughter, Cleopatra Berenice. She reigned alone from 81 to 80 B.C. and then married her step-son Ptolemy XII., Alexander II. Their joint rule lasted only nineteen days. They were both murdered by Ptolemy XIII., Auletes, literally "the flute-player," a son of Ptolemy X. by a woman of the people; he ruled from 80 to 58 B.C. After his expulsion and the premature death of his elder daughter, Cleopatra Tryphaena, the younger daughter, Berenice, ascended the throne (58 to 55 B.C), which she then lost, together with her life, at the hands of her father, whom the Romans had helped to return.

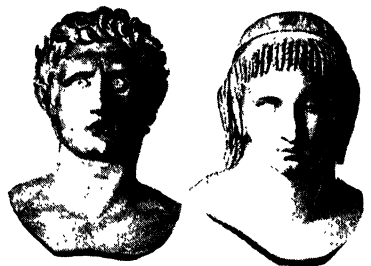
Rule of the Cleopatras

Auletes himself left Egypt in the year 51 to his son, who was then ten years old. This ruler, Ptolemy XIV., was continually quarrelling with his sisters Cleopatra (VII.) and Arsinoe, and was conquered by Cæsar in the year 47 B.C., and drowned in the Nile while in flight. From that date until 44 B.C., Cleopatra VII. (the famous) and her younger brother, Ptolemy XV., ruled in common; the latter disappeared, and his place was taken by Cleopatra's son, Cæsarion—as Ptolemy XVI.—who was born between the years 36 and 47, and whose putative father was Julius Cæsar the Great. On the collapse of the Ptolemaic kingdom, in the year 30 B.C., both mother and son met

The Famous Cleopatra

their deaths. A daughter of Cleopatra and Antony, named Selene, afterward married Juba, the king of Mauretania, or Morocco. With the son of this couple, Ptolemy, this dynasty finally became extinct in the far west.

Alexandria, the brilliant commercial town, the centre of court life and learning, rises from its obscurity at the outset of the Ptolemaic period, and after a few decades becomes the centre of gravity of the Hellenistic East. Naturally the story of the foundation of this capital by Alexander the Great was repeated without hesitation after a short time. Side by side with the truly fabulous incidents of this Greek account we have the granite "Satrap stele," the date of which is about 317 B.C. This inscription makes it clear that, in the opinion of contemporaries, Alexandria was founded by Ptolemy Soter seven years after the death of the conqueror. Such a piece of evidence, in itself almost irrefutable, can be further supported by a closer examination of the campaigns of Alexander, and also weakens the theory that the other Alexandria, of Issus in Syria, was built upon the initiative of the conqueror whose name it bears. For Egypt Alexander had little time to spare; his visit to the oasis of Amon was the only long journey he took in the country; he is known not to have visited Upper Egypt. Alexander entrusted the Delta to Cleomenes of Naucratis, being desirous to confer favours on the old Greek colony. Ptolemy I., however, began his government with the execution of Cleomenes, and reduced Naucratis to the position of a provincial Egyptian parish; then the fitting opportunity arrived for the foundation of the new capital, the situation of which was determined by his more accurate local knowledge. The town which received its name in honour of the great conqueror contained a splendid tomb of Alexander and his corpse. We have many stories connected with the acquisition of the body by Soter. Though he was no general, and cannot be compared with the other great Diadochi, yet the son of Lagos showed himself a clever politician, both in home government and foreign relations. His authority over this foreign country rested necessarily upon the support of bands of Greek mercenaries, the "Macedonians." This fact, however, did not prevent him from asserting his position as successor of the Pharaohs and son of the native gods. The introduction of a new god was highly desirable in order to connect the new capital, the St. Petersburg of Egypt, with the ancient religious districts of the country. For this reason "Serapis," the new transformation of Osiris, naturally obtained prompt recognition; but within his chief sanctuary at Alexandria the god assumed characteristics so thoroughly Greek that he was always considered a foreign importation, although the theory that he was derived from Sinope in Pontus rests upon a misunderstanding.



PTOLEMY SOTER AND HIS QUEEN
The first Ptolemy, who assumed the title Soter, was a Macedonian general who secured Egypt as his share of the empire of Alexander the Great.

Ptolemy II. made many great architectural improvements in Alexandria; his most famous foundation, the learned society which was maintained at the cost of the state, in the Mouseion, remained purely Greek in character, and achieved no results of importance for Egyptian history. On the other hand, the king proceeded to provide a stricter method of supervision for the Nile valley, the necessity for which had long been forced upon him by the growth of inconvenience and disorder. Colonies of Greek soldiers were settled in two places, which their families soon provided with a population; these were Ptolemais, in Upper Egypt, and Crocodilopolis in the Fayyum, which was now called Arsinoe after the sister and consort of the king. For marriages of this kind precedents were to be found in Egypt of early date, such as induced the second of the Lagides to marry his own sister, who had been twice a widow. The action of this



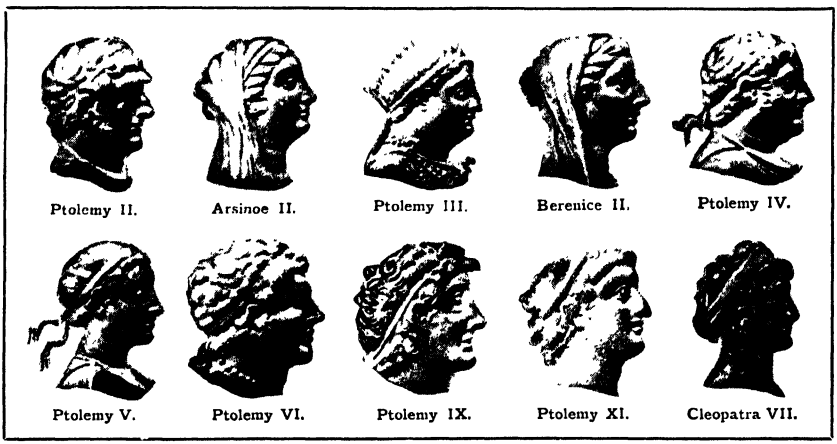
PTOLEMY II. AND ARSINOE
Ptolemy II. Philadelphus, who reigned from 284 to 247 B.C., married his sister Arsinoe.

Ptolemy stands in contrast to the marriage policy of his father, who allied himself in this way with the courts of most Greek centres of civilisation, though it was a policy that proved as incapable of realising the hopes based upon it as had the system in vogue at the period of the Amarna letters. Ptolemy III. also took his sister Berenice to wife; his successors, however, considered this custom as valid only for their own family.

Of the first three Ptolemaic kings the warlike Euergetes—the elder—attained the greatest measure of success in foreign affairs; all, however, opened the path to Greek influence in Egypt so widely that at a later period, even under the most unfavourable circumstances, Hellenism and Greek writing. With the discovery of the black basalt Rosetta Stone (1799), the science of Egyptology began. This monument was erected in 196 to commemorate the fact that "King Ptolemy, who lives for ever, beloved of Ptah the benefactor, the son of King Ptolemy and Queen Arsinoe, the gods Philopatores, who overwhelm the temples with benefits," had relieved the country of taxes and customs, had remitted arrears and had quashed all prosecutions, on the occasion of the proclamation of his majority.

Unrolling Egypt's Records

Found by the French invaders in a fort at Rosetta, this inscription was, with others, ceded to Great Britain as prize of war two years later, and placed in the



PORTRAITS OF SOME OF THE PTOLEMY KINGS AND QUEENS FROM THEIR COINS

fully maintained its ground. Egyptian nationalism was forced to accommodate itself to this state of affairs. Relations between the king and the temples now become characterised by a stronger emphasis of the personal element. The payment of thanks to the gods is no longer a prominent feature; more important is the acknowledgment of the priesthoods of the royal gifts made to them—an instance is the formal decree of honour issued from Canopus in favour of Ptolemy III. and Queen Berenice.

The Rosetta Stone

A resolution on the "Rosetta Stone," regarding Ptolemy V., who was a youth at his accession, as may be seen from his coin portrait, is conceived in a spirit of greater piety. Both of these records were recopied in hieroglyphic, demotic, British Museum, where it now is. It was the bilingual text of this inscription, when studied by the Englishman Young and the Frenchman Champollion, that yielded to the latter, acting upon suggestions of Young's, the secret of the ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic writing. This we now read with ease; printed examination-papers are even set in it in the Honour School of Semitic languages at Oxford.

In previous years there seemed but small prospect of duration for the Ptolemaic dynasty. Not only the Greek neighbouring states, but also the Egyptians themselves, had risen in revolt. We hear of a native prince, Horhetep, in Thebes ("year 4"), and also of a certain Ankhtu, who is said to have ruled fourteen years. Hence the revolt in the south must have begun during the second half of the reign

of Ptolemy IV., the early years of which had already survived an attempted revolution made by a Greek mercenary of royal rank, Cleomenes III. of Sparta. A fugitive from his native land, he landed a small force in Alexandria, and was there placed in custody; however, he escaped, made a vain attempt to induce the astounded inhabitants to "rise for freedom," and finally fell upon his own sword. The town, which had not hitherto been disturbed by yearnings for this object, fell into a state of wild confusion, Ptolemy Philopator fled, and the rebels seized upon his favourites, who came to a dreadful end. And from that time onward the "delightful rabble of Alexandria" made themselves prominent by recurrent outbursts ending in bloodshed even under the Romans.

"Delightful Rabble of Alexandria"

From the rapid change of rulers after Ptolemy VII., shown by the list of kings, we can easily conclude that the last century and a half of the dynasty of the Lagides forms a sad period of Egyptian history. If, however, we concentrate our attention solely upon the monuments erected at that time, a wholly different impression will be formed; the period of the decadence displays as much of architectural vigour as it does of political weakness, a fact which may well be borne in mind in estimating the importance of earlier periods in the history of Egypt.

The artistic temple of Philæ, the beautiful pylons, and the deep feeling displayed by the halls and columns of Edfu, Esne, and Dendera, which remain the best examples of Egyptian architecture with the exception of Thebes—these all belong to a period of constant disturbances and of continual murders within the royal family, notwithstanding the testimony of such representations as that within the little temple of Der el-Medineh, behind Medinet Habu, where the brothers Ptolemy VI. and VIII., with their sister Cleopatra, can be seen making offerings in common, and dividing their titles with true brotherly love. On the other hand, we have much evidence for the fact that commercial relations were steadily maintained, especially with countries beyond the Red Sea. The "Stele of Pithom," discovered by Naville, tells us of the city which the king founded on the Red Sea shore, and refers to the elephant-hunting expeditions in the land of the Trogodytes, which supplied elephants for the royal army. These, however, proved remarkably useless at the battle of Raphia against Antiochus III., but were not abandoned for war purposes, nevertheless. An inscription in the British Museum (No. 1207) tells us that Alexandros, son of Syndaios (not "Syndikos" as Professor Mahaffy writes it), the well-known general Charimortos, and a captain named Apoasis, were sent to hunt elephants in Somaliland more than seven years after the battle of Raphia. We hear also of another elephant hunter named Lichas. These hunters added considerably to accurate geographical knowledge in the direction of Ras Hafûn and Cape Gardafui on the way to India. The connection with India remained unshaken; an embassy from that country successfully approached the victorious Augustus shortly after the fall of the Ptolemaic kingdom. Together with the blessings of the Nile floods and the harvests they produced—the lion's share of which the kings during this period, as during all others, were careful to secure to themselves—taxes and harbour duties raised the revenue to the amount of about £2,500,000 yearly, even under the corrupt and careless government of the piper, "Auletes." From the time that a Roman embassy, in the year 168 B.C., had succeeded by mere threats in driving the Seleucid Antiochus (III.) Epiphanes out of Egypt, which he had practically conquered, the house of the Ptolemies had become dependent upon Rome. Ptolemy VIII., Euergetes, whom the meticulous truthfulness of his Alexandrine subjects had named "King Potbelly," or Physkon, had done many a mean and disgraceful action. Under the government of this bloodthirsty buffoon the Egyptian state had missed the opportunity of assuming its due position in juxtaposition to Rome. Physkon, though he did not mind blood, had an aversion to war; he fled before the trouble he had raised, and took refuge at Rome itself. Henceforward there was usually to be found a Ptolemaic pretender to the throne in Rome, or one who sent appeals to the Senate from Cyprus or Cyrene.

The Art of the Ptolemies

Prosperity in an Age of Decay

Lathyros was most probably one of these candidates for the position of Pharaoh, otherwise he would not have been able to appear as a conqueror in Palestine during the twenty years of his





THE REVIVAL OF THE ART OF SCULPTURE UNDER THE PTOLEMIES

Though the period of the Ptolemies was one of constant disturbance, it displayed great architectural and artistic vigour. The first bas-relief represents a Ptolemy with two Cleopatras, and the second the sun-gods crowning a Ptolemy.

authority in the island of Cyprus; from Palestine he was driven out by the Jewish generals of his mother Cleopatra and his brother Alexander. However, in the year 88 the Egyptian throne fell vacant, and he was able to seize it without the consent of the Senate, for Rome was at that time threatened by Mithradates of Pontus, and was even forced, about 86, to make overtures to the Ptolemaic ruler with a view to securing the help of his fleet. Lathyros received Lucullus, the ambassador of Sulla, with extravagant hospitality, but clung tenaciously to his fleet. This attempt to initiate a policy of independence was as ill-timed as it was lacking in enterprise, and led to no successful issue. The cause of Mithradates did not advance as had been expected; party divisions in Rome continued, and Lathyros was obliged to turn his attention to a dangerous revolt in Upper Egypt. Once again the centre of insurrection was Thebes, which was now, as before, the residence of the higher administrative officials of the priestly colleges, and possessed a royal bank, records of the transactions of which have recently been discovered. On this occasion this old and sacred town was not spared; the king devoted it to destruction (about 83), and when the geographer Strabo visited the spot about sixty years later, he found but a few villages scattered in the midst of a large area of ruins.

An Effort for Independence

After the death of Lathyros, stories of scandal are the only evidence to show that the falling Ptolemaic dynasty retained any vitality. The succession invariably followed in the female line. Whenever the occupant of the throne lost his power, the nobles and the population of Alexandria turned forthwith to the nearest female relation, who could choose a brother or a cousin to share her throne after she had been exalted to the position of queen. A natural result of these endogamous marriages was the fact that legitimacy depended upon relation to the female line. As Dr. Strack has proved, this change of ideas became definitely stereotyped about the time of Physkon — between 145 to 116 B.C. Moreover, the marriages of Queen Berenice, the daughter of Auletes, with two foreigners had proved entirely unfortunate. None the less the last representatives of the Ptolemaic house in Egypt rose to a certain height of grandeur as compared with their immediate predecessors, and their fall was tragical in the extreme —Arsinoe, Ptolemy XIV., the famous Cleopatra, and her son Cæsarion. The ultimate destiny and the conquest of Hellenised Egypt are treated in other parts of this work.

Ptolemaic Inter-Marriages

The dominant characteristic of the Ptolemaic age is its imperial spirit. Under the rule of cosmopolitan Greeks who had inherited the imperialism of Alexander, the old spirit of the Thothmes and the Ramessides revived. Under the Saïtes, the Egyptians, sickened with foreign war, had turned for inspiration to the days of the old kingdom, built pyramids, and fancied themselves once more the isolated contemporaries of Khufu. Greek encroachment and Persian conquest rudely shattered this dream. The accession of the Ptolemies opened a prospect of active reassertion of Egyptian superiority to the Asiatics. Isolation was impossible; conquest and revenge were possible. The humour of the kings tallied with that of their people. Ptolemy Euergetes marched into Asia in the grand style of a Rameses, and brought back the images of the gods which had been carried off by Esarhaddon and Ashurbanipal. He was received on his return to Egypt with acclamations as a true successor of the great Pharaohs. The imperial spirit was again in vogue, and the archaistic simplicity of the Saïtes gave place to an archaistic imperialism, the first fruits of which were the repair and building of temples in the Ramesside style. On these we see even Ptolemy the Piper masquerading as Rameses II., and striking down Asiatic enemies in the great Pharaonic style. Lists of conquered peoples were put up which were badly copied from those of Thothmes III., with the addition of modern names, such as Persia, Susa and India ("Hinto," at Kom Ombo), which had been utterly unknown to Thothmes III. Mistakes were made in identifications; thus "Keftiu," the ancient name of Crete, was mistranslated as "Phoenicia," and Asi, properly Cilicia, as Cyprus, for nobody but priestly antiquarians could read the hieroglyphs, and even they were often wrong in their theories, just like modern archæologists. The revived Egyptian spirit eventually resulted in revolts which, as we have

Revival of the Imperial Spirit

seen, were led by native princes such as Harhetep or Irobastos. These attempts at independence were ruthlessly suppressed, and resulted in a complete insistence on Greek supremacy. Conquest was no longer disguised, and Egypt was Hellenised as far as possible. The large discoveries of papyri which have been made of late years, chiefly by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt at Oxyrhynchus, show us how far, at the end of the Ptolemaic period, Greek control had penetrated into the country. Numbers of the subordinate officials were Greeks; the Egyptians began to adopt Greek and Græcised names, and the way was paved for the complete Greek administration which existed during the Roman period.

In the Roman period Egypt, like other countries bordering the Mediterranean, was no longer of independent political importance in the history of the world. She was but the granary of Rome, and only when a rebellious general occupied her and cut off the supply of corn from Italy, as a weapon against the home authorities, did she occupy a position of temporary political weight. Hence Egypt was never constituted a senatorial province, but was always regarded by the emperors from the time of Augustus as their peculiar property, and was governed by a knightly prefect of the emperor directly responsible to him. Otherwise, Egypt was not even one of those frontier provinces for the possession of which Rome was forced to struggle: it was only against the Ethiopian kingdom of Meroe that comparatively harmless punitive expeditions were occasionally undertaken. The "Dodekaschoinos" (ninety-six mile land), or upper district between Assouan and Maharraka, was permanently occupied by small divisions of the imperial troops; here Augustus founded the great temple of Talmis, the modern Kalabsha, to which additions were made by his successors until the time of Septimus Severus. Within the empire Egypt was justly regarded as the "granary"; of its harvest products a considerable proportion was invariably assigned beforehand to the maintenance of the population of Rome. Augustus, who appropriated the possessions and the property of the Ptolemies as being the heir of Cæsarion, kept the whole country under his personal supervision; he controlled the food of Rome, and, as Pater Patriæ, "father of the fatherland," he thus made the mistress of the world entirely dependent upon his imperial will.

Egypt as the Cæsar's Property

Egypt the Granary of Rome



THE ROMAN EMPEROR TIBERIUS
A sculpture at Kom Ombo, representing the emperor in Egyptian head-dress.

For administrative purposes Egypt proper was divided into about forty nomes, the chief authority in each being a "strategus," or sheriff and judicial officer: especially populous nomes, such as that of Arsinoe, were supervised by two of these officers. The prefect (Hegemon or Eparchosh in Greek) was chosen by the emperor from the Roman knightly order, not from among the senatorials. This chief official resided in Alexandria, and his duty apparently was to travel through the country throughout the year. Two Epistrategi were created for his relief, one being placed over the seven nomes of Middle Egypt, "Heptanomis," the second over the fifteen of Upper Egypt. For the rest, all Romans of senatorial rank were forbidden by a special decree to visit the country without the emperor's special permission. In 19 A.D. Germanicus disobeyed this regulation to his own detriment.

The Roman emperors did not abandon the divine attributes which the possession of the throne of Horus conferred upon them; they were thereby provided with an excuse for continuing the architectural labours of the Pharaohs. Tiberius improved the shrines of Medamot and Karnak in Thebes in the name of Osiris, who inclined his "fair countenance" upon him in return. Vespasian, who made an unusually long stay in Alexandria upon the outbreak of the war with the Jews,

ordered the work of restoration to be begun upon the temple of Latopolis. It was at that period that the sound given out by the Colossus of Memmon became known to the West. Hadrian, in whose life and travels Egypt holds a place of some importance, also visited the statue in the year 131, as is testified by the Æolic verses on the pediment by the court poetess, Julia Balbilla. The death of the emperor's favourite, Antinous, provided him with an excuse for founding a new nome in his honour in the capital town of Antinoe, not far from El-Amarna. Moreover, in the course of this imperial visit the Egyptian customs of that time seem to have developed a practical activity. The mother country of the Isis worship, which had now invaded Rome, was ready to display its marvels. A quarrel between Memphis and Heliopolis concerning the sacred bull was even brought for decision before the philosophical emperor. The two sacred bulls, Apis of Memphis and Mnevis of Heliopolis, had evidently now become confused. The struggle between the nomes concerning the relative value to be attached to their animals had long become notorious, but was perhaps not wholly displeasing to Roman authority, which acted on the principle "divide et impera." The knowledge of the hieroglyphic writing was then dying out even among the priestly classes, as is shown by many inscriptions in Upper Egypt from the time of Trajan onwards. The hieroglyphs are now used in fanciful ways. On the other hand, the learned society, founded in Alexandria, was in a highly flourishing condition, and at the time of Philadelphus had become the meeting-point for all scientific investigators. The Mouseion continued to flourish under Antoninus Pius, a portrait of whom has been found in Medinet Habu, together with inscriptions in Dendera, Philæ, Esneh, and the oasis of Khargeh, as well as under his successors, until the time of Septimius Severus, who also succeeded in destroying the resonant properties of the statue of Memnon as a result of his attempts to repair it.

Alexandria remained the great centre for the distribution of Indian products westward. Even the contemporaries of Augustus were astounded at the rapid rise of this trade and the great fleet possessed by Egyptian traders. The hybrid population of Alexandria had become utterly spoiled, and was continually breaking into revolt. Hadrian, in a letter to the consul Servian, says, "The people are, of all others, the most inclined to sedition, vain and insolent. Alexandria is opulent, wealthy, populous, without an idle inhabitant. They have one god, Serapis, whom the Christians, Jews, and Gentiles all worship. I could wish that the city practised a purer morality, and shewed itself worthy of its pre-eminence in size and dignity over the whole of Egypt." This troublesome peculiarity of revolting was definitely checked by a cruel massacre, inflicted upon the town by Caracalla in the year 216. The trenchant measures instituted by this emperor for the government of Alexandria were cut short by his death. To the time of Decius (249 to 251) belongs the last of the hieroglyphic inscriptions in the temples referring to a Roman emperor (at Esne).



Mansell

GRÆCO-EGYPTIAN MUMMY-CASES
During the Roman period a mixed Græco-Egyptian style of art arose, of which these mummy-cases, with portraits, are good examples

Twenty years later Egypt formed part of the conquests of Zenobia for a short period. A decree remains issued in her name and in that of her son Vaballath in favour of a Jewish synagogue. Aurelian wrested the Nile valley from this new oriental empire. But in Egypt, as elsewhere, the signs of approaching disruption became apparent from this time

onward. We constantly hear of rebel emperors in Alexandria, and also of incursions made by the neighbouring desert tribes in Upper Egypt. Diocletian himself was ultimately obliged, between 284 and 296, to reconquer the whole country, which had fallen into a state of wild confusion. Even this emperor seems to have abandoned the district to the south of Philæ to the "Nobatæ," or Nubians. Egypt had been converted to Christianity before the accession of Constantine to the sole government—a process reflected in the new administrative measures which he issued. The Patriarch of Alexandria and the bishops, together with the rapidly developing bureaucracy, were the ruling powers under the new constitution.

Several changes were made in the division of the country during the fourth century. Arcadius, the first "East Roman" emperor, divided the Delta and the Nile valley as far as Philæ into three provinces each—Augustamnica, Augusta Secunda, and Ægyptiace (the Eastern, Central, and Western Delta); Arcadia (Heptanomis), the "nearer" and upper Thebais. Justinian, whose administrative edicts confirmed the heavy taxation system then in force, had appointed two "duces," or dukes, to Alexandria in addition to the Augustan prefects already existing. In later times, especially under the Mohammedan supremacy, the Egyptian Christians reckoned their chronology from the "era of the martyrs," which began in the year 284, and formed a permanent memorial of the fierce persecution of the professing Christians by Diocletian.



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THE MUMMY-CASE OF ARTEMIDORUS

A beautiful Græco-Egyptian mummy-case with a portrait of the Greek occupant painted upon it.

The extensive discoveries of papyri at Arsinoe provide the most valuable material for tracing the development of culture and administration, especially during the imperial period. The province which on account of its extent had been entrusted to two strategi—to the strategus of the Heraclides district, including the capital, and to the strategus of the "Themistes and Polemon district"—remained in exactly the same condition in which the rule of the Ptolemies had left it. This remark applies also to the taxation system and the personal *leitourgiai*, or "liturgies"—that is, the obligations to undertake public duties and positions generally for the whole of one year. Dams had to be repaired or erected by the poor villagers. A money deposit was apparently required before beginning certain liturgies involving greater responsibility. Such was the case for the post of tax collector, which was considered as specially burdensome. Declarations of property for assessment—"Apographæ"—are naturally forthcoming. The cattle-breeder Nepheros thus makes a declaration in writing: "On the demand of the officials, how many pigs I possess at this time, I swear by the providence of Commodus our lord that I have 165, which I am fattening for the market of Psenkollechis. If you wish to count them, I will produce them." Taxation receipts also form an extensive collection. Besides the poll-tax, we have mention of taxes on dams, pasture grounds, asses, camels, sheep, trades, rents, and sacrifices. The garland tax, for the golden triumphal wreaths of the Cæsars, was also a burden.

The soil of Egypt was more favourable to the propagation of Christianity than were many other Roman provinces, but the peculiarities of the Egyptian character often produced the most extraordinary conceptions of and additions to the Christian teaching, and such as the fathers of the Church found the greatest difficulty in combating. Hermit life and a kind of monasticism begin from

the middle of the Ptolemaic period, and very probably still earlier; even in 162 B.C. there was a hermit in the Serapeum of Memphis who had voluntarily retired from the world, and was regarded for many years as the advocate of the oppressed. On the other hand, it appears from Coptic texts—that is, texts of a late period—that

Christianity in Ancient Egypt

Jesus Christ and his mission could be "expounded" to the people only through the medium of the legend of the winged solar disc; the Saviour passed from place to place through the Nile valley as a new Horus, everywhere driving out and destroying the enemy.

The development of art during the Roman period is of great interest. During the Ptolemaic age Greek and Egyptian art had pursued separate paths in Egypt, rarely combining to form a mixed style. Ancient Egypt and her traditions were still alive, and the Ptolemies never appeared as Greeks outside Alexandria, which was practically a Greek city; while the Alexandrian Serapis was a Greek god. But in Roman times, as the knowledge of the hieroglyphs declined, and the Egyptian religion degenerated, a mixed Græco-Egyptian style of art arose, of which we have good examples in sculpture of the time of Hadrian.

To the same period belong the beautiful mummy-portraits from Hawara and the Fayyum found by Petrie and Graf. These are either painted on wood or canvas, or modelled in relief in plaster, and placed over the head of the mummy. The portraits are very lifelike, and are thoroughly Greek in spirit, while the method of use is Egyptian. Tombs of the same age are sculptured with mingled Egyptian and Greek motives, as at Kom-esh-Shugfa, close to "Pompey's Pillar" at Alexandria. A fine specimen of the same mixed art in architecture is a small temple at Naga in the Sudan. Out of this mixed

An Age of Confusion and Change

style grew the peculiar mongrel art of the Coptic Christians as we see it on their gravestones. In Egypt, as elsewhere, the age was one of confusion and change. The Egyptians embraced Christianity the more eagerly because they were throwing off a religion which was far lower and more superstitious than the beautiful beliefs of the Greeks. All that was best in Egyptian religion had disappeared when their own living gods, the Pharaohs—religious foci of national pride and self-confidence—had ceased to reign; and what was left was merely a fast-decaying superstition of snake and mouse-worship, the derision of the civilised world. Hence they turned from it with loathing when the faith of Christ, with its new hope for the poor and the lowly, the condemned and oppressed, dawned upon them. But the fanaticism with which they embraced Christianity was the cause of further trouble.

Adherence to certain dogmas became a matter of life and death; also national patriotism impelled the Egyptians to fierce rejection of the Christianity of their masters, the Greeks, and the Egyptian heresy of Monophysitism drew to it the great mass of the people, with the result that in order to get rid of the hated "Melkites," or orthodox Greeks, the "Copts" were willing to ally themselves with the invading Mohammedans. Thus is explained the easy conquest of Egypt by the Arabs. In the year 619 the Persians made their way into the Delta. The

Why Christianity Triumphed

Persian supremacy lasted only ten years, during which a stately palace was erected in Alexandria. The victorious Asiatic campaigns of the indefatigable Heraclius forced Khosru's successor to conclude a peace, under the terms of which Egypt was evacuated in 629 by the Persian military governor Shahbaraz.

The restoration of the Byzantine power was not, however, destined to be permanent. The emperor endeavoured to secure religious harmony, but the attempt was made too late. The conciliatory efforts of the patriarch Cyril of Alexandria proved equally fruitless, and were nullified by the cry for "pure doctrine" raised by the school of his predecessor Joannes. Consequently, the appearance of the caliph Omar's troops under Amr in the year 639 was in no way opposed to Egyptian aspirations.. At the end of the year 640, the emperor had lost everything except the western part of the Delta, and his death, in 641, shattered the last hopes of his adherents. The patriarch Cyril obtained a promise from Amr of protection for the Christian churches, and then surrendered Alexandria. On September 17th, 642, the last representatives of the Roman supremacy left the shores of Egypt.

CARL NIEBUHR
H. R. HALL



FROM THE MOHAMMEDAN CONQUEST TO THE PRESENT TIME

BY STANLEY LANE-POOLE

EGYPT IN THE MIDDLE AGES

FROM 641 to 868 Egypt was a province of the successive caliphates of Medina, Damascus, and Bagdad, and was ruled by a series of ninety-eight governors appointed by the Orthodox, Omayyad, and Abbassid caliphs exactly in the same manner as the other provinces of their empire. The Arab conquest made little difference to the Egyptians, who merely had to pay their taxes to mudirs and mamurs, instead of to epistrategoi and strategoi. The government was decentralised, and the governor interfered as little as possible with the district officers or these with the village sheikhs. The governor was assisted by three great officers of state—the commander-in-chief, the treasurer, and the chief kadi—whom he usually nominated himself, but who were sometimes directly appointed by the caliph. The kadi, or chief justice, often held office under a series of governors, who rarely ventured to overrule him, and the upright and dignified manner in which these chief kadis, men of humble origin and simple life, generally upheld the law was the best feature of Arab administration.

The legal taxes were not so heavy as under Roman rule. The land-tax amounted to two dinars (rather more than £1) per acre, and the poll-tax on nonconformity levied upon all able-bodied male non-Moslems was also two dinars a head. The Moslems had besides to pay a poor-tax, and there were sundry dues on trades, licences, etc. The total revenue varied from £6,000,000 to £7,000,000, and would seem to have been made up of about £4,000,000 poll-tax, £2,000,000 land-tax, and various duties: but the proportions varied at different times. The land-tax had increased by the first half of the ninth century, owing to the care with which the Arabs developed the irrigation system. It was managed by a special department of state advised by inspectors, and supported by the corvée, or forced labour, which was practised from ancient times to nearly the close of the nineteenth century. The surplus of revenue over the cost of administration was sent by the treasurer to the caliph, except in rare cases, when a governor's unusual services were rewarded by the grant of the whole surplus—amounting in one instance to £1,500,000.

The caliphs, away at Damascus and afterwards at Bagdad, seldom took any interest in Egypt, except as a milch-cow to feed their treasury. "Milk till the udder be dry and let blood to the last

drop" was one of their instructions to the officials. Naturally the frequent changes of governors—there were 67 in 118 years under the Abbassid caliphs—encouraged illegal extortion, since the governor had but a brief and uncertain time in which to garner his personal harvest. Except the two Omayyad caliphs, Marwan I. and II., whom civil war brought to Egypt, the only caliph who made an official visit was El-Mamun, in 832.

Egypt Under the Caliphs

The policy of the caliphs at first was not to colonise but to control Egypt, and the Arab tribes who conquered the country were forbidden to acquire land and settle there, because they might be required for other campaigns. For the same reason, as well as because it was the symbol of Roman power, the capital was transferred from Alexandria, which was dismantled in 645 after a brief re-conquest by Manuel, to El-Fostat, "the Tent," a military settlement on the site of Amr's camp, which has slightly shifted and grown into the modern Cairo. The caliph's object was to keep the Arab army of Egypt in touch with his then capital of Medina, and for this purpose Amr cleared and reopened the old canal, which enabled ships to sail from the Nile at Fostat to the Red Sea. The process of Arabising Egypt was undesigned and accidental, and must have been slow. Most of the governors arrived with an escort of several thousand Arab troops, and many of these must have settled and inter-married with the Egyptians; but the chief organised immigration was the planting of three thousand Arabs of the tribe of Kays in the Hauf district in the Delta, north-east of Fostat, as a precaution against rebellion. Arab tribes, such as the Kenz, also gradually permeated parts of the Said or Upper Egypt. The bulk of the population, however, remained Egyptian and Christian (Copt), and they had little to complain of in their treatment by their conquerors, who had relieved them from the oppression of Constantinople and the prosecution of its Orthodox theologians. By treaty they were accorded full liberty of conscience and equal rights with the Moslems, and suffered only the additional poll-tax on nonconformity. Amr invited the exiled Jacobite patriarch Benjamin to return, and no attempt was made to convert the Copts to Islam, which would indeed have involved a heavy loss to the revenue. In practice, the treatment of the Copts depended upon the character of the governor. Wealthy Egyptians were doubtless "squeezed" by grasping collectors, and sometimes humiliating orders were issued imposing vexatious passports, fines, and badges to be worn by monks, especially during the fanatical revival under the caliph Mutavakkil, when, in 850, the Copts were ordered to wear yellow dresses and set up degrading images of apes or dogs over their doors, and were forbidden to ride horses. Now and then a governor would demolish Coptic churches or burn their sacred pictures; but, on the whole, it cannot be said that the Christians of Egypt were severely persecuted. Occasionally they revolted in the Delta, but this was usually due to the constant insubordination of the Kays Arabs settled there. Indeed, most of the many revolts which distracted Egypt under the Abbassid caliphs were caused by sectarian and political discord among the Moslems themselves. The partisans of the Shia doctrine of the divine right of the descendants of Ali to the caliphate, as well as the Kharigis, a sect of puritans who had largely contributed to Ali's downfall,

Tolerance of the Christians



DESCENDANTS OF ANCIENT EGYPTIANS
The Coptic Christians are the lineal descendants of the people of the ancient Egyptian empires.

were both strong in Egypt; and in 754 we read of 3,000 heads of Kharigi rebels being sent to Fostat. The greatest and last Coptic insurrection occurred in the always disturbed district of the Hauf in 830–832, and was so ruthlessly suppressed by the caliph Mamun, who brought for the first time Turkish troops to Egypt, that we hear no more of national revolts. Many Copts apostatised, and from this time dates the predominance of the Arab population in Egypt, the settling of Moslems on the land and in the villages—and not mainly, as heretofore, in the few towns—and the prevailing Mohammedan character of the people.



THE NILOMETER AND ITS USE
A graduated pillar on the island of Roda, by which the rise of the Nile is measured, and the amount of the land tax calculated.

Up to 856 all the governors of Egypt were Arabs, and many of them were members of the caliphs' families. The last Arab governor was Anbasa, an exceptionally strong just man of unostentatious and devout character. During his government the East Romans, in 853, suddenly raided the coast and carried off 600 women and children from Damietta; and in order to guard against similar surprises Anbasa built the fort at Damietta which afterwards proved a serious stumbling-block to the Crusaders. Another external attack occurred in his time. The Sudan, or Nubia, which had been subdued by Amr's lieutenant Abdallah ibn Sad, and in 652 had been overrun as far as Dongola and forced to pay an annual tribute of 360 slaves—which was levied for more than six centuries—repudiated this tribute in 854, and the Baga Sudanis invaded Upper Egypt and sacked Esne. With the aid of reinforcements from Bagdad, an Egyptian army crossed the desert from Kus to the Emerald Mines, and, supported by a fleet sent by the caliph to Aydhab on the Red Sea coast, totally defeated the Sudanis near Dongola. The only other external events of importance during this period of provincial rule were the annexation of the province of Barka to Egypt in 766, and the arrival at Alexandria in 798 of over 15,000 Andalusian refugees from Spain, who became masters of the city from 815 to 827, when they were forced to surrender and exiled to Crete.

Invasion from the Sudan

The suppression of the Copts' rebellion by Turkish troops marked a vital change. Henceforth Turkish mercenaries played an increasingly predominant part in the Mohammedan empire. From the middle of the ninth century it became the habit of the caliph to grant Egypt as a fief to a chief of his Turkish bodyguard, who would appoint a deputy to govern the country and to remit the surplus revenue to him at Bagdad. After Anbasa's recall, in 856, these deputies were also Turks, and one of them, Ahmad ibn Tulun, a Turk from beyond the Oxus, but highly educated according to the Mohammedan standard at Bagdad and Tarsus, became deputy governor of Egypt in 868 and founded a dynasty which was only nominally dependent upon the caliphate.

After suppressing two revolts and supplanting the overgrown authority of the treasurer Ibn Mudebbir, Ibn Tulun exercised kingly power and state in Egypt. Previous governors had lived in the official suburb of El-Askar, or in the summer pavilion called the "Dome of the Air" on Mukattam Hill; but Ibn Tulun built himself a new royal suburb, called El-Katai, between the two, with a splendid palace and hippodrome, and the noble mosque, built in 877–879, which still survives, and is the earliest dated example of the exclusive use of the pointed arch. He also built an aqueduct to bring fresh water to his palace from a spring in the southern desert, and restored the second nilometer on the island of Roda. In 870 the surplus paid to the caliph was £375,000; but as the years went on this tribute was discontinued, and Ibn Tulun refused to pay any more substantial form of allegiance than the inscription of the caliph's name, as well as his own, on his coinage, and the usual homage in the public prayers.

Governor Gains Independence

Firmly established in Egypt, he next occupied Syria in 878 and extended his kingdom from Barka to the Euphrates. The Egyptian army also inflicted a severe defeat on the East Romans under Kesta Stypiotes at Chrysobullon near Tarsus in 883, when 60,000 Christians are said to have fallen and immense booty was captured.

A King Who Left £5,000,000

Ibn Tulun died in 884, leaving £5,000,000 in the treasury, over 30,000 military slaves, and a hundred ships of war. He had reduced the taxes, encouraged the small farmers, beautified his capital, and made Egypt once more a power. His son, Khumaraweyh, after a weak beginning, soon learnt to follow in his father's steps: he regained Syria from the caliph in 886, obtained, for a consideration, his official diploma as governor of Egypt, Syria, and the Roman marches, and sealed the understanding by giving his daughter in marriage to his spiritual suzerain.

Khumaraweyh outdid his father in pomp and display, enlarged the palace, laid out elaborate and fantastic gardens, and wooed sleep on an air-bed floating on a lake of quicksilver, guarded by a tame lion; notwithstanding which he was murdered by his slaves in 896, and after nine years of anarchy, during which the Turkish troops did as they pleased with Khumaraweyh's two young sons, the caliph in 905 sent an army and reannexed Egypt.

For the next thirty years the country was still nominally a province of the caliphate, under governors appointed from Bagdad, but was really dominated by the Turkish soldiery. An audacious young man named Khalangi seized the government, and held it for eight months in defiance of the caliph; the great Shia dynasty of the Fatemid caliphs was advancing along the shores of the Mediterranean, and in 914 and again in 919, their generals occupied Alexandria and pushed on into the Fayyum; their fleet of eighty-five sail was destroyed in the harbour of Alexandria, but the invaders were not dislodged from Upper Egypt till 920. The only semblance of order and authority was shown by the successive treasurers of this family of Madarai.

Caliphs Regain Egypt

At last, in 935, the governor of Syria, Mohammed "the Ikhshid"—a title held by his ancestors in Ferghana on the Jaxartes—was appointed governor of Egypt. During his firm rule of eleven years there was no rebellion. His army of 400,000 men, largely recruited in Syria, which he also held, kept down the mutinous Turkish troops, and repelled all attacks of the Fatemides. He suffered some losses in Northern Syria, but kept his hold on Damascus, defeated the Hamdanid prince of Aleppo, Seyf-ed-daula, near Kinnesrin, in 945, and obtained from the caliph the hereditary grant of Egypt and Syria with the added glory of the government of the holy cities of Mecca and Medina. His sons were young at the time of his death, in 946, and their regent, the black eunuch Kafur, ruled Egypt and Syria with success, and even recovered Aleppo and Northern Syria as far as Tarsus. He kept a luxurious and cultivated court, surrounded by poets and musicians, upon whom he was almost as lavish as he was upon his kitchen, for which every day, it is said, 100 sheep, 100 lambs, 1,000 pigeons and small birds, 500 fowls, 250 geese, and 100 jars of sweetmeats were supplied. His death, in 968, was followed by the usual turmoil of the troops, and a year later Egypt passed from the orthodox eastern caliphate to the heretical Fatemides. Three centuries of Mohammedan rule had blended the Egyptians and Arabs more or less into one people, and turned the great majority into Moslems, but had produced no great men; Ibn Tulun the Ikhshid and Kafur were neither Arabs nor Egyptians. The country had all along been treated by the caliphs mainly as a source of revenue; but, with few exceptions, the governors had done little to develop its wealth or productiveness. Only the capital had benefited by the luxury and expenditure of the rulers, and it was still far behind some of the other great cities of the caliphate, such as Cordova and Damascus. It had evoked no poet or writer of the first rank.

Lack of Great Men in Later Egypt

The Fatemid revolution had moved fast since the proclamation of Obeydallah El-Mahdi as its first caliph at Kairouan in 908. The impressionable Berber tribes had received the mystical doctrine of the Shias with ecstasy, and the Fatemid power rapidly spread to the shores of the Atlantic on the west, and the borders of Egypt on the east. It had absorbed the old Aglabid princedom of Tunis and annexed Sicily. Egypt itself had been twice invaded and even partly occupied. In the anarchy which followed the death

of Kafur the fourth Fatemid caliph El-Moizz found his opportunity. He had for two years been digging wells and building rest-houses on the road to Alexandria, and in 969 he sent the kaid, or general, Gauhar with an army of 100,000 men to Egypt. The oppressed populace received them as deliverers, and after a defeat at Gizeh the Turkish troops submitted. Gauhar entered Misr, as Fostat was usually called, amid acclamations on August 5th, and that same night laid the foundation of a new city, or rather fortified palace, named, after the planet Mars, El-Kahira ("the Martial" or "Victorious"), which gradually supplanted the adjacent Misr, and grew into the modern Cairo. Gauhar ruled the land with energy and justice, until the arrival of Moizz in 973, and founded the great university mosque, El-Azhar, which stands to this day.

The Egyptians accepted the heretical dynasty with indifference, but the Fatemides were careful not to flaunt their extreme sectarian doctrines before the multitude. The Ismailian theology recognised stages of initiation, and was essentially esoteric in its higher planes. In Egypt little more was done than to add the Shia formulas to the usual Mohammedan prayers and ritual. There was no persecution and not much attempt at a propaganda. The majority of the people remained orthodox. On the other hand, every effort was made to conciliate the non-Moslems; a Copt was made head of the customs, and a renegade Jew, Ibn Killis, who had been a favourite of Kafur and had paved the way for the Fatemid occupation, was rewarded with high office, and became a noted patron of belles lettres. The Abbassides were powerless to resist the new aggressors. The Fatemid caliph was acknowledged by the Christian king of Nubia, by the holy cities of Mecca and Medina, by the Hamdanid prince of Aleppo; and in Syria the rump of Ikhshidids was subdued, and the heretical caliph was even proclaimed, most reluctantly, in orthodox Damascus. This last conquest, by diverting a handsome source of blackmail hitherto levied by the Karmati, or Carmathian, sectaries of Arabia, brought their leader Hasan ibn Ahmad into collision with the Fatemides, though both professed the same Shia doctrine. Hasan overran southern Syria and attacked Cairo, where he was beaten back on the very threshold of Gauhar's new city in 971. A second Karmati invasion, in 974, was with difficulty repulsed, with the aid of a heavy bribe, by Moizz himself.

Triumph of the Heretics

These attacks showed how little the pretensions of the Fatemides to the apostolic succession of the house of Ali were accepted even by fellow Shias, while their alleged pedigree from the caliph Ali was repeatedly demolished by orthodox theologians. When the leading Shias and Sherifs of Egypt came to demand a formal substantiation of his claims, Moizz is said to have taken a short way with them. Unsheathing his sword, he said, "Here is my pedigree"; and, throwing a shower of gold among the spectators, he added, "There is my proof!" Gold had certainly paved his way to power, and gold was seldom lacking in the Fatemid treasury. The wealth and luxury which prevailed in "the guarded city of Cairo," where the caliphs dwelt behind strong walls in a mysterious pontifical isolation, were prodigious, and the accounts of contemporary historians, if exaggerated, cannot be wholly disbelieved. One of Moizz's daughters is recorded to have left a fortune of 2,700,000 dinars and 12,000 dresses. We read of sacks of emeralds, thousands of chased and inlaid silver vessels, Sicilian embroidery, crystal cups, and all manner of works of art. Great artistic and industrial activity prevailed in Egypt and elsewhere under the new dynasty. Lustred pottery and glass were brought to high perfection, and silks and woollens were manufactured at various Egyptian towns, one of which, Damietta, gave its name to dimity. The Shias did not hold with the usual Mohammedan reprobation of the drawing of human figures, and the arts of painting and sculpture were thereby encouraged. From a financial point of view the people had no cause at first to complain of the new dynasty. Moizz abolished the old system of farming out the collection of the revenue, and his chief land administrators, while exacting prompt and full payment of the taxes, appear to have exercised their powers with equity.

By Sword and Gold

Prosperity Under the Heretics

The Fatemid rule subsisted in Egypt for two centuries by no special virtues or efforts of the rulers. These maintained a luxurious seclusion, and abandoned the government to vizirs, who were chiefly bent on making their own fortunes and were seldom

inspired by any great policy or statesmanlike ideas. The empire, which had comprised all North Africa, Sicily, Syria, and the Hijaz, quickly shrank in every part except Egypt and Arabia, and in Egypt itself the dynasty rested upon no popular devotion, no general adhesion to their doctrine or persons, but solely upon the army—the Berber, Turkish, and Sudani mercenaries, who, constantly recruited from their native lands, formed a perpetual terror to the unfortunate population. The virility and statesmanship of the early caliphs soon evaporated in a bath of luxury and profligacy.

The Best Caliph

Moizz's son and successor, El-Aziz (975–996), a red-haired, blue-eyed hunter and soldier, was the best of these Egyptian caliphs, and his Christian wife encouraged his natural clemency and tolerance. He was a friend to the Coptic patriarch and to Severus, the bishop of Ushmuneyn, and allowed the rebuilding of Coptic churches. Christians and Jews held high offices and justified their appointment by their ability. The land had rest under this wise and prudent caliph. If he set the fashion in luxury, in gorgeous display and sumptuous palaces, and in the love of costly novelties in dress and food, he repressed the corrupt administration, enforced justice, substituted fixed salaries for gratuities and bribes, and vigorously maintained the defence of his kingdom. In Maks, then the port of Cairo, where his father had built a naval dock, Aziz fitted out the fine fleet of 600 sail which protected Egypt from the Emperor Basil, and though Africa was slipping out of his grasp, his name was still *recited in the mosques from the Atlantic to the Euphrates.*

Unfortunately, his son, El-Hakim, who succeeded in 996 at the age of eleven, was his opposite. He early showed a passion for blood, and one after the other the ministers who governed during his minority were assassinated. Once his own master, the young caliph showed a vein of eccentricity which developed into madness. He loved darkness and rode about the streets in the night, spying upon his subjects. Then he turned night into day and ordered the shops to be opened and the houses illuminated and all business to begin after sunset. Women were compelled to stay at home and not allowed even to take the air on the flat roofs. Shoemakers were forbidden to make outdoor shoes for ladies. For seven years no woman was seen in the streets of Cairo. Not only were intoxicating drinks prohibited, in accordance with Islamic rule, but vines were cut down, dried raisins confiscated, and honey poured into the Nile. Games were stopped, dogs were to be killed wherever found, distinguishing badges and other humiliations were revived for Christians and Jews, and churches were demolished and their lands confiscated, though Christians were still appointed to official posts, since the treasury could not do without them. Officials were tortured and executed in numbers with every kind of barbarity, and a special department had to be created for the management of their confiscated estates. At the same time Hakim completed a noble mosque, and erected a "Hall of Science," not merely for the spread of Shia doctrine, but for the encouragement of all learning, and furnished it with a rich and varied library.

The Mad Caliph

When the caliph finally proclaimed himself the Incarnation of the Godhead—a logical deduction from extreme Shia doctrine and Darazi and other preachers called upon the people to worship Hakim as divine, the long pent-up hatred burst all bounds, and the mob rose, only to be savagely trampled under foot by the brutal Sudani troops. Happily, the Turkish and Berber soldiery for once made common cause against the blacks, and some degree of order was restored in the miserable capital. Then, in the midst of the reign of terror, Hakim disappeared in 1021, killed, no doubt, by the avengers of blood; but to this day the mystery of his vanishing remains, and he is still worshipped as the *incarnation of the Divine Reason* by the Druses of the Lebanon, who look for his second advent.

Caliph Assumes Divinity

Hakim's son, Ez-Zahir (1021–1036), and grandson, El-Mustansir (1036–1094), did nothing to revive the empire which his madness had shattered. As a Christian wife had guided Aziz, and had borne him the monster Hakim, so the Sitt el-Mulk, or Princess Royal, sister of Hakim, controlled the youth of Zahir, who speedily showed himself cruel, like his father; and a black mother swayed Egypt during the minority of Mustansir, a weak-minded nonentity. The real power was in the hands of the soldiery, and government consisted in appeasing their greed. Palace cliques, disastrous famines, slave revolts,

military uproar, and the occasional ascendency of a few of the vizirs, are the chief features of Egyptian history during the eleventh century, though there were intervals of tranquil prosperity, such as the traveller Nasir-i-Khusrau described in 1046. A famine, the worst known in mediæval times, lasted seven years (1066–72), until human flesh was actually sold in public as butcher's meat. The sufferings of the people were indescribable; great nobles were reduced to menial employment in the public baths, and the caliph sat on a mat in his empty palace, rifled by Turkish troops of all its treasures and jewels, and, worst of all, its magnificent library, in 1068, and was indebted to the daughter of a scholar for the daily dole of two loaves of bread.

The tyranny of the Turks was at last ended by the death of their leader, Nasr-ed-daula, and by the accession to the vizirate of Bedr el-Gemali, the Armenian governor of Akka, or Acre, who brought his Syrian veterans to Cairo in 1073, massacred the Turkish officers, reduced the revolted districts, restored order and prosperity, built a new wall round Cairo with great Norman-like gates, and remained virtual ruler of Egypt for twenty-one years, till 1094, when he was followed by his son, El-Afdal, for twenty-seven more (1094–1121). These two great Armenians gave the land half a century of peace and firm yet humane government. Their chief anxieties were in Syria, which was conquered by the Turkoman Seljuks in 1076, and twenty-two years later became the battlefield of the first crusade. El-Afdal did a little by diplomacy and by arms to retain the vestiges of Fatemid power in Syria, and the Egyptians twice defeated Baldwin; but, one after the other, the coast fortresses, Acre, Tripolis, Tyre, fell; and Askalon remained, until 1153, the last relic of Fatemid dominion in Palestine.

The great vizir was assassinated in 1121 at the instigation of the caliph El-Amir, who had succeeded his father El-Mustali, son of El-Mustansir, in 1101, and was himself murdered in 1130. A curious interregnum followed, when Afdal's son, Abu-Ali, the vizir, ruled Egypt and ordered the prayers and coinage in the name of the predicted Mahdi, or Imam el-Muntazar, "the expected," whose second advent was confidently anticipated by a sect of the Shias. This vizir was in turn assassinated by order of Amir's cousin, El-Hafiz, who became caliph in 1131, and who also appointed Armenians to the vizirate, and, like most of the caliphs of his line, cultivated friendly relations with the Christians and frequented their monasteries and gardens. The Armenian community was naturally most favoured when several of their nation held the government; but besides these most of the clerkly posts were in the hands of Copts. The excesses of the black soldiers, however, made any sort of orderly government impossible. The next caliph, Ez-Zafir (1149–1153), as well as his vizir, Ibn es-Salar, was treacherously murdered; his son, a child four years old, only lived till 1160, when the last Fatemid caliph, El-Adid, aged nine, was set on the nominal throne by the vizir Ibn Ruzzik, who had been the real ruler of Egypt since 1154, and skillfuly played off the rival powers in Syria, Nur-ed-din of Damascus, and Amalric of Jerusalem, against each other. He built a beautiful mosque, the ruins of which remain near the great Zawila gate of his great predecessor Bedr el-Gemali. The Fatemid period was remarkable for its architecture, which



THE ZAWILA GATE IN OLD CAIRO

The great Zawila gate was built in the 12th century by a Fatemid vizir. The period was remarkable for its architecture, as many other beautiful buildings in Cairo testify.

has a character of its own, but shows close affinities to Byzantine work. In literature the age was far less notable than in the arts, but this is perhaps accounted for by schismatic isolation.

Egypt Falls to Damascus

It had for some time been a question whether Egypt was to fall to the Christian king of Jerusalem or to the Moslem king of Damascus. After the assassination of Ibn Ruzzik, in 1161, the rivalry of two vizirs at Cairo precipitated the crisis. One called in Nur-ed-din, the other tried to make terms with Amalric. Thrice the opposing armies of Syria and Jerusalem entered Egypt and fought there, under the guise of deliverers. In 1164 and 1167 the honours were divided, but the Christians gained a slight advantage. Amalric's massacres and greed of gold finally drove the Egyptians into the arms of his most powerful enemy, and when, in 1169, Nur-ed-din's general, Shirkuh, appeared for the third time before Cairo the Crusaders withdrew without even offering battle. The deliverer became vizir, and on his death, two months later, was succeeded by his nephew, Salah-ed-din Yusuf ibn Ayyub, the "Saladin" of European writers.

Saladin was a Kurd of Tekrit by birth (1138), but he had been brought up at the Turkish court of Nur-ed-din at Damascus, and his military and political ideas were Turkish. He introduced the system of military fiefs and slave troops which afterwards developed under the Mameluke sultans. He learned soldiership under the best generals, and won his spurs at the battle of Baban, in Upper Egypt (1167), when his tactics routed Amalric he defended Alexandria against heavy odds for seventy-five days, when the Crusaders besieged it in the same year. As vizir of an heretical caliph, and at the same time viceroy of a particularly orthodox king, his position was intolerable; the Fatemid caliphate was soon abolished (1171), and the death of Nur-ed-din, in 1174, left Saladin the protagonist of Islam against the Crusaders. Most of his career falls outside Egyptian history. Of the twenty-four years of his reign only eight were passed in Egypt; the rest were filled with campaigns in Syria, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. He had already made Egypt safe against further invasion, suppressed a great revolt of the black troops in Cairo, repelled an attack on Damietta by the combined fleets of the Eastern Emperor and the king of Jerusalem, made a dash upon Gaza, seized the port of Eyla on the Red Sea, carrying his ships overland in sections from Cairo, and sent expeditions to Barka and Gabes on the west, to Ibrim in the Sudan, and to Sana in the Yemen, which his brother Turanshah conquered in 1174.

Saladin in Egypt

The repression of a conspiracy at Cairo in favour of the deposed dynasty, the failure of a fleet of 282 ships despatched by the king of Sicily to capture Alexandria, and the deaths of Amalric and Nur-ed-din, removed all fears of external attack and internal rebellion, and Saladin was free to enter upon his great policy—to consolidate the Moslem states of Syria and Mesopotamia with Egypt and to bring the whole force of all to bear upon the supreme task of driving the Christians out of Palestine.

In 1174 he entered Damascus, still nominally the vassal of Nur-ed-din's little son, and in 1176 he defeated the Atabeg of Mosul and all the forces of Mesopotamia and Aleppo at the Turkoman's Wells, and was recognised as sovereign over all Syria.

Saladin's Wise Administration

During the comparative peace of the next six years, an interval of strenuous preparations, Cairo was fortified by a new wall, a citadel, and the great dike of Giza. Several theological colleges, or Medresas, were founded for the first time in Egypt for the free teaching of Mohammedan learning according to the Shafite school of Sunnite orthodoxy. In his wise administration Saladin had the devoted counsel of his chancellor, the learned Kadi El-Fadil, whose rigid orthodoxy supported his master in a policy of confiscation, if not actual persecution, against the Christians of Egypt, which contrasted with the lenient indulgence of the Fatemid caliphs.

In 1182 Saladin left Cairo, as it turned out for ever, to muster his forces for the Holy War. He had already, in 1180, formed a general alliance of the Moslem princes from the Persian Gulf to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean, but it needed the sterner lessons of a series of triumphant campaigns to bring the whole of the Mesopotamian lordships to his standards. At last, in 1186, he had secured his northern flank, and could advance boldly on Palestine. The history of his great war (1187–1193) may be read elsewhere. The crushing defeat of the Crusaders at Hittin near Tiberias on July 4th, 1187, was followed by

the fall of the whole kingdom of Jerusalem and the honourable capitulation of the holy city itself. Tyre alone of all the fortresses of Palestine defied his assaults, and Saladin vainly tried to dislodge Guy of Lusignan and the Christian army beleaguering Acre, which fell at last, in 1191, to the attack of Richard I. [see page 1664]. When peace was made, in 1192, the Crusaders retained only the strip of coast from Acre to Jaffa. All the rest of Palestine and Syria remained part of the dominions of the great "Soldan," who died six months later (1193). Magnanimous, chivalrous, gentle, sympathetic, pure in heart and life, ascetic and laborious, simple in his habits, fervently devout, and only severe in his zeal for the faith, he has been rightly held to be the type and pattern of Saracen chivalry.

Saladin's successors ruled Egypt for more than half a century, as other members of his family ruled other provinces of his empire, and the various kinsmen were usually fighting with each other. Out of the turmoil his brother El-Adil Seif-ed-din, or "Saphadin," emerged as the true leader,

Saladin's Great Brother

second only to his greater brother, whom he had faithfully served for over twenty years: and by 1200 he was master of most of Saladin's dominions. Much of Adil's reign was taken up with resisting futile efforts of the diminished and disunited Crusaders; the "Children's Crusade," in 1212, only filled Egypt with prisoners, but the capture of Damietta by John of Brienne in 1218 was a death-blow to the sultan. His able son El-Kamil (1218–1238), however, defeated the invaders, though strongly reinforced, at Mansura in 1219, and they were forced to evacuate Egypt. Kamil, who was as wise and prudent a statesman as his father, kept his hold of Saladin's empire as far as the Euphrates, and did much for Egypt by improving the irrigation, completing the citadel of Cairo, founding colleges, and encouraging learning. He was on friendly terms with the Emperor Frederick II., who sent an embassy to Cairo, and in 1229 a treaty was made by which Jerusalem (except the Hazam esh-Shezif), Bethlehem, and Nazareth were ceded to the emperor in return for a defensive alliance and other friendly agreements, which aroused the indignation of the Pope. Kamil's sons, El-Adil II. (1240–1242) and Es-Salih Ayyub (1242–1249), followed, and then, in the midst of Louis IX's crusade, Salih died, and the saving of Egypt was left to his brilliant cavalry, the famous Mamelukes, or white slaves who ruled Egypt for the next 270 years.

The Ayyubid period had been remarkable chiefly for wars abroad, but it had raised Egypt once more to a pitch of power

Egypt's Symbol of Empire

and prosperity such as it had not known since the days of the Fatemid Aziz. The building of the citadel of Cairo meant much more than the mastery of the city; it was the symbol of empire. Internal resources were developed, and trading concessions were granted to the Venetians and the Pisans, who had a consul at Alexandria. Learning was encouraged by a series of scholarly sultans, and Kamil was generous and benevolent towards the Christians. Francis of Assisi preached before him, and the Dominicans visited his son Es-Salih; but the crusade of St. Louis revived the old exasperation between the creeds, and his pious invasion caused the demolition of over a hundred churches.

The men who broke King Louis's French chivalry at the second battle of Mansura, in 1249, and afterwards surrounded, pursued, and made an end of his army, and took the king prisoner, were the Bahri Mamelukes, or "white slaves of the river," so called because, out of several similar brigades, they were quartered on the island of Roda, opposite Cairo. Bodyguards of vigorous young Turkish slaves had long been employed by the Abbassid caliphs, by the Seljuks, by the Atabegs of Mosul, and by Saladin; but Es-Salih specially organised them as a corps d'élite in Egypt. Their leader at the critical moment happened to be a woman, a widow of Salih, who gave way for three months when her husband's son, Turanshah, arrived and took command. But after his murder, Sheger-ed-durr, who had been the brains

Mameluke Queen of Egypt

of the army during the most anxious period of the crusade, became again the queen of Egypt, and exercised royal authority (1250-57), though nominally associating with herself in the sovereignty El-Ashref, a child of the house of Ayyub. She married one of the chiefs of the Mamelukes, the Emir Aybek, but he was only her generalissimo, and the real power always rested in her hands till, in 1257, she had Aybek murdered

out of jealousy, and was herself beaten to death by rival women slaves three days afterwards. Aybek's son, who instigated this crime, was a frivolous youth, and was soon deposed by his regent Kutuz. Henceforth the throne belonged to the man with the longest sword. The bravest and richest generals and officers of the court accumulated slave retainers and acquired a power and state almost equal to that of the reigning sultan, and on his death his throne usually fell to the strongest of them, if it did not fall before, for most of the Mameluke sultans came to a violent end. All were alike slaves by origin—sultan, emirs, or military chiefs, soldiers, servants—and the origin brought with it no sense of degradation. Any slave with personal qualifications, courage, skill at arms and sports, good looks and address, had the chance of rising to favour and influence in his master's household, where he might earn his freedom. Thence he would climb to court offices, as cupbearer, taster, polo-master, equerry, mace-bearer, and the like—for the Mameluke court was elaborately organised—and gather a host of slave retainers around him, and keep a miniature court of his own. To grasp the throne was the final step, if he were both strong and diplomatic, and then he would try to hold it as long as he could—usually but a few years—till a stronger man took it from him. Every man was every other man's equal, if he could prove it so. The process of proving it implied constant struggles, and the people of Cairo used to close the great wooden gates of the quarters, sometimes for a whole week, and listen trembling to the turmoil outside. They were repaid in quieter times by the sight of the most splendid pageants that Egypt ever knew; for the Mameluke sultans and their emirs loved pomp, and their progresses were conducted with dazzling equipment and stately ceremony, while their frequent polo matches, archery, and falconry, showed off their magnificent horsemanship.

The Slave Sultans

Egypt's Most Splendid Pageants

The Mamelukes were physically superb: Beybars swam the Nile in his cuirass, dragging after him several great nobles seated on inflated cushions, and on one of his campaigns he swam the Euphrates at the head of his troops. They were a race of born soldiers, bold, dashing horsemen, fighting with mace and sword and bow, and throwing the javelin with extraordinary skill. They were also the most luxurious of men, and filled their great palaces with works of art, costly carpets, carved ivory and woodwork, inlaid gold and silver drinking and washing vessels, porcelain, flowers, perfumes, beautiful stained windows and panelled ceilings. Most of the beautiful mosques of Cairo were built by these truculent soldiers—all foreigners, chiefly Turks, a caste apart, with no thought for the native Egyptians whose lands they received in fief from the sultan; and no bowels of mercy where ambition called for massacre or secret assassination, yet fastidious in dress, equipment, and manners, laborious in business, and much given to music and poetry, but most of all to wine.

Twenty-four sultans of the Bahri dynasty followed one another between 1250 and 1390, but only three or four stand out from the rest as men of exceptional character. The greatest of all was Beybars (1260–1277), the brilliant cavalry leader, who shattered Louis's knights at Mansura, and afterwards helped Kutuz to crumple up the Mongol hordes of Hulagu Khan at the momentous battle of Ayn Galut, "Goliath's Spring," in Palestine, on September 3rd, 1260, and, then conspiring against his sultan, stepped over his body to the throne. He was the real founder of the Mameluke empire, and consolidated his wide dominions so ably that all the follies and jealousies of his successors could not undo his work. The fabric stood unshaken for two centuries and a half, till the Ottoman Turks flowed over it. He raised the Mameluke army of 12,000 picked troops to the highest pitch of discipline and efficiency, organised the system of military fiefs, built a navy of forty war galleys, dug canals, and made bridges all over Egypt, strengthened Alexandria and other fortresses, built a mosque, college, and hall of justice, and connected Cairo and Damascus by a regular post service of four days, so that he used to play polo in both cities in the same week. He strengthened his position as chief sultan of Islam by importing a representative of the "Abbassids of Bagdad"—whose caliphate was extinguished by the Mongols in 1258—and enthroning him as caliph at Cairo, where this fainéant heir of the Abbassid caliphate subsisted till the

The Greatest Mameluke

Ottoman conquest. One caliph, El-Mustain, even sat nominally on the Mameluke throne for a few months in 1412. Beybars sent friendly embassies to the emperor at Constantinople, to Manfred of Sicily, to Baraka Khan of the Golden Horde, whose daughter he married, and whose alliance preserved the Mameluke empire from the assaults of the Mongols of Persia. Between 1265 and 1272 he captured most of the Crusader fortresses of Palestine, took all the strongholds of the dreaded sect of Assassins in the Ansariya mountains, defeated the Mongols in Cilicia (1277), and seated



THE SLAVE RULERS OF EGYPT

For two and a half centuries Egypt was ruled by a brilliant series of soldier sultans, famous in history as the Mamelukes, who were slaves by origin and retained their power only by the might of their arms.

himself for the nonce upon the Seljuk throne at Kaisariyeh—he had already annexed Dongola and the Sudan (1275). His unquestioned sway extended from the fourth cataract of the Nile and the holy cities of Arabia to the Pyramus and the Euphrates. He had revived the empire of Saladin. Egypt prospered under his just, firm rule, and the cost of his wars was met from the conquered provinces, while taxes were remitted at home. He strictly prohibited wine, beer, and hashish, and suppressed immorality in the towns. Suspicious and perfidious towards shifty agents, he was true to loyal officers, and his bravery, munificence, and toleration made him so popular with the people that his exploits were a favourite topic of the Arabic story-tellers in Cairo cafés down to the nineteenth century.

The two sons of Beybars, who were set on the throne successively, did not inherit their father's capacity, and were soon deposed by the emir Kalaun (1279–1290), who emulated his great predecessor in every respect, defeated a Mongol invasion at Hims in Syria (1281), seized several of the few remaining Crusader fortresses, including Tripolis, and maintained close relations with the European Powers; he concluded commercial treaties with Genoa and Castile, and Sicily even entered into a kind of alliance with Egypt. His prudent policy and just rule—though intolerant towards the Copts—preserved the prosperity which Beybars had inaugurated, and the celebrated Maristan, or hospital, at Cairo, with its wards, lecture-rooms, laboratories, dispensary, and the adjoining mosque and exquisite tomb-chapel, testify to the benevolence, piety and architectural taste of Kalaun. His son Khalil (1290 1303) took Acre and all that remained of the Crusaders' fortresses, and proclaimed a holy war with a view to the conquest of the world; but the braggart, whose only virtue was courage, and whose vices were unspeakable, was opportunely murdered by the disgusted emirs before he could do more harm. Khalil's brother, a child of nine years, En-Nasir Mohammed (1293-1341, interrupted 1294-1298, and 1309-1310), held the throne with two intermissions for nearly half a century, chiefly because of the jealousies of rival emirs, who found the claim of an hereditary title, however unrecognised in principle, more tolerable than the risk of civil war. They tried it, indeed, when they had deposed Ketbugha, who from regent of En-Nasir became sultan (1294–1296), and then elected Lagin, the lord armour-bearer of Kalaun, to be their king, but strictly as primus inter pares. He made favourites, who flouted and imprisoned the great nobles; so they murdered him and brought back

En-Nasir, who now found himself a half-starved nonentity in the hands of jealous emirs, whose armed bands were constantly making the streets of Cairo a pandemonium. The wealth of these great lords was prodigious, as may be seen from the numerous mosques they founded and the wonderful development of all the arts and luxuries during this period. It was only by degrees, after a diplomatic retirement in 1309—during which the emir Beybars II. mismanaged the government—and by many executions and treacheries, that En-Nasir established his supremacy. Meanwhile the Mongols of Persia renewed their invasions of Syria, and, after a victory at Hims, in 1299, occupied Damascus, to be handsomely defeated on the Marg es-Suffar by the Mamelukes, who beat them back for the fourth and last time in 1303. Whatever else the Mamelukes left undone, their splendid dash and discipline saved Egypt from the curse of Mongol conquest.

Prodigious Mameluke Wealth

Egypt was exceptionally wealthy, and the trade with Europe and India, and the transit dues, were immense. Christians and Jews indeed suffered much persecution after a long toleration and overgrown authority. The old sumptuary laws were revived in 1301, and renewed in 1321; blue and yellow turbans were enforced, while many churches were demolished or closed, though Copts were still employed in all the government offices. As he grew more absolute the sultan levied more money from the great nobles, and remitted many taxes which burdened the people. His general rule was just but very stern, and he did much to better the conditions of the agriculturists. He was a notable builder—it was the great age of Saracenic architecture in Egypt—and all the high officers vied with each other in founding mosques and medresas. Nasir himself built two noble mosques, greatly improved the citadel of Cairo, made the canal between Alexandria and the capital, and the aqueduct from the Nile to the citadel, encouraged stock-breeding, farming, falconry, and everything except vice, wine—and kindliness. His reign was the climax of Mohammedan civilisation in Egypt.

Cairo' Noble Mosques

So great was the reputation established by Nasir's long reign that eight of his sons, two grandsons, and two great-grandsons succeeded him during the next forty years. But none of them can be said to have ruled, though one son, Sultan Hasan—remembered by his great mosque—had a broken reign of ten years; and one grandson, Shaban, retained the nominal throne for sixteen. The real rulers were the too powerful emirs, Kusun, Aksunkur, Sheykhu, etc., who built exquisite mosques and ruined the country by their extortions and contests. The "Black Death" of 1348-1349 carried off thousands of the people of Cairo in a single day. The king of Cyprus, Peter of Lusignan, raided Alexandria in 1365.

It was inevitable that the race of puppets descended from Nasir should be supplanted by some strong emir, and the man appeared in Barkuk—1382-1399, interrupted by Haggi, 1389-1390—one of the Burgi Mamelukes, or "White Slaves of the Fort," so called because since the time of Kalaun this brigade had been quartered in the Burg, or citadel of Cairo. They were at first chiefly of Circassian race, though recruited later from Greeks, Mongols and Turks; and of the twenty-three sultans who formed this dynasty (1382-1517) all were Circassians save two Greeks. They usually had short reigns, and six of them fill 103 out of the total 134 years. Seven of them transmitted the throne to their sons, but the latter were mere temporary stopgaps until the leading emirs fought out the succession.

Rule of the White Slaves

The Circassian sultan was little more than chief emir, primus inter pares, like Lagin, elected by his peers, and quite easily deposed by them when they were tired of him. The real authority rested with the military oligarchy. The greed and jealousy of the great emirs led to widespread corruption and barbarous cruelty. Governorships and justice were openly sold, and rivals were abominably tortured. So debauched were the Mameluke troops that no woman could be allowed to appear in the streets; and the peasants did not dare to bring their cattle and produce to market at Cairo. Such excesses took place under the best and most devout sultans, like El-Muayyad (1412-1421), a learned and accomplished man of ascetic life, as well as under the venal and grasping Greek, Khushkadam, who took bribes from everybody for the vilest purposes. Famine, plague, risings of starving peasantry, mercilessly stamped

out under horses' hoofs, form the staple of the history during this period.

The only good things these villainous rulers did was to build some of the loveliest mosques in and around Cairo, probably in the hope of atoning for their crimes. Their one foreign exploit of importance was the conquest of Cyprus in 1426, long a stronghold of Mediterranean piracy, which remained tributary to Egypt till the close of the dynasty. Barkuk and his son Farag (1399–1412) resisted Timur in Syria with some success, though the great conqueror's death was the chief cause of Egypt's escape. Muayyad and his son Ibrahim reduced a large part of Asia Minor for a time (1418–1419). Bars Bey (1422–1438), the strongest and most oppressive of all, was the conqueror of Cyprus, who held James of Lusignan to ransom at Cairo, and his successor—after the usual farce of setting up his son for three months—Gakmak (1438–1453), a learned theologian, tried to emulate him by several unsuccessful attacks on Rhodes, and emphasised his Moslem correctness by persecuting Christians and Jews and reviving their old humiliations.

The Last Strong Emir

Kait Bey (1468–1496) reigned the longest and was the most successful of all the Burgi sultans He had worked his way up in the usual Mameluke way. Bought for £25 by Bars Bey, he was sold to Gakmak, made a lieutenant by Inal (1453–1461), a colonel by Khushkadam (1461–1467), and finally was elected, in 1468, to succeed the well-intentioned but wholly unsuccessful Timurbugha as sultan. He was the last strong ruler of independent Egypt, and he was great in every sense, wise, brave, energetic, and ready. Cairo is full of his monuments and restorations, and his public works extended from Egypt to Syria and even Arabia. He travelled over all his dominions, to Jerusalem and the Euphrates, as well as performing the pilgrimage to Mecca, and wherever he went bridges, roads, mosques, schools, or fortifications bore witness to his progress. His reign rivalled Nasir's in artistic and architectural pre-eminence.

It was attained at the cost of heavy taxation in addition to oppressive government monopolies and high duties on foreign trade. The European trade had grown to vast proportions. The Italian republics found it necessary to keep consular agents at Alexandria. Venice had two funduks, or marts; Genoa, Ancona, Florence had their magazines, and Naples, Narbonne, Marseilles, and Catalonia were represented there. The wealth and influence of Venice is shown by the fact that her consul guaranteed the king of Cyprus's ransom of £100,000 in 1426. The Indian trade was also very valuable. We read of £36,000 paid in customs dues at Gidda on the Red Sea, which was an Egyptian port. The Mameluke sultan took toll on every bale of goods that passed between Europe and India, until Vasco da Gama sailed round the Cape of Good Hope in 1497. It was an immense monopoly, and extortionately used.

Immense Trade Monopoly

Troubles with his nominal vassals, the Turkoman chiefs of Asia Minor, nearly brought about a rupture with the Ottoman sultans who had recently taken Constantinople, and Kait Bey's welcome to the exiled prince Gem was resented by his brother sultan, Bajazet, who retaliated by annexing Tarsus, but was defeated at Adana by the Mameluke emir Ezbek in 1488, and had to restore his conquests when peace was arranged in 1491.

Four incapable successors followed in as many years, and then Kansuh El-Ghuri (1501–1516) restored order, levied ten months' taxes at a stroke, laid hands upon every possible source of revenue, built and fortified, strengthened the army, the citadel, and the coast defences, and even sent a fleet to the Bombay coast and defeated the Portuguese off Chaul in 1508 in the vain hope of preserving the Indian transit trade; but Almaida avenged the Portuguese honour by his victory over the Admiral Hoseyn off Diu in 1509. Kansuh was preparing for the inevitable conflict with Turkey, but he was too late. Selim I. was bent on the conquest of Egypt; there was treachery among the Mamelukes, and Kansuh fell at the head of his gallant army in the fatal battle of Marg Dabik near Aleppo on August 24th, 1516. His successor, Tuman Bey, refused to become the viceroy of the Turkish sultan; the Mamelukes fought their last desperate battle at the Mukattam hill beside Cairo on January 22nd, 1517; the city was stormed street by street, and after a week's massacre the conquest was complete. The last of the Abbassid caliphs was carried off to Constantinople, where the sultan arrogated to himself the sacred office.

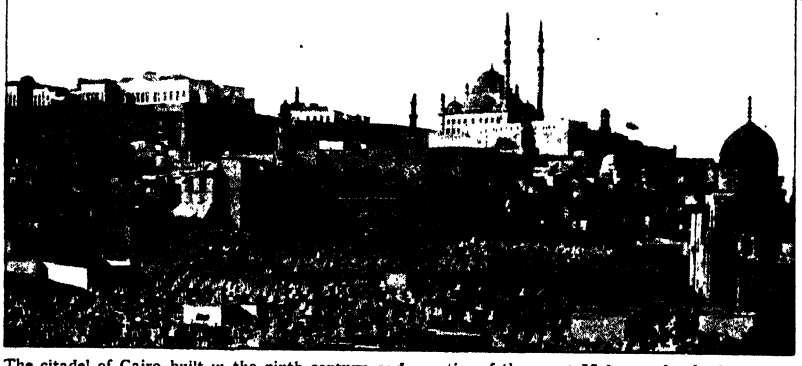
Massacre of the Mamelukes



A general view of the native quarter of Cairo, showing the Pyramids in the distance.



The mosque of the Sultan Hassan, the most beautiful in Cairo.



The citadel of Cairo, built in the ninth century, and a portion of the great Mohammedan burial place.

CAIRO: THE CAPITAL OF MEDIÆVAL AND MODERN EGYPT

Cairo was founded at the Arabian conquest in 640 A.D., when Fostat was built, since when it has spread northwards to the present town. Cairo is famous for its beautiful mosques, of which there are over 150.

LATER EGYPT II



BY STANLEY LANE-POOLE

SINCE THE OTTOMAN CONQUEST

ALTHOUGH from 1517 Egypt was a mere province of Turkey, like Syria or Irak, it was still practically under the domination of the Mamelukes, and remained so up to the invasion of Napoleon. The chief difference was that instead of a sultan elected out of their own ranks, they had a Beglerbeg, called, after 1573, a Pasha, sent from Constantinople. This pasha, whose principal business was to collect as much cash as possible for the Sultan of Turkey—who extorted as much as 800,000 to 1,000,000 ducats a year from Egypt—and for himself, was controlled by a council of Mameluke emirs, soon to be known by the Turkish title of Bey, and the head Mameluke, or Sheikh el-Beled (mayor), had much greater power than the Pasha. The unfortunate tax-gatherer of the sultan, for the pasha, as a rule, was little more than that, shut up in the citadel of Cairo, guarded by the Turkish regiments of Azabs and Janissaries, held but a little brief authority. We hear of seven pashas succeeding one another in eighteen months, till the people of Cairo remonstrated, saying that a pasha every three years was change enough. The real power remained with the Mamelukes, and with the commanders of the Azabs and Janissaries, who were practically Mamelukes.

The Sultan's Extortions in Egypt

Very little change in the character of Egyptian life and history was brought about by the Turkish conquest. The annals become more monotonous, the stage is smaller, and the actors less distinguished, because with the loss of outside possessions and foreign wars, statesmanship and military prowess degenerated, and politics became provincial. Wealth diminished, of course, by the transference of much of the trade of Alexandria to Constantinople, and by the loss of the Indian trade following upon the discovery of the Cape route, in spite of which the extortions of the sultan of Turkey continued exorbitant. Otherwise, the Mameluke Beys, who controlled Egypt under a nominal Turkish chief, bore a strong family likeness to the Mameluke emirs of earlier days. They were smaller in their aims and achievements, but they did just the same things, fought one another's retainers in the streets, turned mosques into forts, and fired cannon from their roofs at one another, laid siege to the Turkish troops in the citadel for months together, kept great state and open house every day to all comers in their palaces on the banks of the Ezbekiyeh, then a lake at high Nile, or by the Birket el-Fil (Lake of the Elephant), supported learning and the arts, and built and restored mosques. Abd-er-Rahman Kihya, who died in 1776, was one of the greatest builders of modern Egypt, erected several mosques and numerous fountains and drinking tanks, and made innumerable restorations of great merit, notably in the Azhar mosque.

Splendour of the Mamelukes

Some of the great Mameluke Beys recall the best traditions of the days of En-Nasir. Othman Bey Dhu-l-Fikar, in the first half of the eighteenth century, was the greatest man in Egypt of his time; he made his own Mamelukes emirs, led the pilgrimage to Mecca with great pomp, feasted the pasha in his palace—where he held his own court of justice—punished oppression, fixed the price of the necessaries of life, and waged war against every form of corruption. So noble was his character and just and proud his life, that he created an era, and people used to date events from his banishment. Rudwan el-Gelfi, commander of the Azabs, also in the eighteenth century, was another great figure, and while he held sway plenty reigned—at least in the capital. His hospitality in his great house on the Ezbekiyeh was lavish and his charity unbounded. Like Othman Bey, he fell a victim to the conspiracy of his rivals, the inseparable bane of the Mameluke system. Literature and learning flourished under such rulers, and the zeal for the strict observance of the religious law was so burning that smoking in the streets was sternly forbidden, and anyone found publicly smoking

Flourishing of Literature and Learning

was compelled to eat his clay pipe-stem. One of the Mameluke emirs, Ali Bey, taking advantage of the Sultan's preoccupation in a war with Russia, actually made himself independent of Turkey (1768 1772), and even took Mecca and invaded Syria, but was defeated at Gaza by Murad Bey. His lieutenant, betrayer, and successor,

Munificence of the Mamelukes

Mohammed Bey Abu-Dhahab (Father of Gold, so-called from his munificence), who had distinguished himself in the Syrian campaign, was an admirable ruler, whose memory is preserved by the great collegiate mosque which he founded in 1774 near the Azhar, whose salaried professors, a novelty in the East, in fur hoods expounded the law according to the four schools of teaching.

After the death of Ali and Mohammed, in 1773 and 1775, there was a struggle between rival Mamelukes, and when Murad and Ibrahim had put down the rest, they fell out between themselves. The Porte attempted unsuccessfully to restore order by sending Hasan, the captain-pasha, in 1786, but the rivalry of Murad and Ibrahim Bey was to be ended by the arrival of a new and wholly unexpected master. Napoleon Bonaparte had begun his dream of Eastern Empire.



A GREAT MAMELUKE BEY
Murad was one of the two Mameluke Beys who unsuccessfully opposed Napoleon's invasion.

The connection of the Egyptian campaign with Napoleon's general policy is treated elsewhere. He had conceived the idea of mastering the East, including in the scheme the overthrow of the British power in India. From the East he would turn on the West, and compel Europe to submission. The first step was to be the seizure of Egypt. The true objective of the fleet, which had for some time been in preparation at Toulon, had been more or less disguised by threats of an invasion of England; but, although Bonaparte managed to evade Nelson's watching squadron, the English admiral correctly guessed his destination. It was an accident—as will be elsewhere related—that enabled the great general of the French Republic to reach Alexandria, disembark, and fight the battle of the Pyramids, before Nelson fell upon the French fleet. Undoubtedly the battle of the Pyramids transformed the "little grape-shot general" into the "Man of Destiny."

Twenty-four hours before the arrival of the French fleet at Alexandria, in 1798, the intentions of General Bonaparte were apparent in Egypt; on the evening of July 1st his army, numbering about 40,000 men, began to disembark; at midday on the 2nd, the city was occupied, and on the 3rd the vanguard set out for the south. When the tops of the great pyramids became visible on the horizon, Bonaparte uttered the famous words: "Forty centuries look down upon you." Murad and Ibrahim had taken up a position between the pyramids and the river; their centre, the village of Embabeh, surrounded by entrenchments but without artillery, was stormed by the French after a furious onslaught of Murad's cavalry had been repulsed by the infantry squares. This battle of July 21st dispersed the Mameluke army; Ibrahim retreated to the Eastern Delta and Murad to Upper Egypt; Cairo capitulated four days later. On August 17th, Bonaparte cut off Ibrahim at Salahiyeh and compelled him to seek refuge in Syria. Meantime Nelson had destroyed the French fleet at Abukir on August 1st. Bonaparte and his army were isolated; the Mediterranean had been transformed into a British lake. Nevertheless, Desaix marched on Upper Egypt at the end of August, arriving at Assouan after two severe engagements; Murad's resistance became a mere guerrilla warfare. The French in Cairo made preparations for a continued occupation. On first landing, Napoleon had announced that he, the destroyer of the Knights of Malta, was a friend of Islam, who only desired to make

Napoleon Becomes Mohammedan

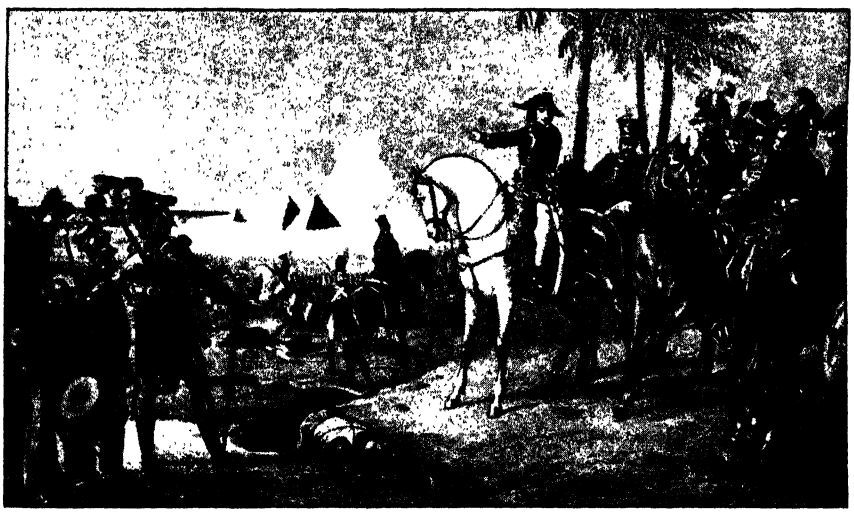
war upon the "godless race of the Beys." He adopted the customs of the Moslems with all possible publicity, taking part in the festival of Molid en-Nebi in Arab costume. A proclamation, which has been recovered in the form of a Fetwa of the Cairo divan, dated February 11th, 1799, was drawn up in order that Bonaparte might be declared by the Ulema not only a complete believer in the Prophet, but also sultan of Egypt. Although some of the



NAPOLEON'S ENTRY INTO EGYPT: THE OCCUPATION OF ALEXANDRIA

Napoleon conceived the idea of mastering the East, and, with its aid, to master the West, the first step being the seizure of Egypt. On July 1st, 1798, his army disembarked at Alexandria, and on the 2nd the city was occupied.

conversions were genuine, the confidence of the Orientals was not thus to be taken by storm. Seyyid Bedr el-Mukaddam, a fanatical descendant of Mahomet, roused the population of Cairo to revolt on October 21st, 1798, and three days of street fighting ensued. Bonaparte's bold Syrian enterprise, from the end of January until June, 1799, in spite of several such brilliant successes as the capture of Jaffa and the victory over Ibrahim at Tabor, ended in a complete failure at Acre, where the French forces were opposed by Gezzar Pasha and Sir Sydney Smith. A few weeks



THE BATTLE WHICH MADE NAPOLEON "THE MAN OF DESTINY"

It was the Battle of the Pyramids, fought on July 21st, 1798, before Nelson could attack the French fleet, that transformed the "little grape-shot general" into "the Man of Destiny." The Mameluke army was dispersed and Cairo fell

after Bonaparte's return, in the middle of July, 1799, 20,000 Turks under Mustafa Pasha landed in Abukir under the protection of the English fleet, but were driven back to their ships with heavy loss by a French force of 8,000 troops on July 25th.

Napoleon Leaves Egypt

This event marks the conclusion of Bonaparte's career in Egypt. Tidings from Europe transmitted to him through the British admiral induced him to return thither on August 23rd, with two frigates, which had been saved from the English, and a following of 500 men.

Kléber, upon whom the chief command now devolved, was by no means in love with the undertaking which he was expected to continue; moreover, the Turkish grand vizir, Yusuf Pasha, was advancing from Syria at the head of an army of 80,000 men. An exaggerated report of Kléber to the Directory upon the bad condition of the French army fell into the hands of the British and led to the opening of negotiations for the evacuation of the country. On January 28th, Desaix signed the convention of El-Arish, a town that had just been occupied by the grand vizir, and immediately left the country. Kléber made every effort to fulfil the heavy conditions of the agreement.

Upper Egypt and Cairo had been already evacuated when the British admirals declared that the French troops must surrender as prisoners of war. Kléber's reply to these demands was issued in his orders for the day: "Soldiers, such demands are to be answered simply by victory; prepare for battle!" On March 20th, 1800, with scarcely 10,000 men, he defeated the army of the grand vizir, which was eight times as large as his own, at Matariyeh close to Cairo, in the famous "battle of Heliopolis"; two days later the encampment of Yusuf Pasha with his large supply of stores fell into the hands of the French.

Cairo was retaken after a struggle lasting several days, which began upon the 27th; Ibrahim was exiled to Syria, but Murad, as the ally of France, was rewarded with the governorship of Upper Egypt. Though it lasted but a short time, Kléber's administration was attended with high success; the army was also strengthened by the addition of a Coptic and a Greek legion. On June 14th, 1800, the day of the battle of Marengo and the death of Desaix in Europe, Kléber was assassinated by a fanatic. As senior commanding officer, Menou, who had taken an Egyptian wife, now assumed the responsibility of administration; under the title of "Abdullah Menou" he continued the work of government reform and sought to develop the natural resources of the country with a view

French Government of Egypt



NAPOLEON PARDONING THE LEADERS OF THE REVOLT AT CAIRO IN 1798



NAPOLEON AS A MOHAMMEDAN AT A MOSLEM FESTIVAL IN CAIRO

One of Napoleon's first acts on landing in Egypt was to announce himself a friend of Islam, adopting Moslem customs and taking part in a Mohammedan festival, in order that he might be declared Sultan of Egypt.

to a permanent occupation. However, the Turks advanced from Syria, and the British commander, Sir Ralph Abercrombie, landed at Abukir with 17,000 men and won a victory near Alexandria on March 21st, 1801. A considerable force of sepoys, despatched from India under the command of Sir David Baird, arrived to assist the British operations. Belliard, who had remained in Cairo, where Murad Bey had recently died of the plague, was compelled to capitulate on June 23rd, and Menou at Alexandria on September 22nd. The French army, which still consisted of no less than 24,000 men, was transported to France on English vessels. In March, 1803, the British also evacuated the country, after obtaining an amnesty for the Mamelukes by a convention with the Porte, the Beys promising henceforward to abstain from all interference in the government of Egypt.

The French occupation was transitory but its legacy to science was permanent. The great "Description of Egypt," published by the savants who accompanied Bonaparte's army, laid the foundations of an exact knowledge of the history, antiquities, and actual conditions of the country. The discovery of the famous "Rosetta Stone" by French sappers at Fort St. Julien paved the way to the decipherment of the hieroglyphic inscriptions first successfully begun by Young and Champollion, whence the science of Egyptology had its birth. Ever since, the supervision and interpretation of the monuments of Egypt has been especially a French charge, ably performed, and in many other ways the influence of French science has been felt in various departments of Egyptian progress.

When Bonaparte drove the Turks into the sea in 1798, one of them was picked up by a boat of Sir Sidney Smith's flagship, H.M.S. Tiger, and thenceforth played the chief part in Egyptian history for the first half of the nineteenth century. This was Mohammed Ali—or in popular spelling,

Mehemet Ali—an Albanian of Kavala, on the Macedonian coast, who was born in 1769, the same year as Wellington and Napoleon. Up to nearly the age of thirty he was merely a small local official who combined tax-gathering with the profits of a tobacconist.

Tobacconist Becomes Ruler of Egypt

When the Porte joined England to turn the French out of Egypt, Mehemet Ali went as second in command of the Kavala levy of 300 Bashibazuks, and, after narrowly escaping drowning at the first attempt, landed a second time in 1801, when the Kapudan pasha combined with Abercrombie. The major of Bashibazuks rose to the supreme command of the 5,000 Albanian troops in Egypt, struggled through a welter of intrigues, anarchy and civil war to the highest office in the land, and held it as pasha of Egypt till 1848. He made his way up in precisely the same way as many of the Mameluke sultans before him, and raised Egypt to a position of power and of territory equal to that which she possessed under Beybars.

For ten years he was climbing to the throne; in the second decade he was conquering Arabia and the Sudan; in the third he was gathering strength for his great struggle with Turkey, which filled most of the fourth; and the last decade was the reaction of a man whose vaulting ambition had overleaped itself.

When the British evacuated Egypt, in May, 1803, they left anarchy. Khusrev Pasha, a slave of the Kapudan pasha, was the nominated governor, with few troops and no money. The Mamelukes, who were bent upon recovering their old power, held the provinces. Mehemet Ali at first threw his weight on the side of the Mamelukes, in order to weaken the authority of the Turkish pasha, whom he made prisoner at Damietta. But he had no intention of letting the Mamelukes grow too strong, and when Elfi Bey, the ablest of them, arrived in a British man-of-war with assurances of support from the British Government, Mehemet Ali contrived to keep him at a distance from the other Mamelukes, whose leader, Bardisi Bey, was jealous of Elfi and readily fell into the plot. The old recruiting-ground of the Mamelukes in Circassia and Georgia had been cut off by the Porte, and it was manifestly futile to put trust in a decaying and unprolific race which depended upon slaves, no longer forthcoming, for its perpetuation.

So Mehemet Ali soon drove Bardisi into Upper Egypt and took possession of the capital as the representative of the Sultan. His one fatal mistake was in liberating Khusrev, and sending him back to Constantinople, where he never ceased to thwart his rival so long as they both lived. Khusrev afterwards became grand vizir, and was still alive at the time of the Crimean War. Khurshid Pasha, who succeeded Khusrev in Egypt in 1804, introduced mutinous Bashibazuks into Cairo, who spread anarchy and weakened the governor's authority.

Mehemet's One Fatal Mistake



GENERAL KLÉBER
Who was left in chief command in Egypt after Napoleon returned to Europe, and governed the country with considerable success.

Hence, Mehemet Ali was able to pose in the curious rôle of protector of the people. In May, 1805, he was elected Pasha by general acclamation, and at once proceeded to bombard Khurshid in the citadel with guns laid on the roof of the opposite mosque of Sultan Hasan, till, in April, 1806, the Sultan's firman arrived, confirming the Albanian as pasha of Egypt. The opportune but suspicious deaths of both Elfi and Bardisi removed his last effective rivals; and the British expedition of 1807 to support the Mamelukes against Turkey, whom Napoleon had succeeded in embroiling with England, ended in humiliating defeat. Master of Egypt, but with a very

insubordinate army of 90,000 men, Mehemet Ali had first to get money. He confiscated the whole land of Egypt, destroyed all titles to estates, and made every cultivator his tenant at will; he took over the vast properties of the Wakfs, or religious and charitable foundations; he extorted taxes, and forced labour and military service from the wretched fellahin, or peasants, without justice or remorse. So long as he got his full demand, he did not inquire by what iniquitous methods his officials raised the men and money. Egypt had never groaned under a worse tyranny. Finally, in 1811, he lured the Mameluke Beys, to the number of 500, to the citadel of Cairo and massacred them to a man in the steep narrow passage that leads down to the Azab gateway. The incredible story that one of them leaped his horse over the battlements is mere legend. Emin Bey did not arrive till after the massacre, and wisely betook himself to Stambul. About 5,000 Mamelukes were slaughtered throughout Egypt; the remnant fled into the Sudan and were eventually dispersed as far as Kordofan. They had brought their fate upon themselves by centuries of bad government. The massacre, however, was never forgiven by Europe.



MEHEMET ALI
The tobacconist who rose to become Pasha of Egypt, its strongest ruler and worst tyrant.

From 1811 to 1818, Mehemet Ali was occupied chiefly on behalf of the Porte in suppressing the Wahabi insurrection in Arabia, which threatened to revive the old Arab caliphate, and from 1820 to 1822 he sent three expeditions to conquer the Sudan as far as Darfur and Kordofan. The leader of one of these, his son Ismail, was burned alive; but Mohammed, the infamous Defterdar, or treasurer, the pasha's son-in-law, avenged his death by horrible massacres and atrocities. Khartoum was founded in 1823, and thenceforward the Sudan became a hunting-field for slaves, and the chief recruiting-ground of the Egyptian army. The Sudanese troops enabled Mehemet Ali to keep his Albanians in order, but the other object of the Sudan conquest, the search for gold, proved unremunerative.

Conquest of the Sudan

For some years after this, the pasha was busy organising his dominions. In 1821, his revenue was about £1,200,000, of which the land tax of about 7s. an acre on 2,000,000 acres of cultivated land furnished £660,000, most of which was spent on the army. A system of monopolies, maintained with great vigour, brought in vast profits but discouraged trade; he also did a large personal trade, bought cereals from the fellahin at his own price, and sold at a profit to Europe, while the peasants were starving. He dug the Mahmudiyeh canal, which connects Alexandria with the Nile, and thus revived the prosperity of the ancient port at the cost of the death of 20,000 out of the 300,000 labourers who were forced to work at it. He encouraged Lieutenant Waghorn and the overland route to India, and used Europeans skilfully for his advantage, and to some extent for the advantage of Egypt, while heartily despising Turks and Egyptians. His attempt to make Egypt a manufacturing country was foredoomed to failure. Nevertheless, by 1833 he had doubled the revenue, and had an army of 150,000, with an efficient fleet.

Great Days of Mehemet

His assistance to Turkey during the Greek War of Independence is described elsewhere; the main events were the despatch of his son Ibrahim to the Morea in 1824, the conquest of Modon, Tripolitza, and finally Mesolonghi in April, 1826, and the sinking of the Turco-Egyptian fleet by Codrington in Navarino harbour on October 20th, 1827. The Egyptians evacuated the Peloponnesus under French pressure in 1828. The campaign in Greece cost Mehemet Ali the support of England.

The oppression of the fellahin was driving them in shoals into Syria, and this was made the pretext for another war of aggrandisement. Mehemet Ali had long resolved to try conclusions with his suzerain the Sultan, and in 1832 his army, under his son Ibrahim, descended upon Syria, stormed Acre, and entered Damascus, where it was welcomed as a liberator from Turkish misrule. The Ottoman forces were repeatedly routed with appalling loss—at Homs on July 8th, at the Beilan Pass on July 29th, and at Koniya on December 21st, when 50,000 Turks under the famous Reshid Pasha were put to flight. As D. A. Cameron wrote, "Ibrahim had achieved the impossible. The Egyptian had defeated the Turk in three pitched battles against odds, had out-fought him, out-marched him, outmanœuvred him, and taken him captive." Ibrahim had certainly proved himself a military genius, but intrigues at the Porte had undoubtedly helped him. He now threatened Constantinople itself; but the landing of a Russian army at Hunkiyar Iskelesi barred his way. A peace was made at Kutahiya on May 6th, 1833, by which Mehemet Ali retained the whole of Syria and Cilicia.



SAID PASHA
Who paved the way for French predominance by the concession of the Suez Canal.

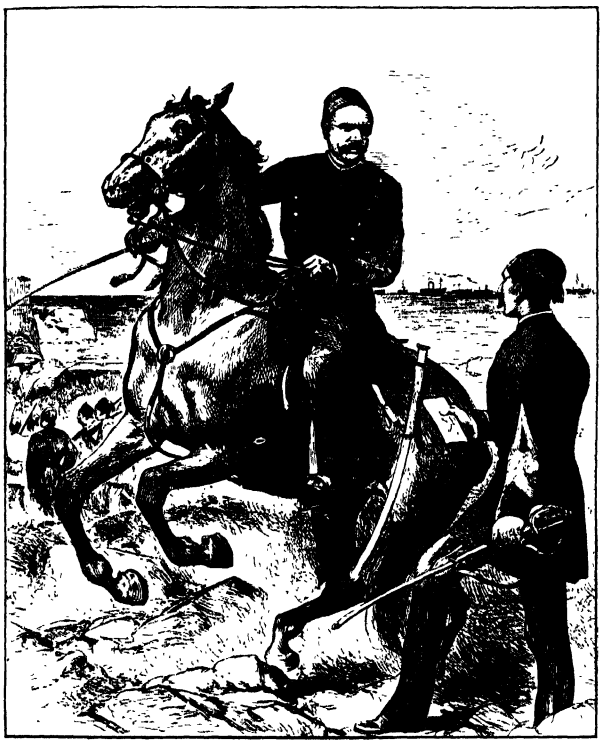
But he had conquered too much. His new possessions were five times the size of Egypt, and their mixed population was not to be governed on Egyptian models; Syrians and Druses would not endure the lash; and when the great pasha tried to levy his taxes in the way which the mild fellahin had suffered patiently, his new subjects revolted again and again, and no massacres or atrocities could subdue them. Moreover, he alienated the one Power that could have saved him. England and France together had forced the Sultan to yield him Syria, but, miscalculating the relative sea-power of the two, he cultivated Louis Philippe, and thus threw Palmerston more than ever on the side of the Anglo-Turkish alliance.

It is true that the great victory of Ibrahim over the Turks at Nezib on June 24th, 1839, followed by the death of Sultan Mahmud II. and the voluntary surrender of the Turkish fleet at Alexandria, seemed to crown the pasha's triumph; but it was short lived. His empire was founded on sand; he had alienated his subjects by unexampled tyranny and extortion, and he had made an enemy of the greatest sea-power in the world. Palmerston threatened to "chuck Mehemet Ali into the Nile," and it was practically done. Admirals Stopford and Napier landed troops at Beyrut, defeated Ibrahim, and took Acre on November 3rd, 1840. A few British ships, a handful of Royal Marines, and a small Turkish force, supported by a vengeful population, drove the Egyptians out of Syria with the loss of half their number on the desert march. Napier compelled Mehemet Ali to accept his terms, and after he had surrendered Syria and made submission to the Sultan, he was granted the hereditary pashalik of Egypt in 1841, at the instance of the Western Powers. But he was now a broken man, and, after paying homage to the Sultan at Constantinople, he gradually sank into lethargy and then into imbecility in 1848, and died almost forgotten in his eightieth year, on August 2nd, 1849, leaving behind him the memory of the strongest, shrewdest, and most relentless of all the "illiterate barbarians" that have ruled Egypt. His brilliant son Ibrahim, who had been appointed regent in July, 1848, predeceased him by nine months, and his



TEWFIK PASHA
Who came to the throne when Egypt was under European control, owing to the reckless extravagance of his predecessor.

grandson Abbas, son of Tusun, succeeded. Warned by the tragic collapse of his grandfather's schemes, Abbas turned his back upon Europe and deliberately undid all that had been attempted. His brief reign, till his murder by his slaves in July, 1854, was an interval of mere reaction to old Turkish ways. All Mehemet Ali's so-called reforms, which were largely on paper, were abolished, and no connection was permitted with European influence. The railway between Alexandria and Cairo, however, was undertaken, and the overland route was encouraged.



ARABI PASHA, THE REBEL EGYPTIAN COLONEL

In 1881, in the early days of European control in Egypt, the discontent due to the general distress following on Ismail's extravagance, and jealousy of Turkish officers, resulted in the revolt of Arabi, which had to be suppressed by the British.

The accession of Said Pasha, on July 12th, 1854, a genial, self-indulgent, weak-minded man, who tried to improve the condition of the fellahin and gave them freehold tenure by the Land Act of 1858, paved the way for French predominance in Egypt, and especially for the influence of Ferdinand de Lesseps. The concession of the Suez Canal, in 1856, was the event of Said's reign, though the canal was not opened till November 17th, 1869, by his successor. It was to be a purely Egyptian concern, and was to make the pasha master of the situation. As it turned out Egypt spent some £16,000,000 on it, for which she does not get a penny of interest. She gave lands, taxes, and every possible facility, and paid an iniquitous arbitration award delivered by Napoleon III. Lesseps extorted the very last pound of flesh for "my canal," with the logical and inevitable result that thirteen years after its opening Britain, the sea-power that was most interested in it, took possession in 1882. The making of the Suez Canal created an Egyptian Question which constantly embarrassed the relations of Great Britain and France till all sources of disagreement were happily removed by the Anglo-French Agreement of April 8th, 1904.

If Said Pasha's monument is his princely gift of the Canal to the French company, his successor, Ismail's (January 18th, 1863), is the Egyptian debt. Said had indeed begun it with a modest loan of £3,250,000; but Ismail raised it to the disastrous total of £80,000,000—of which it is true he received not much more than half—and contrived to run through about £130,000,000 in twelve years, with very little to show for it. That he was the sport and victim of unscrupulous roguery and unblushing swindling does not excuse his reckless extravagance and muddling finance. This ruinous debt, moreover, was contracted at a time of exceptional prosperity, when the Egyptian cotton market was supplying the loss of American cotton during the Civil War in the United States, and when a vast increase in cultivated land and every source of revenue was observed in Egypt.

An example of Ismail's and his finance minister Ismail Sadik's methods of bankruptcy was his sale of Egypt's 176,602 founder's shares in the Suez Canal to Lord Beaconsfield's Government for £4,000,000, thus depriving Egypt of her only future profit from the canal lease, and sacrificing what is now worth about £20,000,000, and brings in dividends to the amount of £700,000 a year.

Immense sums were spent upon bribery at Constantinople, in return for which Ismail obtained a series of firmans granting him the novel title of Khedive—a Persian word for "prince"—at the cost, apart from secret douceurs, of an increase of the tribute to Turkey from £60,000 to £665,000 a year. He also purchased the ports of Sawakin and Massowa in the Red Sea; sent Sir S. Baker and afterwards General Gordon to expand and attempt to govern the Sudan; made war upon Abyssinia in 1876, and was disastrously beaten; and spent at least £500,000 at the state opening of the Suez Canal.

When bankruptcy stared him in the face, the European Powers intervened, and since 1875 Egypt has been under tutelage. The Goschen and Joubert mission of 1876 created the Dual Control by representatives of Great Britain and France, and established the Commission of the Debt, which controls the payment of interest and sinking fund; but the full truth did not come out till a commission of inquiry with power to take evidence was appointed in 1878, under the presidency of Sir C. Rivers Wilson, with Lord Cromer—then Major Evelyn Baring—on the board. The result was that, after an attempt to reform the government by the introduction of the European controllers into the Ministry of Nubar Pasha, Ismail was deposed by the Sultan on the advice of the Powers, and quitted Egypt on June 30th, 1879. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Tewfik, an amiable and virtuous gentleman of thoroughly Egyptian education and tastes, who accepted the inevitable subordination of his authority to the necessities of the situation created by his father, and loyally supported the British administrators till his death, on January 7th, 1892, when his son, the present Khedive, Abbas II., followed, on the whole, but less docilely, his example, when once he had grasped the essential conditions.



THE PRESENT KHEDIVE ABBAS II.

Who succeeded Tewfik Pasha in 1892, and followed his example of loyal support to the British administrators of Egypt.

The history of Egypt from 1875, however, is not the record of Khedives, but of European administrators. The Dual Control, which Ismail had summarily abolished, was revived, and the Law of Liquidation regulating the debt was enacted in July, 1880. Everything, however, was soon thrown into confusion by the Arabi mutiny. The causes of this revolt were many—popular discontent at the general poverty and distress caused by Ismail's extravagance, and set down to European influence; the germs of national aspirations for self-rule; discontent among the ill-fed and unpaid fellahin soldiers; Turkish jealousy and cupidity; and jealousy of the Circassian and Turkish officers, who were promoted to the highest grades in the army over the heads of their Egyptian comrades—all these contributed to the outbreak. But the military jealousy was the immediate cause of the appearance of a riotous mob of soldiers under Arabi and other colonels at the Abdin Palace on September 9th, 1881, which resulted in the chief mutineer's nomination in January, 1882, to office in the so-called "National" ministry of Mahmud Sami.

They immediately revived the Chamber of Deputies, and gave it the control of the finances. This, of course, brought the European Powers upon the scene, and after ineffectual protests the British and French fleets appeared off Alexandria, on May 20th, 1882, and their consuls presented an ultimatum which included the dismissal of Arabi. At the last moment the French parted company, and their fleet steamed away from Alexandria. It remained for the British to accomplish alone what the Sultan, the Powers, and the Dual Control had declined.

LATER EGYPT III



BY STANLEY LANE-POOLE

THE BRITISH OCCUPATION

WHEN Arabi persisted in strengthening the defences of Alexandria in defiance of the warning of the British admiral, Sir Beauchamp Seymour opened fire from the fleet on July 11th, 1882, and after ten hours' bombardment silenced the forts. For two days Alexandria was at the mercy of the mob, but on the 13th a force of marines and bluejackets restored order. The Khedive proclaimed Arabi a rebel, and Arabi in reply proclaimed a holy war against the "infidels." Neither the Sultan, nor the great Powers, nor France separately, though all were invited, would interfere, and Great Britain accordingly sent an army of about 30,000 men to Alexandria, July 24th, which defeated the undisciplined mob of fellahin which formed Arabi's troops at Kafr Dawar, and then swiftly occupying the Suez Canal, turned his flank, beat back an attack at Kassasin on August 28th, and crushed the rebellion on the field of Tell el-Kebir on September 13th. On the following day, Arabi and 10,000 Egyptian troops laid down their arms before two squadrons of English dragoons. He and his fellow conspirators were tried and condemned to death, but their sentence was commuted to exile to Ceylon. The British army returned home in October, leaving a garrison of 12,000 to restore and maintain order.

End of the Arabi Rebellion

The British occupation was from the first intended to be temporary. Its sole object was to restore the authority of the Khedive and set his Government on its legs. There is no doubt whatever of the sincerity of Mr. Gladstone's Government in its assurance that its desire was to withdraw from Egypt as soon as its troops were no longer needed in the interests of Egypt herself; and this sincerity was confirmed in 1886, when Lord Salisbury went out of his way to make an agreement with Turkey, fixing the future term of occupation at three years, with the right of re-entry in case events imperatively called for intervention. This agreement fell through, not from any difference between the British and Turkish Governments, but solely owing to the opposition of France and Russia to the conditional right of re-entry. The Anglo-French Agreement of 1904 has removed all sources of friction between the two nations, and British rights and interests in Egypt have been fully recognised by France. There has never been any real doubt at Paris or at Cairo that the British masked protectorate of Egypt is permanent. The first step of the British was to get rid of the Dual Control, which had proved insufficient at the crisis, and to substitute the control of a single British Financial Adviser for all matters connected with the debt and taxation. The real control, however, has rested for the past twenty-four years with the British Minister (Agent and Consul-General), Sir Evelyn Baring, created Lord Cromer in 1891, and advanced to an earldom in 1901.

British Permanence in Egypt



Russell

THE MAKER OF MODERN EGYPT
Lord Cromer, who, from his appointment as British Minister in Egypt in 1891 to his retirement in 1907, was virtual ruler of Egypt.

From September, 1883, to his retirement in May, 1907, Lord Cromer was the virtual ruler of Egypt, and carried out all the invaluable reforms which have raised the country from bankruptcy and universal oppression and corruption to its present high pitch of prosperity and good government. He was aided by a notably able staff of British



THE BATTLE OF TELL EL-KEBIR, WHERE THE REBELLION OF ARABI PASHA WAS CRUSHED

The rebellion of Arabi Pasha was suppressed in three battles, of which Tell el-Kebir, fought on September 13, 1882, was the decisive contest, Arabi and 10,000 troops surrendering.

officials, many of whom had had experience of the most necessary kind in India; but he was himself the true regenerator of Egypt, at once the mainspring and regulator of the whole complex machine—the man whose will was law on all vital Egyptian affairs, as much in Downing Street as at Abdin Palace, "the man who has made modern Egypt." "In less than twenty-five years, Egypt, under the guiding hand of Lord Cromer, has risen from bankruptcy and abject misery to her present state of opulence and credit. Never in all her long and varied annals have the masses of her people enjoyed as they now enjoy the blessings of a just, an orderly, and an enlightened rule. That rule is the creation of Lord Cromer." ("Times," May 13th, 1907.) This supremely beneficial work was accomplished in the teeth of every possible difficulty—of vacillating British Governments, of constant hindrances on the part of foreign Powers, of the cramping restrictions of the Law of Liquidation—which, though modified in 1885, still kept too tight a hand on legitimate expenditure in Egypt—and gave occasion for selfish niggardliness at the hands of the other Powers, of perpetual intrigues by the Sultan, of the misrepresentations of a venomous so-called "national" Press and the menace of an implacable and formidable enemy in the Sudan; and it was carried to a brilliantly successful issue without any breach of international engagements or any infringement of the Sultan's prerogative.

Lord Cromer was not a "masterful Resident" in the Indian sense. He was bound by every variety of official restriction, and his power was personal and not technically administrative, though all the administrative departments were practically under British officials, who looked to him for policy and instructions. There was, and is, also a national legislative machinery set up by Lord Dufferin, who was sent to Egypt in November, 1882, to report, and who drew up a Constitution in February, 1883, which was embodied in the Organic Law of April 30th. The Legislative Council thus created, however, is purely consultative and advisory, and the General Assembly possesses the sole but important right of a veto on fresh taxation. The representative element included in these bodies may eventually exert an educative influence, but self-government is still a long way off in Egypt. What was wanted in 1883 was a strong purpose and a clear head. "For at least six years all that could be done was to struggle against bankruptcy, to throw off the incubus of the Sudan, and, by scraping



ALEXANDRIA: THE SEAPORT OF EGYPT AND ITS OLDEST LIVING CITY

Founded about the time of Alexander the Great's occupation of Egypt, a mighty city of the Ptolemies, temporarily ruined by the Arabs and Turks, and restored to prosperity by Mehemet Ali. It was bombarded by the British in 1882.

together funds in order to improve the system of irrigation, to lay the foundations of the prosperity which the country now enjoys."

The Mahdi's insurrection will be related further on. Lord Cromer's first step was the extremely unpopular one of insisting on the abandonment for the present of all attempts to regain the Sudan, which the financial position of Egypt rendered hopeless, until British help were forthcoming, and this was persistently refused.



Maull & Fox

SIR SAMUEL BAKER
Whose governorship of the Sudan, though "paved with good intentions," is described as a campaign of annexation and tyranny.

The next step was to reorganise all the departments of government and regenerate the army and police under British officers, so far as the financial exigencies of the treasury permitted. The modification of the Law of Liquidation by the London Convention of 1885, which permitted a fresh loan of £9,000,000, and relaxed in a slight degree the onerous restrictions of the Caisse de la Dette, gave Lord Cromer a freer hand for the most necessary improvements. The *repair of Mougel's ineffectual barrage of the Nile was taken in hand by* Sir C. Scott Moncrieff and finished in 1890, whereby, at a cost of £420,000, the cotton crop of the Delta—which furnishes about £20,000,000 out of the total £25,000,000 of Egyptian produce annually exported—was increased by the value of nearly a million pounds a year. Scientific irrigation was the prime necessity of the country, and Anglo-Indian engineers were soon hard at work introducing improved drainage, fresh canals, and hydraulic works, and by vigilant inspection securing to every peasant equally with the richest pasha a just share of the fertilising Nile water—a wholly new feature in Egyptian water distribution. In 1898 Messrs. Aird began the great dams across the Nile at Assouan and Asyut, which enabled 2,000,000 acres, hitherto dry and barren in summer, to be profitably watered, with a gain of over £2,500,000 a year to the productive wealth of Egypt. The result of these measures is seen in the fact that the revenue has been growing at the rate of £200,000 a year. In 1881 it was about £9,000,000, and it had risen to £16,000,000 in 1913, leaving a surplus over expenditure of £500,000. In 1881 the service of the Debt cost £4,236,000, more than half the total revenue; in 1913, although £13,000,000 more had been borrowed, the Debt cost under £3,933,411 in interest and sinking fund; there is a reserve fund of £11,000,000, and Egyptian stock stands as high as any on the market. Yet direct taxes have been remitted to the amount of over £1,000,000 a year, the corvée has been practically abolished, the land tax reduced to 18s. an acre, and the total taxation per head of the population has fallen 20 per cent.—to 17s. 9d. Egypt is now more lightly taxed than any country in Europe.



Chalkley Gould

GENERAL CHARLES GORDON
The great reputation which Gordon made during his governorship of the Sudan from 1877 to 1879 led to his reappointment in 1884.

In the same period the volume of trade increased by more than twenty millions, and in 1913 *reached £68,000,000, more than half of which was* export. The population, which numbered 11,287,359, according to the census of 1907, increased over 43 per cent. between 1883 and 1907, and the traffic in passengers and goods on the hundreds of new miles of railways has doubled and trebled. A thousand miles of light railways for agricultural purposes have been widely used by the cultivators. The cotton yield, by far the most important in the country and the best and most profitable cotton crop in the world, has nearly trebled, and so has the sugar. The price of agricultural land has doubled in recent

years, reaching as much as £50 an acre when sold in open competition among Egyptian purchasers; while building land in Cairo which was bought for 4s. in 1890 now fetches from £20 to more than £50 per square metre. The whole area of cultivable land is estimated at 6,000,000 acres, of which less than 1,000,000 remained uncultivated in 1914. About 4,500,000 acres are held by Egyptian cultivators, and there are 1,000,000 holdings of under five acres. A quarter of the land is under cotton which produces more than 7,000,000 kantars (a kantar being roughly 100 lb.), or nearly 450 lb. an acre, and will probably be raised eventually to 10,000,000 kantars. An Agricultural Bank has done good service in advancing loans to the peasants and rescuing them from greedy usurers. The administration of justice has been reformed by the establishment of the Native Tribunals organised by Sir John Scott in 1883, which have gained the respect and confidence of the people; but the Mixed Courts inaugurated in 1876 for civil causes and the Consular Courts held under the capitulations of the Turkish empire still stand in the way of progress and efficient control. Education, though still very backward among the peasantry, is making a considerable advance. The educational budget in 1888 was only £70,000, but in 1906 it was £362,800. The number of Government schools and colleges in the same period increased from fourteen to fifty, the teachers from 185 to 849, and pupils from 2,373 to 11,063; and Government inspection and grants in aid are now extended to some 4,500 village schools with an attendance of 165,000 pupils. The effects of improved educational facilities are seen in the fact that there are now about 12,000 Egyptians employed in the civil service, an increase of 3,500 in ten years, while the Europeans necessarily employed have increased by only 562, and these chiefly in the railway and irrigation branches, which require special qualifications. The regeneration of Egypt under Lord Cromer's wise and tactful management is perhaps the most marvellous reform in Oriental history.



THE TRAGIC DEATH OF GORDON AT KHARTOUM

After the rise of the Sudan Mahdi, Gordon was sent out in 1884 as Governor-General. He relied upon his personal ascendency over the people and the support of the British Government, but both failed him and he was killed by the Mahdi in 1885. From the picture by G. W. Joy, by permission of Messrs. Frost & Reid, Bristol and London.

Since Mehemet Ali's conquest in 1820 the Sudan as far south as the Albert and Victoria Nyanza had been loosely held by Egyptian governors and garrisons, who squeezed as much money as they could out of the Sudanese peoples, and gave them nothing in return but abominable oppression and slave raiding. Sir Samuel Baker's governorship in 1869 to 1873, though "paved with good intentions," was a campaign of annexation and tyranny. Gordon did some good work in the Equatorial Provinces from 1874, and when he was appointed Governor-General of the Sudan, 1877–1879, he made a great reputation, which led to his tragic end in 1885. In 1881 a fanatic of Dongola, Mohammed Ahmed, proclaimed

himself "the Mahdi," or quasi-Messiah of Islam, as many a fanatic had done before him, and the whole Egyptian Sudan joyfully rose against the tax-gatherers and slave-drivers who had trampled upon them for two generations, and followed the standard of the new prophet.

Soon after the Arabi revolt had been suppressed the Egyptian Government sent General Hicks with 11,000 ill-disciplined and half-mutinous native troops to subdue the Mahdi, and the unfortunate army was annihilated near El-Obeyd in Kordofan in November, 1883. The British authorities, who, with deplorable irresolution, had neither countenanced nor forbidden this ill-starred attempt, now definitely decided that the Sudan must be abandoned, and intimated to the Khedive's Government that when advice was given it was to "be followed." The policy of abandonment was very unpopular in Egypt and led to a change of ministry; but, in the financial situation of the country, to reconquer the Sudan without British assistance was impossible. The defeat of General Valentine Baker and 3,500 Egyptian troops by Osman Digna, or Othman Dakna, at Tokar in February, 1884, brought into strong relief the untrustworthiness of the army as then organised and the courage and élan of the "dervishes," as the Mahdi's followers were styled; though General Graham's victories at Teb and Tamanieb with British troops on February 29th and March 13th partly retrieved the disaster. In January, 1884, General Gordon was sent out by Mr. Gladstone's Government to see what could be done in the Sudan. He was made Governor-General, and ordered to withdraw the Egyptian garrisons. He relied upon his personal ascendency over the people and upon the support of the British Government. Both failed him; his task proved impossible even for him. And when at last, under pressure of public opinion, the Gladstone Government sent a relief expedition in August–September under Wolseley, it started too late and took the tedious Nile route, instead of marching from Souakin to Berber, and after defeating the dervishes at Abu-Tlia on January 17th, 1885, but did not come into touch with Khartoum till it was already just in the possession of the Mahdi, who had killed Gordon on January 26th, after a heroic defence of the capital. The British expedition hastily retired, and for eleven years the Sudan was abandoned to a desolating reign of terror which left it starving, depopulated, devastated, and paralysed with fear. The Mahdi, who was a libertine and an impostor, died in June, 1885, and was succeeded by his lieutenant or Khalifa, Abdallah, who was even a worse tyrant than his master. What happened during those awful years when the Sudan was barred off from the rest of the world in impenetrable darkness we know chiefly from the records of two or three prisoners, like Slatin Pasha, who managed to escape from the Khalifa's prisons or were delivered at the reconquest.



Chancellor

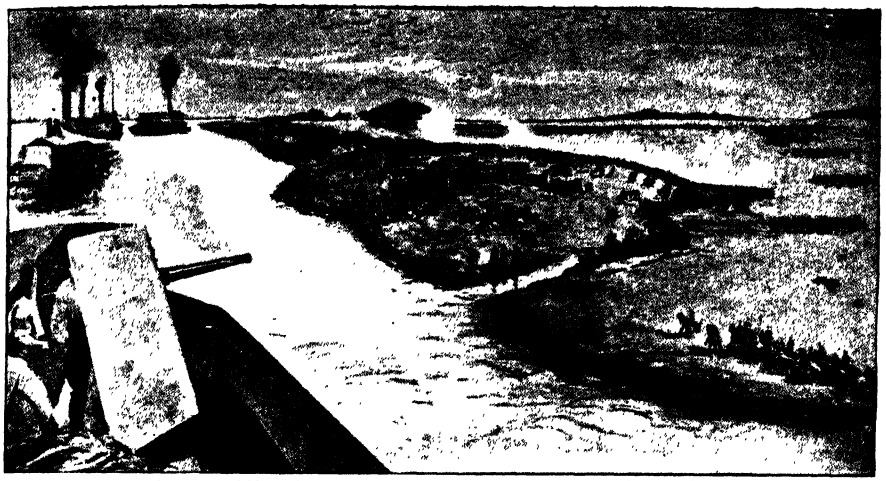
VISCOUNT WOLSELEY
When Sir Garnet Wolseley, he was in charge of the expedition sent to relieve General Gordon.



Bassano

LORD KITCHENER
Made Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army in 1892, he reconquered the Sudan, 1896-98, and became Consul-General in Egypt, 1911.

Reconquest was inevitable; for whoever rules Egypt must command the sources of the Nile, which forms her wealth; and the reconquest became the more imperative owing to



RESTORING THE SUDAN TO CIVILISATION: BOMBARDMENT OF KHARTOUM
After the failure of the Gordon relief expedition, the Sudan was abandoned to the desolating reign of terror of the Mahdi. Eleven years later Kitchener, advancing on Dongola, captured Khartoum, the capital, and restored it to civilisation.

French movements towards the Upper Nile at Fashoda. For four years, indeed, the utmost that could be done was to hold Wadi Halfa, with a supporting garrison at Assouan, and to improve the military and financial resources of Egypt, with the great goal of reconquest ever in mind. General Grenfell's victory with Egyptian troops over the dervishes at Toski on August 3rd, 1889, marked the beginning of confidence in the Egyptian army, which the incessant labours of Wood, Grenfell, and Kitchener were bringing to a high state of efficiency: and the defeat of Osman Digna at Afafit in 1891 at last relieved Souakin and the Red Sea littoral from pressing danger.



OSMAN DIGNA
The leader of the Mahdi's Sudanese troops who defeated the Egyptian army under General Baker in 1884. In the reconquest of the Sudan twelve years later he was captured and imprisoned.

In 1892, Sir Herbert, now Lord, Kitchener became Sirdar or Commander-in-Chief of the Egyptian army, and after four more years of quiet but unrelaxed preparation the advance was made on Dongola in 1896; the dervishes were routed at Firkeh on June 7th, and Dongola occupied in September. A railway was rapidly thrown across the desert to Abu Hamed in 1897, and the dervishes abandoned Berber in a panic. In 1898 the Egyptian expeditionary force was stiffened with British regiments, and on April 7th, 16,000 dervishes were stormed and driven out of their entrenched zariba on the Atbara, and on September 2nd, 40,000 were totally defeated, with the loss of half their number, by 22,000 British and Egyptian troops under Kitchener in the final crushing victory of Omdurman. Khartoum was restored to civilisation. The Khalifa escaped, but was at last run to earth at Umme Dubraykat, and killed with his remaining emirs in battle by Sir Reginald Wingate, the present Sirdar, on November 24th, 1899. Kitchener went up the Nile to Fashoda immediately after the conquest of Khartoum, and found that a small expedition under Major Marchand had already hoisted the French flag there. The Egyptian flag was duly displayed, and Marchand evacuated the place in December.

A joint Anglo-Egyptian Condominium was set up in the Sudan by the Agreement of January 19th, 1899, under a Governor-General to be always appointed by the Khedive on the recommendation

of the British Government; Lord Kitchener of Khartoum became the first Governor-General, and was succeeded, on his taking up a command in South Africa, by Sir R. Wingate. The reconquest of the Sudan was effected with the Anglo-Egyptian loss of only 536 killed and 1,810 wounded in the seventeen engagements between 1885 and 1899; and the cost of the Dongola and Omdurman campaign, 1896–1898, was £2,350,000, of which half was spent upon railways.



Maull & Fox

SIR REGINALD WINGATE
Who, in 1899, succeeded Lord Kitchener as Sirdar of the Egyptian Army.

The new administration had to begin its work in a desolated desert, short of men, short of labour, short of communications, short of food. The Sudan embraces nearly a million square miles—equal to France and Germany combined—of which only 3,125 were cultivated in 1914. The population is about 3,000,000, of whom 3,000 are European. In the years which have passed since the Khalifa's pandemonium was abolished, much has been done. Railways run to Khartoum and connect Port Sudan on the Red Sea with Berber, and Kereima with Abu-Hamed. Khartoum has been rebuilt, and the Gordon College there has begun to introduce education. Domestic slavery has ceased, but the kidnapping of slaves is not easily repressed, and leads to occasional disturbances. Finances have improved, and the Sudan now pays its own way. If irrigation works on a large scale are introduced, it may become a valuable corn and cotton field, to say nothing of its possibilities in the way of rubber, gum, and ostrich feathers.

Whether it proves highly productive or not, its control of the upper waters of the Nile render its possession vital to Egypt.

STANLEY LANE-POOLE



THE BATTLE OF OMDURMAN: THE FORCES OF THE MAHDI ADVANCING TO THEIR DOOM



EGYPT IN OUR OWN TIME

BY STANLEY LANE-POOLE

ONE is apt to think of Egypt merely as the land of pyramids and temples, of wonderful painted tombs and mural inscriptions recording the most ancient and vigorous civilisation in the world. That is all in the past. The Egypt of our own times does not build temples, but huge dams; and the Egypt of the future depends upon agriculture, not archæology. No country is so perfectly and naturally adapted for agriculture. The Nile, which made Egypt by scooping its groove in the desert, makes and re-makes the fecund soil every year, and the fertilising flood needs no help, except to be guided where it should go. The Egyptian might vary the Mohammedan profession of faith, from the material point of view, in the formula: "There is no god but the Nile, and the irrigation engineer is his Prophet." The one necessity in Egypt is "water, water everywhere," and wheresoever the Nile is able to deposit the rich slime it carries along in its 3,300 miles course, there one can sow and reap three crops in the year from the generous earth. The old saying of the Father of History that Egypt is the gift of the Nile is as true to-day as it was two-and-a-half millenniums ago; the only difference is that the gift is better understood and more abundantly enjoyed. The pity is that the Nile did not bore a wider valley while it was about it, and that so much of its precious water, in spite of dams and canals, runs away to waste in the Mediterranean Sea. For Egypt Proper, from the first cataract at Assouan to Alexandria, is so narrow a strip of cultivable land that it contains but 6,500,000 acres, and the total area of the country is but 12,000 square miles, or little more than a third of the size of Ireland. Yet this little strip of land is so rich that it can not only support its population of 11,000,000, but sends away to foreign countries produce and goods to the value of close on £26,000,000.

Egypt the Gift of the Nile

The scenery is monotonous and derives the charm that painters try to catch chiefly from atmospheric effects. But for its historic monuments and its vivifying, rejuvenating desert air, Egypt would never have become the resort of the hordes of tourists who annually flock there. After forcing its passage through the granite and syenite rocks of the first cataract, the river, usually about half a mile wide, pursues a naturally uninterrupted and almost unvaried course down the 700 miles to the sea, save where engineering invention has dammed its waters by the great weirs at Esne and Asyut, and the barrage below Cairo. Sometimes it cuts the valley—never more than ten miles across and often much less—into two equal parts, but more often it hugs the eastern boundary hills and spreads over the western plain its deep alluvial deposit, that famous Nile mud, which is the one reason why Egypt is not as barren as the thirsty desert out of which it was scooped. The scene is always much the same till we reach the Delta. In the midst, the dull, brownish, rapid stream; on each side the high, brown, mud banks, here and there topped by a ruined temple or rude mud village with its white mosque or saint's tomb; beyond, the fields of corn or beans or lupin; and still further the rocky barrier formed by the slopes of the desert edge, long, low, red, grey, and dun-coloured ranges of bare sandstone and limestone hills, smooth and tame as the Sussex Downs, but without a trace of vegetation, and only rarely rising, as near Thebes, to something like mountainous height and outline. Beyond these bordering hills lies nothing but the hard rocky plateau of the desert, sprinkled with sand and grit and varied here and there

Where Mud is Precious

On the Slopes of the Desert

at long distances by green oases fed by infiltration from the same fertilising river.

The striking want in Egyptian scenery is shade. Excepting comparatively recent plantations near towns, palms are the only trees of importance, though sparse sycamores and acacias, and willows and tamarisk, are to be seen, besides occasional forest trees of different species; and this lack of cover accounts for the absence of any wild beasts of size. Hyenas, jackals, wolves, foxes, etc., abound in desert spots, but the great beasts of prey are not found. The crocodile has followed the hippopotamus further south, in the vain hope of escaping European rifles; but Egypt makes up in her plagues of insects, reptiles, and vermin for the loss of the larger man-eaters. The domestic animals are the camel, horse, and ass for burthen, the buffalo and shorthorn cattle for field-work, and the sheep and goat for food. Dogs, like pigs, are held unclean animals, but are a pest to the traveller, and swarm, like the cats, in every town and village.

Egypt a Shadeless Land

Towns of any size from a European standard are few, but villages are everywhere and are all very much alike, standing some little way back from the river or a canal, and looking much more ruinous than the oldest temples. They are built of mud or sun-dried brick, and the houses—or rather hovels—are constantly falling, and no one dreams of removing the débris. You climb a mound, or push through a gap between high mud walls, and find yourself in a sort of square, perhaps with a few palm-trees and with mud benches or divans round it, and with the headman or sheikh's house, often a hut, at one side. The rest is a tangle of hovels. The village is the home of smells, mosquitoes, and dirty, pot-bellied, blear-eyed little children. It is also the home of the only man who really works in Egypt, outside the over-worked Civil Service, for in these tumbledown mud cabins feeds and sleeps the fellah, the agricultural labourer, who in olden times built all the monuments, and in modern times makes the canals and dikes and dams and roads and railways, and fights dervishes—in short, does almost everything manual that has to be done.

He used to do all this under the corvée system of forced unpaid labour, and often died like a fly in the process: driven to work by the lash and made to pay extortionate taxes, often his defaulting neighbour's as well as his own, on pain of severe floggings on the soles of the feet. Now he is paid like any other free man, and the only time when forced labour is demanded, to the extent of a few thousands instead of hundreds of thousands of labourers, is when an exceptional flood of the Nile requires exceptional efforts to restrain it from carrying destruction over the land. The British régime has abolished the kurbag, with many other abuses. In the old days the fellah was the serf of the pasha, held his plot of land at the pasha's will, and did not know what tax he had to pay or how much. All he knew was that he had to pay a great deal more than he possessed, before his crops were ready to be sold, and that he must therefore either sell his corn standing, at a ruinous loss, or borrow from the local money-lender at a fabulous rate of interest. Now he holds his land in fee simple, knows exactly what taxes he has to pay, and that they are not to be paid till after harvest; and if he finds himself short of money, he has only to go to the Agricultural Bank—

How Britain Has Helped the Fellahin



THE GREAT NILE DAM: SOUTH SIDE OF THE ASYUT BARRAGE



THE GREAT DAM AT ASSOUAN NEAR THE FIRST CATARACT OF THE NILE

one of Lord Cromer's invaluable improvements—and he will get an advance on reasonable terms. In 1906, some 90,000 loans, amounting to £3,500,000, were thus contracted, and the arrears unpaid at the close of the year were only 5 per cent.

The fellah is thus solvent, and if any local official tries extortion of any sort, he knows well enough that an appeal to "Krumar"—*i.e.*, to the embodiment of justice—will protect him. Consequently, he is, as a rule, contented, so far as any Hodge ever was; and as the fellahin, with their families, form four-fifths of the population of Egypt, and a million fellahin now occupy small holdings of less than five acres, the improvement in their status is the best and most important result of recent reforms. The fellah is a fine specimen of a man, and a very hard worker; he does not drink, of course, being a Moslem, and his chief faults are those due to centuries of virtual slavery: he may steal and lie, and cringe, and like all poor men, he is apt to be avaricious. He is extremely obstinate, and firmly believes that his own way is the best. But he is good-natured, kind—except to his beasts—tractable if not rubbed the wrong way, and enjoys a joke and a laugh, and a



A TOWN OF MODERN EGYPT: ASYUT, THE SITE OF A NILE BARRAGE

social evening over the pipes in the village square. The women, who are slightly less numerous than the men, are well-made, slender, and graceful, and do their full share of labour in the fields, and especially in carrying water. Polygamy does not seem to weigh much upon them, partly because it is rare; comparatively few Egyptians can afford to keep several wives, but easy divorce, for no valid cause, is an unquestionable evil.

Certainty of Egypt's Seasons

The fellah has the immense advantage of knowing exactly what to do in any given month. He is not at the mercy of uncertain seasons, and the only uncertainty that exists for him, a deficiency of the Nile flood, has been almost wholly abolished by the present system of scientific irrigation. The old system of basin irrigation, when whole fields lay under the Nile water in winter and were insufficiently drained, and then left fallow in the summer, or watered only to a small extent by a laborious chain of hand-pump (shaduf, see page 1632) and water-wheels (sakiyehs) has given place, or is giving place, to perennial irrigation of all lands by canals fed from the huge reservoirs of water now dammed up on the Nile, and to a proper system of land drainage. The time is coming when all the land, and not only the flat Delta as usually heretofore, will be capable of bearing its three crops in the year. So long as the Nile reaches the land, there is no difficulty about seasons. They rotate with the regularity of clockwork, or of the river which governs them. The Nile, flooded by the equatorial rains, begins to rise in June, reaches its greatest height (about 36 feet at Thebes) about the autumnal equinox, and gently falls for the remaining nine months. It is more or less high Nile from July to February, and low Nile from February to the end of June. Winds and temperature follow the Nile. From June to February the prevailing wind is from the north; from February to June it is generally from the south, sometimes rising to a hurricane and sandstorm (samum); but in March and April one may expect the parching dust-winds called Khamasin or Pentecostals. The thermometer gradually rises from low Nile in April, till it reaches 109° Fahr. in the shade in Upper Egypt, and 95° in the Delta, and then slowly cools till it falls to a minimum of 40° and 35° respectively about Christmas. The dry air renders the heat comparatively inoppressive in the upper country, but it is much less bearable as one descends towards the Mediterranean, where mists and damp become more frequent. Freezing is rare, but the nights are often cold, and a drop of 20° in the temperature in a few hours is not unknown.

The Nile's Fixed Time-table

Everything proceeds with such regularity that the agricultural calendar may be fixed to a day. The fellah knows exactly when he can sow his great crops of wheat and barley and beans and clover, or his cotton and rice and indigo; or, again, his broad fields of maize and millet—the dura, which forms the staple of his essentially vegetarian diet. It is true that scientific irrigation has changed some of his ideas, and he finds he can grow more valuable crops and use his land to better advantage than formerly; yet it is but the change from old style to new style, and the regularity of rotation remains a settled fact which may be implicitly relied upon. The old distinction between *rey* and *sharaki* lands will naturally vanish when perennial irrigation is available everywhere. The wealth of Egypt as an essentially agricultural country will exceed even its present marvellous development, and with a further reduction in his present comparatively light taxation, which must follow the adequate taxation of foreigners as soon as more of the unjust privileges secured by the capitulations are relaxed, the fellah freeholder on his small peasant proprietorship will have nothing to complain of. It is to be hoped that he will eventually learn to read and write, for in 1897 about 98 per cent. of the population were returned as illiterate, and until education has made much more progress among the people of all classes it is idle to talk about representative institutions and national self-government.

Egypt's Splendid Future

In the towns, of course, there is an educated class, though a very small one, and in spite of the efforts of the Education Department under Fákhri and Artin Pashas, and their adviser, Mr. Dunlop, during the past twenty years—struggling, it must be said, with a necessarily inadequate grant—it is well known that the supply of educated young Egyptians for employment in the Civil Service falls far short of the demand. The larger towns and the two cities of Egypt are chiefly the



CAIRO SHOPKEEPERS



LEMONADE SELLERS

The streets and bazaars of the native quarter of Cairo are almost unrivalled in the East for the variety and interest of their scenes of daily life. The types here illustrated are among the most familiar. These lemonade vendors and shopkeepers tolerate and profit by the European invasion of their town but remain at heart true Orientals.



CAIRO CRAFTSMEN ENGAGED ON THE FAMOUS MUSHARABYAH WORK

There is nothing more characteristic of Arab craftsmanship than the beautiful work in ivory and wood of these carvers, who use their left feet to help in the carving operation and are thus known as the "three-handed men."

TYPES OF THE EGYPTIAN PEOPLE OF TO-DAY

creations of Europeans. Even Cairo, the capital, with its history of nearly a thousand years, recalled by a long series of exquisite Saracenic monuments, is now mainly a European city, and tourists are apt to call the true Egyptian quarters "the bazars." One may well regret the progress which has converted the picturesque city of the Mamelukes into what has been, somewhat ambitiously, termed "a bastard Paris," but there can be no question that the change corresponds with the general progress of the country in material prosperity. Without Europeans Egypt would be in the same slough of poverty and backwardness as Asiatic Turkey. It is not merely the horde of tourists who pour money into the country every winter, but the more or less regular winter residents who come to Egypt, and especially to such health resorts as Helwan on the desert border near Cairo, or Luxor up the Nile, for the sake of a warm, dry climate. There is besides a permanent European population, numbering in 1907 about 145,000, of whom a third belonged to the quick-witted commercial class of Levantines—a somewhat notorious element in Egyptian town life. Italians come next in number, and then British and French, the Army of Occupation forming a third of the English colony.

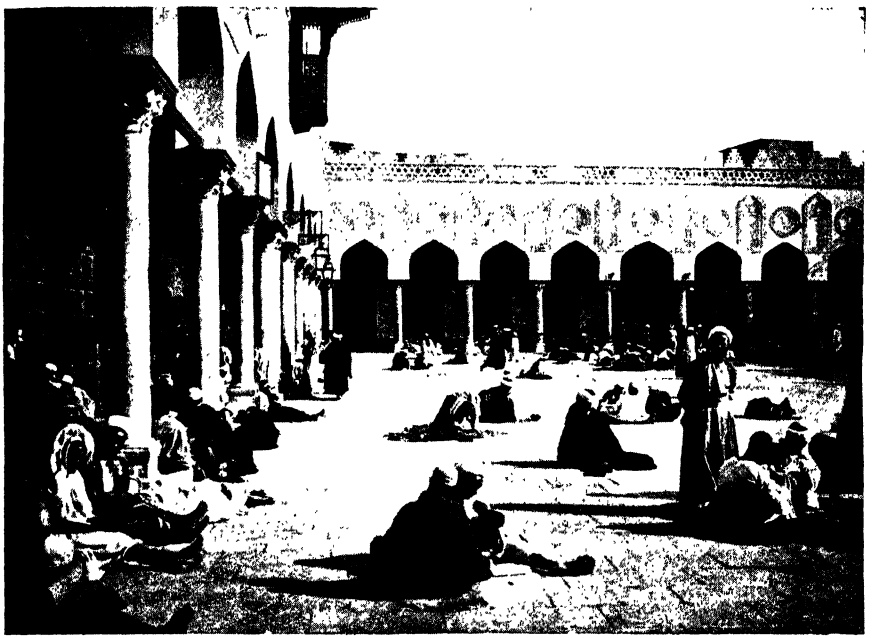
European Character of Cairo

The other nationalities are represented in comparatively small numbers, and there were less than 300 resident Americans in Egypt in 1907. The increasing European element, practically an importation (save the Levantines) of the past century, has, of course, profoundly modified the life in the two great cities of Cairo and Alexandria, and has had its influence in most of the fifteen towns that have more than 12,000 inhabitants. Railways, tramcars, post and telegraph offices, have done their part in changing the old Egyptian ways.

Yet one may question whether the Europeanising process has got far beneath the skin as yet. "The East changes very slowly, and the soul of the Eastern not at all. The Cairo jeweller, who will chaffer with you over a few piastres, though he mixes reluctantly, shrinkingly, in the crazy, bustling twentieth century life of Europe that rushes past him, is not of it. In his heart of hearts he looks back longingly to the glorious old days of the Mamelukes, to which he essentially belongs, and regrets the excitement of those stirring times. What good, he asks, comes of all this worry? Justice? More often a man had a need of a little injustice, and a respectable tradesman could usually buy that from the Kadi before these new tribunals were set up! As to fixed taxes and no extortion, that is chiefly a matter for the stupid fellahin; and, after all, the old system worked beautifully when you shirked payment, and your neighbour was bastinadoed for your share. Then all this fiddling with water and drains and streets. What is it all for? When Willcocks or Price Bey have put pipes and patent traps and other godless improvements into the mosques, will one's prayers be any better than they were in the pleasant pervasive odour of the old fetid tanks? The streets are broader, no doubt, to let the Firingis (Allah blacken their faces!) roll by in their two-horse Arabiyas and splash the Faithful with mud; but for this wonderful boon they have taken away the comfortable stone benches from before the shops, and the Cairo tradesman misses his old seat, where unlimited keyf and the meditative shibuk once whiled away the leisure of his never-pressing avocations. No; pure water and drains, and bicycles and tramcars, and a whole array of wretched little black-coated Efendis, pretending to imitate the Kafirs, may be all very well in their place, but they are ugly, uninteresting things, and life at Cairo has been desperately dull since they came in! Life undoubtedly was interesting in the old unregenerate days. There were events then, something to see and think of, and possibly fly from, plenty of blood and assassination, perhaps; but then you could always shut and bar the strong gates of the Quarter, when the Mamelukes or the Berbers, or, worst of all, the black Sudanis, were on the war-path. Now, the gates are taken away, and there are no cavalcades of romantic troopers, beautiful to behold in their array, to ravish your household and give colour to life. In those days it was possible for any man of brain and luck to rise to power and wealth, such wealth as Cairo could not furnish in these blank and honest times. Promotion was ever at hand, and the way was open to the strong, the cunning, and the rich. What were a holocaust of victims, an orgy of rapine, even the deadly ravages of periodical plague and famine, in comparison with the

"The Good Old Days"

Sanitation versus Romance



ONE OF THE MOST WONDERFUL SIGHTS IN CAIRO: THE ARAB UNIVERSITY

Here Arabs meet in thousands to equip themselves for the priesthood. This picture shows the great courtyard of the University. The hall inside is probably as large as the courtyard, and has hundreds of columns. At the foot of each column sits a professor with students about him. Their education consists almost entirely of reading the Koran.

endless opportunities, the infinite variety of those unruly and tumultuous, but never tedious, days ? "

Such are probably the views of a great many old-fashioned townspeople and conservative officials and pashas—of all, in fact, who have been deprived of their old opportunities of corruption and thieving. They are not the views of the "enlightened" Cairene, or of the vast body of the peasantry, who now realise the advantages of British administration. Still, conservatism is the keynote of Eastern character, and he would be a rash man who should prophesy cheerfully concerning the pouring of new wine into old bottles. The outward and material reforms in Egypt are manifest to all, but how far these unquestioned benefits have modified the ideas and prejudices of the natural Cairene it is impossible to judge. There are, in fact, two Cairos—the Cairo of the hotels and tourists and busy progressive European life, and again the Cairo that, not a stone's throw away, branching off at the end of the Muski street, where you will come across scenes that might occur in "The Thousand and One Nights," the same historic costume the same veiled women, the fierce-looking Bedouins, the strings of camels loaded with country produce, the water-carrier, the wedding procession and circumcision pomp—nothing seems to be changed—and the pungent smell of the East—a smell unmistakable — pervades it all. The little cupboard-like shops are still there, only the shopkeeper smokes cigarettes instead of five-foot-long pipes, but he is as lazy and indifferent to business, as calm and impenetrable, as ever. He is exactly the same sort of person as looked upon the caliph Harun al-Rashid when he went rambling at night, or who listened to the Barber's interminable stories, for the "Arabian Nights" are essentially Cairene in their descriptions of life and manners.

The Changeless East

Life in Old Cairo

The very aspect of the more out-of-the-way streets has little altered in centuries, though they have lost the awnings which once shaded them, and the beautiful lattice windows (meshrebiyas) are fast disappearing. But they are still narrow and dusty and filthy, and after rain indescribably muddy—and incom-

parably picturesque. Most of Cairo is modern, but there are still some of the older, almost mediæval, houses remaining, and a few ruined palaces of the Mameluke emirs, besides the exquisite mosques and tombs, colleges, convents and sebils, in and around the city which record the munificence and taste, the piety and fear of judgment, of a whole series of lords and sultans, from the mosque of the conqueror Amr in "Old Cairo" to the Turkish minarets of Mehemet Ali's mosque on the citadel. Many of these are mere ruins, and most would have almost disappeared by now but for the resolute efforts of the committee which has watched over them for the past quarter of a century and, under the skilled supervision of its architect, Herz Bey, has expended as much as £8,000 to £12,000 a year on the repair and occasionally the complete restoration of these priceless monuments of Saracenic art. The skill which built and adorned them with carvings and mosaics, plaster mouldings and marble, enamelled glass, and chased metal-work inlaid with silver and gold, has long departed, though there are signs in the restoration that work almost, if not quite, equal to the original, can be executed by Herz Bey's craftsmen; and it is possible that the European demand may in a measure revive the lost arts of Cairo. As it is, apart from a few workshops in the capital, there is very little of art industry in Egypt. Coarse earthenware, coarse textiles, rude brass and copper work there is in plenty; but the looms no longer turn out the wondrous iridescent silks of the Fatemid period, and fine ceramic and the damascene art are for the present extinct.

Wonderful Saracenic Buildings

Whatever the future of Egypt may be, it will depend upon its Mohammedan agricultural population directed by British science. It will not be sensibly affected by the native Christians, who form a very small minority. The Copts scarcely seem to take their full share in the general progress of Egypt. Once they were almost the sole source from which the inferior Government officials were taken, since they alone as a rule possessed the necessary skill in book-keeping. Now, though they are under no disabilities, they are generally supplanted by Mohammedans. They have the reputation, rightly or wrongly, of being more ignorant and less trustworthy than their Moslem contemporaries, and certainly their priests do not set them a good example in learning or in civilisation. They have extremely interesting churches and monasteries, where the same rites and liturgies are celebrated in the same tongue as in the fifth century; but the Coptic Church has been torn by factions, and its state is not hopeful.

Decadence of the Copts

The future lies with the Moslems, who form 90 per cent. of the population. That these will justify in a material sense the wise expenditure of capital and intelligence which has brought such extraordinary prosperity to their land cannot be doubted. Whether there will be any revival of a really national or at least Arabic culture remains to be seen. There are signs of some such revival in Arabic studies; but that splendid old monument of Arab learning, in its most restricted and conservative limits, the Azhar University, has not so far favoured an enlargement of its old curriculum, and its prejudice against all European innovations is undiminished. The National University at Cairo may work wonders. The more Egyptians take an interest in culture and in public affairs the better; and it is only an inevitable part of the movement that some of the half educated but ambitious spirits should jump at power for which they are at present unqualified. The reins must remain firmly in the hands of the tutelary Power, and the really interesting problem of the immediate future is how long Britain will continue to accept her present anomalous position instead of assuming openly the protectorate which she has already exerted under an unofficial mask since 1883. For a long time the progress of Egypt was held back by the uncertainty of an indefinite British occupation. That uncertainty has been removed by a series of events, and lastly by the Anglo-French Agreement of 1904. But international fetters and a few obsolete restrictions still check advance. Egypt has been freed by Britain from bankruptcy and corrupt tyranny and brought to a marvellous pitch of prosperity, justice and order. It remains to be seen whether the last remaining fetters of the old régime cannot be snapped.

Future of Egypt

STANLEY LANE-POOLE

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SUDAN

THE development of the Sudan under an administration of British officers and civilians, nominally an Anglo-Egyptian Government, is one of the most remarkable things in the history of the early years of the twentieth century. The government established over a vast territory, desolated by the ravages of the Mahdi's warfare, was from the first compelled to act in a multitude of ways to build up some sort of civilisation, and bring order out of chaos. It undertook the responsibilities of landlord and house-builder, of railway construction and management, of provision merchant and clothier—wholesale and retail—and of agriculturist. It built steamers and manned them, not only for commercial transport, but for tourists, and let them out on hire. It owned the ferries, constructed tramways between Khartoum and Omdurman, installed electric light, and became its own water board.

Although a good deal of the land is in the hands of private owners who could show some legal title to possession before the Mahdist invasion, the Government remains a very large landowner, holding the whole of Port Sudan, much of Khartoum and Omdurman, and all the so-called desert areas, land in many places which is slowly coming under cultivation. And the Government has steadily refused to part with the freehold of these lands, choosing instead to grant comparatively short leases; by which means it has discouraged speculation and retained for the State the "unearned increment" of land values in the towns.

"State Socialism" in the Sudan

Of course, criticism has been directed against this policy of "State Socialism," as it has been called, and complaints have been made that capitalist enterprise has been checked by these methods of state ownership. But the Government was faced at the outset by a hopelessly confused state of affairs, and land and people without law or security of life, or the means of improvement, and it assumed an authority in all sorts of directions where authority was required. Moreover, under the direct ownership and supervision of the Government, great advances have been made in sanitation, public decency, social order, and education. In fact, the many departments of official activity can all show excellent results for their labours since the Anglo-Egyptian administration was first set up.

In Khartoum schools have been opened where the Arab and African children are taught, in addition to reading and writing, the industrial arts; for since on achieving manhood the old occupations of battle and slaughter would no longer await them, it seemed good to Lord Kitchener that they should at least have the opportunity of becoming proficient as mechanics and artisans, or even as architects and engineers. Thousands of the Sudanese find employment in the State dockyards and workshops, and on the railways; thousands more will be wanted. Others of the Sudanese have been trained as civil servants in the Gordon College, Khartoum, and in colleges at Omdurman, Suakin, and Rufaa. For a military career, the future native officers of the Sudan Army qualify at the Cadets' College. The Wellcome Institute, with its laboratories and staff of bacteriologists, is possibly doing as much for the future welfare of the Sudan as the schools and colleges. For in these laboratories the destruction of tropical disease is planned, and the problems of tropical vegetation are examined till solutions are found.

Schools and Colleges

The importance of railway construction in the material development of the Sudan cannot be over-estimated. The line from Cairo to Khartoum in 1914 had been extended to El Obeid, 400 miles south, and it awaited completion only at the point where it would join the line from the Cape. From Port Sudan, 30 miles north of Suakin, the Red Sea Railway runs, for 331 miles, to the mouth of the Atbara River, 20 miles south of Berber on the Nile. While the Abu Hamed Railway runs east, for 138 miles, from the Nile to Abu Hamed, the junction for Berber and Khartoum.

Railway Extension

For administrative purposes the Sudan is divided into thirteen provinces; Khartoum, Blue Nile, Dongola, Berber, Senaar, Kassala, Kordofan, White Nile, Bahr-el-Ghasal, Wady Halfa, Suakin, Upper Nile, and Mangalia. Each of these provinces is under a governor, who is a British officer of the Egyptian Army, and are sub-divided into districts under Egyptian officers.



Young Moor



A Lady of Morocco



Kabyle of Morocco



Arab Woman of Algeria



Kabyle Woman



Woman of South Morocco



Jews of Tangiers

TYPES OF THE PEOPLES OF MEDITERRANEAN NORTH AFRICA



MEDITERRANEAN NORTH AFRICA

BY DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

THE COUNTRY AND ITS INHABITANTS

MEDITERRANEAN Africa is divided into two sharply defined geographical regions, an eastern and a western. In the east the coast line sinks back to the south; in the west it juts out towards the north; and while on the eastern edge the desert regions extend to the sea, in the western and projecting part there rises a country of mighty mountains with snow-covered peaks and foaming torrents, and of fertile valleys and well-watered plains. Here, then, tribes of agriculturists could develop into powerful nations, while the east is the home only of nomads. Only at one point in the eastern coast, in modern Tripoli, just where the tableland of Barca projects like a peninsula into the sea, lies a feeble counterpart of the western mountainous region, an agricultural district formerly the possession of the once flourishing Greek colony of Cyrene.

East and West

But if the coast-line in the east as an independent country is at a disadvantage compared with the west, it has some counterbalancing features. First, it is situated nearer to the ancient civilised countries and came comparatively earlier under their influence; and, secondly, owing to the deep bays that indent its coast, it is the favoured starting-point and terminus of the entire Sudan trade, which is again facilitated by the convenient position of numerous oases. It is no accident that the two most powerful ancient commercial cities of North Africa, Carthage and Cyrene, flourished in the vicinity of the Syrtes.

Communication with the Sudan was in ancient times probably less difficult than at present. There is no doubt that there has been an unfavourable change in the climate. In the northern Sahara especially, the calcareous deposits of dried-up springs, the traces of a formerly richer flora, but, above all, the remains of human settlements in regions now completely uninhabited, speak only too clear a language and assure us that even the deficiency of water in the Algeria of to-day as compared with that of Roman times is not to be referred merely to the decay of artificial irrigation, but must have deeper causes. But if North Africa and, above all, the desert was once better watered and more habitable than it is to-day, then communication also with negritic Africa must have been easier than now, notwithstanding that in early antiquity the camel was not known to the tribes of North Africa. The commercial position of Carthage, as of Cyrene, rested, indeed, to a great extent on intercourse with the Sudan. In Roman times this traffic appears to lessen or completely to cease; the Arabic era first roused it to fresh activity. Parallel with climatic changes there is in the course of history no lack of topographical changes: the rising of the Tunisian coast, which caused many of the famous harbours of antiquity to be silted up, is to be especially mentioned. On the other hand, the shore of

Sahara Not Always a Desert

the peninsula of Barca is steadily sinking.

Climatic changes, as well as the passion for hunting, have also exercised great influence on the animal life of North Africa: elephants and hippopotami, which were formerly numerous, have now disappeared. And a plant which once was of the highest importance for a part of North Africa, the famous silphium, which grew in the district of Cyrene, and the juice from the root of which was worth its weight in silver in ancient Rome, is no longer to be found, and has not been rediscovered even in other parts of the world. The silphium was one of the chief sources of the wealth of the ancient Cyreneans. As we see it represented on the coins of the town, we know that it belonged to the group of the umbelliferæ. The writings of the ancients tell us of the manifold uses of this healing juice, which was nowhere prepared so excellently as at Cyrene. Whether the plant has been extirpated or whether it has disappeared before the change of climate can no longer be determined.

Vanished Source of Wealth

The existence of a prehistoric population in the Sahara is demonstrated by numerous stone implements which have often been found in quite isolated and now uninhabitable spots of the desert. In historic times, the first accounts do not, any more than any other results of investigation, justify the assumption that before the invasion of the Phœnicians, Greeks and Romans a homogeneous population filled North Africa. If we collect the different accounts and compare them with the conditions of the present day, we can distinguish no fewer than four old races which were permanently settled there, and their descendants, mixed with subsequent comers, maintain even now for the most part their original homes. In the first place, we must name the light-complexioned, fair-haired Libyans, who are often mentioned by the old geographers and historians as inhabiting both the district bordering on Egypt and the tableland of Barca and the places on Lake Triton. They exercised influence on Egypt itself. Especially at the time of the Ethiopian sovereignty we find fair-haired Libyans as dynasts in the Delta. They seem to have been a physically well-built and intellectually gifted race.

Ancient Peoples of the North

Descendants of these "blonds" are found even at the present day in North Africa especially among the Kabyles of the Rif, or Morocco, in such large numbers that for a long time it was thought that the remnants of the German Vandals had been rediscovered; although, in reality, the fair-haired population of Africa existed long before the migration of the Germanic nations—indeed, before the beginning of historical tradition. Another remnant of this blond race were the Guanches in Teneriffe.

The Canary Islands have served more than once as a refuge for the population of the continent when hard pressed by newcomers. The Guanches, when they first came into contact with Europeans, were still completely in the Stone Age. They knew the use of the mattock, and bred sheep and goats, but did not use the plough or understand how to make bread. In addition to the Guanches, other races have inhabited the Canaries.

The fair-haired African race does not stand apart from the other races. It is very probably identical with that tall, long-headed people which was once settled in Western Europe, and which is usually designated the Cro-Magnon race after the chief place where remains of bones have been found. Assuming, then, the relationship of the fair-haired Libyans with the people of Cro-Magnon to be generally admitted, the original homes of the race may have been in North Africa; this is the more probable, since the megalithic monuments of North Africa are apparently older than those of Western Europe. The hypothesis which accounts for these races as of Celtic origin hardly demands discussion.

Fair-Haired Africans

Together with, and perhaps before, the fair-haired race, another light-complexioned, but dark-haired and short-headed, race appears to have existed in North Africa. The earliest inhabitants of the Canary Islands seem, at any rate, to have belonged to this dark-haired people, sometimes referred to as "Armenoides." These, it can hardly be doubted, have close affinities with those dark-haired pre-Aryans of Southern Europe, who were later influenced by the immigrating Aryans and robbed of their individual characteristics, but continued to live among the main body of the population of Southern Europe.

We can mention only briefly the traces which point to the existence in the steppes and oases of North Africa of a stunted race, probably related to the bushmen and the dwarf tribes of the rest of Africa. The inhabitants of the oasis of Tidicelt were expressly described by the ancients as being of small stature. Other tribes, such as Troglodytes and Garamantes, may have intermingled with the pigmy peoples who then, perhaps, roamed about the Sahara, as the Bushmen still do in the Kalahari. In many national types of the present day the last remnants of the dwarf race, greatly changed by intermixture, may still be pointed out.

Far more important for the history of Africa was the effect wrought on racial conditions by another cause. If the Libyans, the "Armenoides," and even the stunted tribes, were comparatively fair complexioned, we now see a ruddy-skinned people appear in Egypt as the possessors of a primitive civilisation, which they develop later in Ethiopia and Abyssinia. In quite early times they spread westward. Ultimately all North Africa receives from them its ethnographical and linguistic characteristics, and a new race is formed—that of the Berbers. This people, then, constitutes the core of the present Hamitic population, which, as the "Atlantic race," it is usual to contrast with the negroes on the one hand, and the Aryans and Semites on the other. The ancient name of "Ethiopians" is the most appropriate for them.

Who are the True Ethiopians?

The Ethiopians must have come later than the previously mentioned races to Northern Africa, with the exception, naturally, of Egypt, where they were settled from the first beginnings of civilisation. A certain affinity of the Ethiopian languages with the Semitic, the accounts handed down of their ancient history, and even the conditions of the people at the present day, make us suppose that the original homes of the Ethiopians may have been in Eastern Africa. There they received the stimulus of Asiatic civilisation, which they carried further westward, together with the acquisitions of Egyptian culture. North Africa became Ethiopian only within the course of authentic history.

But even though the races blend, the population of North Africa will always separate afresh into two, or better into three, component parts, made necessary by the nature of the country itself, and distinct in their characteristics. No contrast of language or bodily structure is so thorough or so indestructible as that between the nomad of the steppe and the agriculturist who inhabits the fertile plains and the mountain valleys; as civilisation gradually develops, a third distinct type arises—the town-dweller, who makes his livelihood by industry and trade. These contrasts are so effectual that the individual countries of North Africa, to say nothing of the whole region, have never become political unities in the sense of European states. Morocco is, in reality, a marvellous conglomeration of partially or entirely dependent tribal districts, together with others that are practically independent.

Races That Don't Mix

All three elements of the population advanced in civilisation as time went on. The agriculturist, probably under the influence of Ethiopian immigration, exchanged the mattock for the plough. The nomad at an early period made use of the ox; later, during the dynasty of the Hyksos in Egypt, of the horse; and, finally, in Roman times, of the camel. The town-dwellers finally received, through trade and traffic, ample materials of culture. But they were recruited by new immigrations and changed their national life and character.

The mere enumeration of the numerous shocks from the outside which North Africa has had to bear patiently explains at once the tremendous changes the country has undergone. As colonisers the Greeks appeared on the eastern, the Phœnicians on the western, coasts; and the supremacy of the Romans and Byzantines did not fail to influence greatly the mixture of nationalities. Then a stream of fair-haired Germans pressed over the Straits of Gibraltar and held the new possessions for a century. More important and more lasting than all previous influences was that exercised upon the inhabitants of North Africa by the invasion of the Arabs and the spread of Islam. The Arabs were followed by the Turks. Finally, the civilised nations of Europe appeared in the field and undertook to forge anew out of that region sunk in savagery another link in that chain of civilised states which had once circled the Mediterranean and had been snapped by the adherents of Islam.

North Africa's Tremendous Changes

Thus the history of North Africa in its recorded form is little else than the struggle of the native Berbers against foreign intruders. Sometimes they almost succumb; the lords of the North African coast wear the Carthaginian dress or the burnous of the Arab; then, again, they show their indestructible vitality, and genuine Berber states arise where formerly foreign colonisers had the power in their hands. In mediæval and modern times have come the Jews, the detested and yet indispensable traders of the kingdom of Morocco and of the old Barbary states, of whose immigration, as almost everywhere else, there is nothing definite to be said, it being sufficient that they are there.

The Detested Jews

They seem fit and ready to play, in their way, an important part in the civilising of North Africa by European nations: in fact, they are the only component part of the population which knows how to conform itself externally to European ideas and to derive profit from the advantages of our culture without acknowledging its moral claims.

Apart from the migrations in Roman times, the stream of European blood which has been poured into the veins of the North Africans is not inconsiderable. When the Moors retreated from Spain a large number of them settled in North Africa and gradually mixed with the natives. But the Moors had just formed in Spain a united nation out of native Iberian, Arabic, Berber, and even North European elements: they were not only in their civilisation but also in their ethnical composition a connecting link between the world of Islam and that of Western Europe. Still more important, perhaps, was the influx of European slaves of both sexes which, from the Middle Ages down to modern times, had been directed into the Barbary states by the constant expeditions of the corsairs inhabiting the North African coasts, an element much more easily absorbed, owing to the Mohammedan institution of the harem. Besides this, many European renegades appear in the military history of North Africa.

The White Slaves of North Africa

If, through the capture of slaves, European blood came into Barbary, still more so did negritic blood. The negroes, whose own homes do not, indeed, extend far into the Sahara, do not voluntarily come to Mediterranean North Africa; but they flocked in under the crack of the slave whip as despised servants of the ruling peoples. Yet their vital tenacity caused them to take root in the new soil. But they proved fatal to the national life of North Africa. Every drop of negritic blood takes its owner farther from Europe, as well as from the civilisation of the Mediterranean countries, and brings him nearer to the dull, unprogressive peoples of Central Africa. At the present day, after centuries of silent immigration of the dark race, the coast of the Mediterranean is more African than it ever was in the course of its history.

The three non-racial elements of the population which, through natural conditions, are always recreated—nomads, husbandmen, and dwellers in towns—have been, as was inevitable, influenced and technically altered in very different ways by the advancing waves of nations. The agriculturists of the highlands, after the earliest fusion was completed, have best preserved the purity of race: these are essentially genuine Berbers and the pick of the population in Western North Africa. The nomad Berber population was, on the contrary, not able to resist the impact of the Arabs, nomads like themselves, and was compelled to give way to the intruders. They either withdrew into the Sahara or fled to their brethren permanently settled in the highlands, so that in North Africa proper at the present time the terms Arab and nomad almost coincide. The towns, finally, were the proper homes of the mixed nationalities. Foreign merchants and fugitives settled in them by preference; the Jew built his ghetto here, and the negro his miserable quarter. Notwithstanding the hatred which the nomads and the agriculturists have for each other, they are at one in their contempt for the inhabitants of the towns.

The Three Elements of the Population

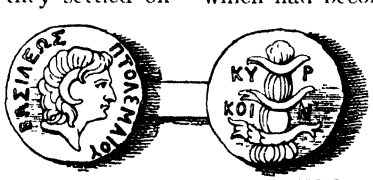
We must, first of all, consider the history of the two colonising states, Cyrene and Carthage. Then we must give our attention to Roman times and describe the invasion of the Arabs. Finally, considering how North Africa has been split up into separate states and possessions, we must fix our eyes on the modern development of these states. The encroachments of the European Powers will be briefly touched upon in conclusion.



CARTHAGE IN ITS SPLENDOUR AND ITS DOWNFALL

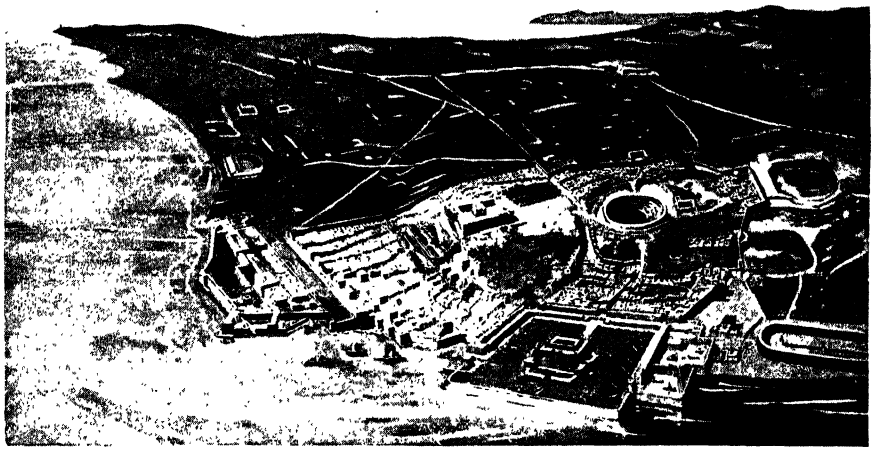
THE Greek settlements on the peninsula of Barca deserve special notice because they were the only important Hellenic colonies on the coast of North Africa, and because also their isolated position allowed them to develop their individuality in comparative independence. The cultivated territory of Cyrenaica, surrounded by the sea or desert regions, supported a numerous population on the products of the soil; and the favourable commercial situation, which made Cyrene a depôt on the through trade route to the most varied destinations, must have proved a source of wealth as soon as an energetic people made use of it, and found out, besides, how to make the most of the natural treasures of their own territory, among which the silphium, already referred to, must especially be named.

In the middle of the seventh century B.C. Dorian settlers had come, under the leadership of Battus, from the island of Thera, or Santorin, where a civil war had caused their emigration: at first they settled on a small island in the Gulf of Bomba; six years later they settled on the mainland and founded Cyrene, the government of which Battus assumed under the title of king. It is characteristic of the country that a copious spring of water, called Cyre, led to the choice of the site and gave its name to the place. The colony was subsequently strengthened by the accession of numerous Dorian Greeks from the Peloponnesus, from Crete, and other islands. The colonists were now in a position to take possession of large tracts in the peninsula of Barca—against the will of the nomad Libyans of those parts, who at last in their distress appealed to the king of Egypt for help. The new colony soon saw itself compelled to assume a hostile attitude towards the powerful civilised state on its east frontier. Fortunately for Cyrene, disturbances in Egypt forbade the decisive invasion of a neighbouring people. But finally the Libyans themselves proved to be dangerous opponents. The tribes united and inflicted a severe defeat on the Greeks in a great battle. The large number of Cyreneans killed—seven thousand—and the fact that notwithstanding all this the vitality of the young community was not sapped allows us to conceive how rapid the rise to prosperity of the settlement was.



A COIN OF PTOLEMY APION
One of the kings of Cyrene. The reverse of the coin shows the famous silphium plant, now extinct, which was one of the colony's natural treasures.

Its defeat was destined to bring important results in its train. Cyrene, in search of help, turned its eyes to Greece, and was immediately swept along in that transformation of political life which was then going on in the old home. Peacefully, or by force, aristocracy and tyranny were repressed in favour of democracy. Those communities were fortunate where prudent and respected men stood at the head of affairs and accomplished with moderation and fairness the revolution which had become necessary through the growing power of the lower strata of the people. In Cyrene the disastrous issue of the war furnished a reason for similar action; while another impelling cause was the counsel of the famous oracle at Delphi. Just as the oracle had once commanded Battus to found a colony, so it now counselled the Cyreneans to summon from Mantinea the legislator Demonax, who would arrange the internal affairs of the settlement and enable it to offer a more powerful resistance to external foes. Demonax assigned equal rights to all citizens and limited the royal power of the Battian dynasty, which was still on the throne. This led to new struggles; King Arcesilaus was exiled in



GENERAL VIEW OF THE PHŒNICIAN TOWN OF UTICA AS IT WAS
The oldest of the Phœnician settlements on the north coast of Africa was Utica, although Carthage politically outstripped it.

530 B.C., but with the help of the foreigners regained power till he was slain by the people, together with the tyrant of Barca, which had been founded before this. As he had previously submitted to the Persians, who, under Cambyses, then occupied Egypt, the Persian governor in Egypt now interfered, destroyed Barca, which, however, soon became prosperous again, and upheld the tottering monarchy. It was not until 450 B.C. that it finally broke down, and Cyrene became a republic.

Notwithstanding all these wars, Cyrene had meantime attained great prosperity. The fertile soil of the country, which, above all, produced the valuable silphium, afforded a secure basis for the power of the state; and the trade which was carried on, partly by land with Egypt and the Sudan, partly by sea, brought immense wealth to Cyrene, where the citizens were conspicuous among all Hellenes for their luxury, and also for their keen interest in the artistic and philosophic movements of the Greek people. The restless spirit of the Cyreneans, which manifested itself even after the fall of the monarchy in continuous friction between the nobles and the people, may have been due to their luxurious character. The power and prosperity of the town suffered for the time very little from these internal feuds. The struggle with its rising rival, Carthage, which broke out soon after the expulsion of the Battidæ, did not end to the disadvantage of Cyrene. The two emporia of trade came finally to an understanding as to the limits of their respective influence. The Cyreneans did not come into hostile relations with Alexander the Great, who appeared in Egypt in 332 B.C., since they secured their position in advance by a feigned submission. It was, indeed, fortunate for the town that, owing to their remote position, they were somewhat distant from the paths of political whirlwinds. Only faint gusts of the storm blew over them. The same advantage was enjoyed by the other and smaller city-republics which had sprung up on the coast of Barca and, with Cyrene, were included under the name of the Pentapolis, literally, the five cities.

Luxury and Learning in Cyrene

Cyrene's Struggle with Carthage

When, however, after the death of Alexander, the mighty stream of his policy of conquest divided into numerous rivulets—when everywhere his old generals raised their weapons against each other and endeavoured to break off for themselves the greatest possible portion of that enormous inheritance—Cyrenaica did not escape the eyes of the rapacious soldier-



THE REMAINS OF UTICA, THE OLDEST AND LONGEST-LIVED PHŒNICIAN COLONY
Utica, at first the chief city of the African Phœnicians, preserved its existence by going over to Rome in the Punic wars.

kings. As though the external danger were not enough, party struggles blazed up with fresh fury in the republics of Pentapolis, and fugitives from Cyrene summoned the assistance of the Alexandrian general, Timbron, who was then in Crete. Ptolemy, who, in the meantime, had firmly established himself in Egypt, availed himself of the opportunity to interfere: Timbron was defeated, and in 322 B.C. all of Cyrenaica was obliged to recognise the suzerainty of the crafty Egyptian king.

Cyrene Subject to Egypt

With this the decay of the country seems to have begun. Drawn into the family disputes of the Ptolemies, the region sometimes regained its independence temporarily, but remained in essential points under Egyptian influence. Cyrene was no longer able to compete in trade with Carthage, on the one hand, or with Alexandria on the other. Even though the gigantic struggle of the Phœnician colony with the aspiring Roman empire may have brought much passing benefit, and the advantages of its geographical situation could never be quite lost, yet Cyrene, together with its sister towns, undoubtedly sank in importance. This decadence, recognisable in the domain of thought also, stands in a certain connection with the increasing intermixture of populations, by which the old Hellenic spirit was more and more repressed and subdued. The Jews especially, who were intentionally favoured by the Ptolemies, greatly increased in Cyrenaica in the course of time. In the later Ptolemaic period they are said to have composed almost the fourth part of the town population. To what degree the Libyan, Egyptian, and even negritic elements may have increased is not, indeed, known, but may be roughly estimated from the situation and from the trading relations of Pentapolis. The intellectual culture of African Hellenism, which once had its centre in Cyrene, passed entirely to Alexandria.

The Romans, after the death of a prince of the Ptolemies, to whom Pentapolis had fallen as an independent realm, came into the possession of the territory by peaceful means. It was only loosely bound to the Roman empire about 95 B.C., since Cyrenaica had long ceased to be an important factor in international affairs. Disturbances in the new tributary land led to its complete subjugation by Pompey in 67 B.C., and to its union with Crete. In the future Pentapolis comes seldom into notice; what we do

Decay in Culture and Power

hear of it shows its continued decay. A terrible revolt of the Jewish population in the time of Trajan is said to have cost the lives of 200,000 Greeks and Romans, so that the emperor, after the suppression of the rebellion, founded a new colony, Adrianopolis, in Cyrenaica, in order to revive the depopulated land. But the weak condition of the province had already been seized by the Libyan nomads as an opportunity of occupying part of the fertile land, without its being possible to check their encroachments. The ravages of the Islamitic era of conquest annihilated the last traces of its ancient prosperity.

Cyrene's Prosperity Annihilated

Long before Cyrene, and not through gradual decay, but in a tremendous tragic catastrophe, her proud rival, Phœnician Carthage, had disappeared.

The most important of the Phœnician settlements in the west are well known. On the coast of North Africa there lie, west of the Syrtes, Leptis, Hadrumetum, Carthage, Utica, and the two Hippos. Those that lay on the Mauretanian, or Morroccan, coast had no special significance. In Sicily the western portion particularly was Phœnician; but there, as in other instances, we can never know what was primarily Carthaginian and therefore secondarily Phœnician. We must renounce the attempt to prove very ancient Phœnician pre-Hellenic settlements in Eastern Sicily, since we doubt the applicability of the explanation of names for such purposes. The same holds good of Spain. What we know of Carteïa and Gadir, or Cadiz, is quite uncertain; and the identification of Tartessus with the Biblical Tarshish is very doubtful. Thus, still less information has come down to us of the various Phœnician settlements in Spain than of those in Africa. The town which at a later period was promoted by Hasdrubal to be the seat of government for the Carthaginian dominion under the name of Carthago, or Carthago Nova, seems at a still earlier time to have been a sort of centre. We must abandon even more completely the attempt to prove the existence of any definite points further to the east. In Sardinia alone can we trace with any confidence the existence of Carthaginian influence, although in that case again a previous universal Phœnician occupation of the land is quite probable.

No Phœnician History of Carthage

We have no materials for the history of these settlements and their further development. Our accounts begin where the Western Phœnicians came into contact with the Greeks, when these latter began to dispute the western basin of the Mediterranean and when the struggle between Rome and Carthage was being waged. Carthage was already at the head of these settlements. There were no longer "Phœnicians" there, but only an immense Carthaginian empire to which everything was subordinated. The history of these Western Phœnicians is, therefore, so far as we can follow it, the history of Carthage, and even there it is very incomplete. The Carthaginian documents which are forthcoming have no historical value. We have no accounts of the first settlement of Carthage, and we can deduce the course of events only from some institutions of later date. What legend tells us about the founding of Carthage by Dido, and the transference of this legend to the reign of Pygmalion of Tyre—all this is pure fable. Dido does not belong to history.

The Carthaginians, even in later times, acknowledged Phœnicia as their mother country, and as a proof of this paid an annual tax to the temple of Melkart in Tyre. Carthage has, therefore, been regarded as a Tyrian colony, and the Dido myth is traceable to this idea, or it may have helped to sustain it. We have, however, evidence that the chief gods of Carthage were not Melkart, but Eshmun and Astarte—that is to say, the gods who were worshipped at Sidon. This proves, according to Semitic ideas, that Carthage was not a Tyrian but a Sidonian colony.

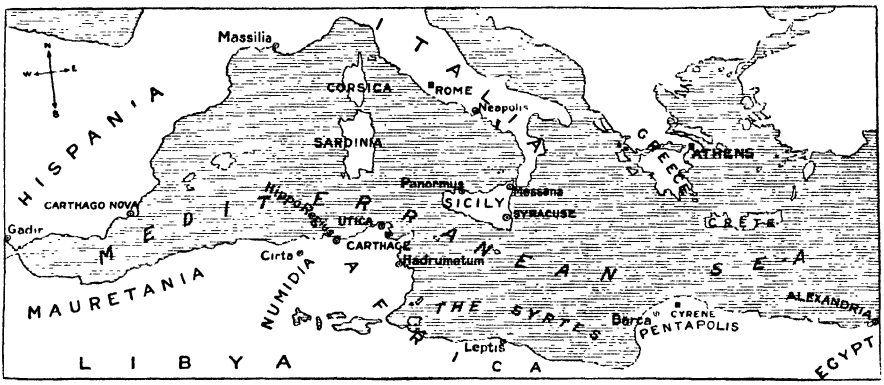
Origin of Carthage

What we have clearly seen with regard to the conditions of Phœnicia and the course of its expansion beyond the sea forbids us to look on Carthage as a colony sent out from the city of Sidon; the Phœnician towns as such could never have done that. On the contrary, the migration across the sea originated with the Phœnicians who were still in movement. If, therefore, Carthage worshipped the same gods as Sidon, she did so not because they were the gods of her mother city, but because she did homage to them as the common gods of all Phœnicians. The Carthaginians did not regard Sidon as their mother city, but as the head city of all "Sidonians," just as Tyre and the other states did. When through the

destruction of Sidon by Esarhaddon even the religious headship was transferred to Tyre the Carthaginians began to send their offering of homage to Tyre, because the rescued gods of Sidon had found a refuge there. From this time, and only in this sense, Carthage was a "Tyrian colony."

A further clue to the explanation of the conditions of the historical period is given us by the name Carthage itself, and by a remarkable and well-authenticated fact as to its relations with the neighbouring town of Utica. Carthage signifies the "New Town"; it can only have been so called in distinction from an old town. Citium in Cyprus and the subsequent "New Carthage" in Spain received the same name when they were "newly founded"—that is, when they fell under others are included under the title of "allies"—that is subject and tributary towns. This implies a recognition of the "motherhood" of Utica as much as of Tyre; the religious fame of the former capital had thus been preserved even when Carthage had long possessed the political supremacy, and was strong enough to secure to Utica an exceptional position above the other towns. From this we may deduce the fact for the period on which no accounts throw any light that Utica was formerly the chief city of the African Phœnicians and had been gradually ousted from that position by Carthage. This also explains why Utica in the Third Punic War voluntarily ranged itself on the side of the Romans and was afterwards made by them the capital of a province.

Utica Goes over to Rome



MAP SHOWING RELATIONSHIP OF ANCIENT STATES OF MEDITERRANEAN NORTH AFRICA

the Phœnician and Punic sway. The old name of Carthage was possibly Byrsa, which really belongs to the old quarter of the town, the city, and not merely to the citadel, and is found also, perhaps, in the inscriptions upon coins.

Utica, on the other hand, signifies "Old Town." It must have first received this title in place of its old and unknown name, when the New Town assumed its name and thus politically outstripped it; that is precisely the state of things which is illustrated in the mother country by the struggle between Sidon and Tyre for the "motherhood" or the higher antiquity.

Utica Senior to Carthage

In the second treaty with Rome Utica is expressly named with Carthage and on the same footing as Tyre, while all

In short, at what date Carthage was, in fact, founded, or at what time she had secured the hegemony, or dominion, over the other Phœnician settlements in Spain and Sicily and elsewhere, we do not know. But when we have definite record of rivalry between Phœnicians and Greeks the Phœnician power centres in Carthage.

At the beginning of the seventh century Sicily and the coast of Massilia are in the possession of the Greeks. The Phœnicians had only held their own in Western Sicily, where they were protected by the Carthaginians. Their strongholds were Panormus, Motye, Lilybæum; but what part of them was Phœnician, in other words, a remnant of some old immigration, and what Carthaginian, that is to say founded only from Africa, our information does not enable us to judge.

About the middle of the sixth century the Phocæans attempted to establish a footing in Corsica—according to tradition in 562 B.C.—and founded Alalia. After reinforcements had been sent from the mother city, fear of the threatening growth of the Greek immigration—which had already laid a firm grip on Lower Italy, the larger part of Sicily, and the coast round Massilia—drove the two great powers of Carthage and Etruria to combine. The Phocæans were totally defeated and expelled from Corsica. Somewhere about the same time are recorded the wearisome wars of the Carthaginians in Sicily and Sardinia under Malchus. All details and even the precise dates it is impossible to fix, but we may clearly infer that here further Greek expansion received a check, and that limits were roughly fixed which were not afterwards overstepped. The Greeks after this did not encroach to any extent on the Carthaginian sphere of interest. The accounts of wars with Massilia—that is, with the chief town of the Greek colonies on the Franco-Spanish coast—are also obscure. These wars bear upon the history of the country we are considering equally with those in Sicily and Sardinia.

Carthage Combines with Etruria

Malchus, the general who put a stop to the advance of the Greeks, is reported to have interfered in the home affairs of Carthage in a way which leads us to draw conclusions as to the cause of her earlier weakness. The account is certainly vague, as indeed is everything we learn of Carthage from the records, but still it shows us the same dissensions which combined afterwards to bring about the fall of the city. There had been an unwillingness to receive the general on his return with the army, from fear of the effect of his power on the government of the Families. We therefore infer that he looked to the support of the people against the nobles. In the end, as he was aspiring to the kingly power, he was defeated and executed. It must be assumed that he attempted to put an end to the rule of the great Families; but when he had obtained possession of the city by means of his army, he miscalculated his power, relinquished the army, and thus fell a victim to a reaction. The accounts suggest that he was not a thoroughgoing "tyrant," who relied upon the army, but that he tried to obtain the crown by a constitutional revolution.

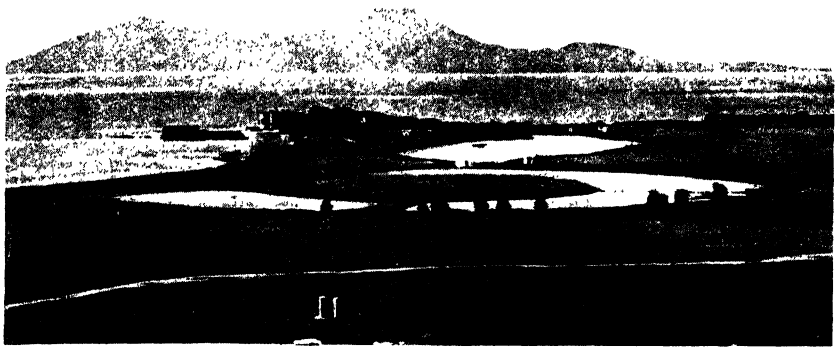
Dissensions Within the State

Our accounts designate as his "successor" Mago, who has left his mark on the subsequent course of events, and whose family was for a long period at the head of affairs. He had made himself the directing mind of the Families, and his house long conducted the government in their spirit. He and his descendants are named as generals of the Carthaginians in the wars in Sicily and in Africa, where the maintenance of the Carthaginian territorial power was at stake.

Meanwhile the Greeks had found in the Sicilian tyrants leaders who could organise the operations against Carthage with greater energy. This chance was very soon appreciably felt, and compelled Carthage to look for assistance in the struggle against her foe where it was voluntarily proffered. Tradition tells us, in an anecdotal and no longer intelligible fashion, of an embassy from Darius to Carthage. Its demands sound somewhat foolish; but apparently its object was to claim the submission of Carthage, since her mother country was now tributary. In combination with the Phœnician, the Carthaginian fleet would have made Persia the undisputed mistress of the sea. Carthage rejected this suggestion. Nevertheless, she was soon forced by an identity of interests to work hand in hand with Persia. While Xerxes tried to crush the Greeks in the eastern basin, the Carthaginians made a simultaneous effort in the western. The success, or rather want of success, was the same for the two allies; Xerxes was defeated at Salamis, and the army of the Carthaginians, under Hamilcar, the son of Hanno, was vanquished by Gelo at Himera. Hellenism, attacked in both halves of the Mediterranean, successfully resisted in both the Semitic civilisation of the Orient.

Carthage Joins Persia Against Greece

We have what would be an invaluable piece of evidence from this period if its date were more trustworthy. Polybius mentions a treaty which, in the year of the first consuls, 509 B.C., the new republic of Rome concluded with Carthage. This treaty had been discovered in his time among the Roman archives, and could be deciphered only with difficulty. The entire conception of the development of earlier Roman history depends on the point whether this treaty is to be referred to this



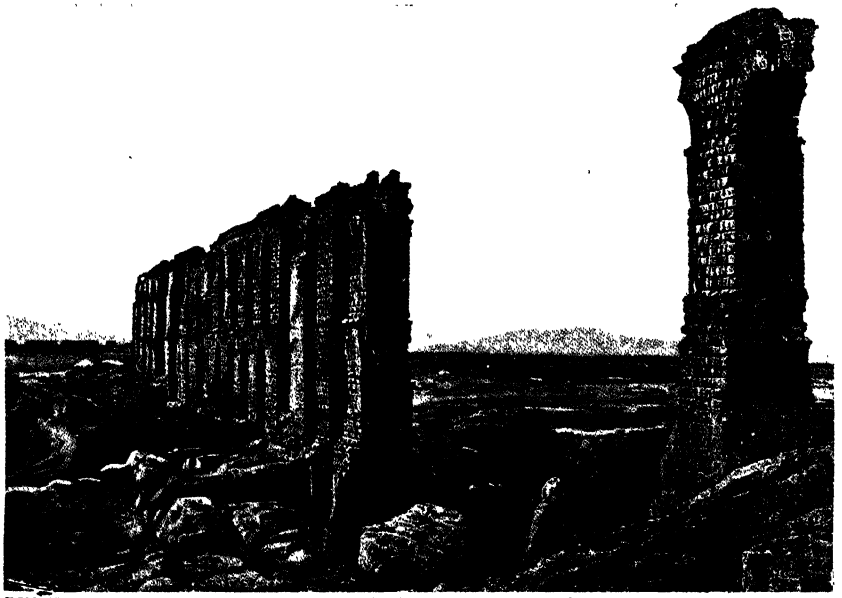
A PANORAMIC VIEW OF THE SITE OF THE ANCIENT PORT OF CARTHAGE



A PUNIC TOMB NEAR CARTHAGE



REMAINS OF THE OLD SEA GATE



RUINS OF THE AQUEDUCT: A MONUMENT OF THE ROMAN SETTLEMENT AT CARTHAGE

THE FRAGMENTARY RUINS OF CARTHAGE, ONCE QUEEN OF THE SEAS

year or, as it has acutely been suggested, to the year 348 B.C. But the data do not permit of a decision. The most weighty provisions were that the Romans and their allies were not to be permitted to undertake raiding expeditions, or to found colonies beyond "the beautiful promontory." Doubt arises whether this boundary between the Carthaginian and Roman spheres of interest is to be looked for in Africa or in Spain; the most probable explanation is that by this Mastia and Tarseum—the subsequent Carthago Nova—must be understood as the furthest points to which the protectorate of Rome and the trade of the Roman allies were allowed to extend. Massilia would thus belong to Rome. Sicily, again, so far as it was Carthaginian, would be included by the Romans in the African territory of Carthage. The Carthaginians bound themselves not to make overtures to the Latins, so far as they were subject to the suzerainty of Rome.

Rome and Carthage at Peace

Contemporaneously with the development of the African situation at the close of the fifth century we have accounts of a subjugation of the African district by the members of the house of Mago. This can refer only to a subjugation of the native tribes; their district was occupied by Carthage, and they themselves became subjects of the Carthaginians. From this time Carthage began the system of large estates (*latifundia*) in which Rome was her predecessor and teacher. Hitherto we have been able to represent the African settlements only as towns with a fair-sized territory situated in the coast region; now there was a province. This became directly Carthaginian, not Punic, since Carthage was already ruler of the remaining Punic towns. These naturally retained their respective civic rights and their territory, but were dependent on Carthage.



HIERO II. OF SYRACUSE
Who was the immediate cause of the First Punic War.

The house of Mago held for several generations the conduct of affairs in its own hands. Its influence then seems to have become suspected by the Families, and it was ousted from the exclusive exercise of the governing power. All details are again obscure. The revulsion is said to have followed as a consequence of the battle on the Himera in 480 B.C. From that time the rivalry between two great parties leaves its mark on the internal policy of Carthage. The one party, at whose head we shall soon find the Barcidæ, aimed more at a centralisation of power, had therefore an ultimately monarchical tendency, and was based on the army; the other represented the interests of the Families. This opposition is strongly emphasised in the Second Punic War, when the fall of Hannibal was due perhaps chiefly to the enmity of his own countrymen.

The Carthaginians were forced by the battle on the Himera to desist from their schemes of conquest in Sicily, and could retain only their strongholds in the west. New attempts at aggrandisement inevitably followed the revival in the next period, since the prosperity of Sicily and of Syracuse in particular must have been a growing source of danger to the Carthaginian trading supremacy. Nevertheless, Carthage had for a comparatively long time looked on passively at the growth of the Syracusan power. That may have been connected with internal conditions—namely, with the overthrow of the house of Mago, which had exclusively conducted the government. The first attack on Syracuse was not made by Carthage; but the Eastern and Western Greeks allowed her the role of the tertius gaudens. Segesta, hard pressed by Syracuse, appealed to the Athenians for help. The latter used the opportunity to carry out long cherished schemes, of which Themistocles is said to have been the original deviser. But the interference of Athens soon unexpectedly ended in disaster (415–413 B.C.). The Carthaginians were therefore compelled, as regards Syracuse, which was now stronger than before, either to give up their role of the expectant looker-on or to renounce all claims on Sicily. When, therefore, Segesta again turned to them for help they had no option left but to decide on war. Possibly the subsequent vigorous interference was connected with a change in the government, in so far as the aristocratic régime, having been found lacking in energy, had been supplanted by the rival party. In any case, the war was carried on from the outset with vigour, and, after a preliminary reverse at sea, with success. Selinus, Himera, Agrigentum, and Gela were captured, and Syracuse was compelled to acknowledge the Carthaginian suzerainty over the western half

Carthage and Sicily

of the island (410–405 B.C.) Peace had been concluded with Dionysius I., to whom the reverses gave a favourable opportunity of making himself master of the situation. But friendly relations did not last long; war was declared for the second time, and for the second time peace was made between the two powers (397–392, 393 B.C.). A third war was begun by Dionysius, and was ended by a treaty with his son. Here we have an obscure account of the revolt of a certain "Hanno the Great" in Carthage; even before this there had been revolts in Libya and in Sardinia. The Sicilian wars were brought to a temporary close by the peace with Timoleon, who, by the victory on the Crimissus in 343 B.C., was able to secure somewhat favourable conditions for the Greeks, and to restrict Carthage once more to the west.



THE CARTHAGINIAN CERES
A splendid mosaic from the Carthaginian temple of Astarte, who was worshipped by all the Phœnicians.

Polybius inserts two new treaties with Rome—in 348 and 343 B.C.—between these events; once more the "beautiful promontory" is fixed as the limit of the respective spheres of interest, and at the same time Sardinia, with Libya, is expressly secured to Carthage.

In Sicily there was no permanent tranquillity, but opportunity was repeatedly offered to Carthage for renewed interference in the various quarrels between 318 and 314 B.C. New complications threatened from the east through Alexander the Great. As lord of Tyre he is said to have followed the example of Darius, and to have claimed the submission of Carthage; moreover, the deputation with the gifts to the temple of Melkart had fallen into his hands. By the founding of Alexandria the danger drew nearer to Carthage; but nothing is reported of any measures taken on either side. If Carthage adopted in this instance a waiting policy, she did so successfully, for with the death of Alexander the danger of a further expansion of Hellenism was past. Both Carthage and Rome escaped by this the otherwise inevitable day of reckoning; but they had received in Alexandria a rival to their commerce. With the Ptolemies, however, who had temporarily occupied Cyrene, there never appear to have been any unfriendly relations; at the beginning of the First Punic War there is actual evidence of a treaty with Ptolemy II., according to the terms of which both parties reciprocally guaranteed their respective territorial possessions and commercial undertakings.



A PHŒNICIAN PRIESTESS
From a mosaic of a priestess dancing before an altar, found in the excavation of what was probably the temple of Astarte, the goddess of Sidon, at Carthage.

In Sicily, however, fresh complications soon ensued. Agathocles, in his efforts to found a Sicilian empire, was forced first to make an attempt to drive out the Carthaginians. This led to that tedious struggle, with those marvellous vicissitudes, in which Agathocles, driven back on Syracuse, attempted to change the scene of war to Africa, and there on his side besieged Carthage itself, until in the end he was compelled to return to Sicily, having lost his army in Africa, and was forced to make peace with Carthage on the basis of the *status quo* (312–306 B.C.). He died in the midst of preparations for a new expedition against Carthage in 289 B.C. With him disappeared the rival who had once more combined the forces of Western Greece against the Carthaginian dominion. After this time no power was again formed which could have made head there against Carthage.

Agathocles bequeathed an inheritance destined to promote the outbreak of hostilities between the two powers which

had survived all these disturbances—that is, between Rome and Carthage. As rivals of Carthage by sea only the Italian Greeks were survivors, and even their power was broken once more, while Carthage, on the whole, played a waiting game. The favourable opportunity to seize possession of Tarentum which was offered her by the one party was let slip, while the Romans were not so foolish. But, after Tarentum had fallen, and Pyrrhus was defeated, the struggle between the last two powers for the supremacy in the Western Mediterranean could no longer be postponed.

First Punic War

The pretext for the rupture with Rome was afforded by the request for help sent by the mercenaries of Agathocles, the Mamertines, who had established themselves strongly in Messana; being besieged by Hiero II. of Syracuse, one part sought help from Carthage, the other from Rome. The Roman relieving army crossed the straits, unhindered by the Carthaginians, but found a Carthaginian garrison in the citadel and Carthaginian ships in the harbour. Nevertheless, the semblance of peace was still maintained. Carthage, hesitating as ever, was anxious to avoid an open breach. But when the Romans drove out the garrison from the citadel, no course was left to Carthage but to declare war, the First Punic War (264-271 B.C.). Rome was victorious, and Carthage had to renounce all claims on Sicily.

Doubtless Rome before this had forced on the war, but her unblushing policy was soon afterwards unmasked by her action in the occupation of Sardinia. The war with Rome had been far from glorious, except for the valiant defence of Eryx by Hamilcar. On the conclusion of peace his army had to be transferred to Africa; but there the Carthaginians either would not or could not give the troops their full pay.

Rome's Unblushing Policy

In the end there was a mutiny of the army, which was supported by the Libyan peasant population. Utica and Hippo, or Diarrhytus, were taken by the mutineers and Carthage itself invested, until Hamilcar, appealed to for help, successfully stamped out the revolt. At the same time the Carthaginian mercenaries in Sardinia had mutinied and obtained possession of the island. But being hard pressed by the inhabitants, they demanded to be admitted under the Roman overlordship. This was refused them so long as Carthage herself was occupied with the mercenary war in Africa; when, however, tranquillity was restored there, and signs were shown of an attempt to subjugate Sardinia again, Rome disclosed her real intentions and granted the renewed request of the insurgents for help. In defiance of the conditions of the treaty concluded three years previously, Sardinia was occupied by Rome.

The feud between the two parties in Carthage becomes conspicuously prominent in the period between the first two wars with Rome. A war party, represented by the Barcidæ, did not indeed bring about the war—that was always done by Rome—but wished to protect the actual independence of the state, since it had no doubt as to the views of Rome. The other, with which opposition to the great power of the Barcidæ must have been the real motive, was the Roman party, bribed possibly by money or by hopes held out to them by Rome. It advocated unqualified submission to Rome; in the last resort it waived all claim to self-government. The party of the Barcidæ, the preponderant power of which we must not look for in the person of a Hamilcar or Hasdrubal, but in the vigorous vitality of the state, had always had constitutional right on its side, so long as Carthaginians could hold their own in the field. It was only when, through the difficulties of the war which was threatening before the very gates, no other possibility existed that the Roman party had tried to enforce even constitutional measures for submission to Rome. Hitherto its influence had always consisted merely in clogging any energetic conduct of the war; and by its policy it had succeeded in accomplishing what it intended. Hannibal, the victorious general, was, strictly speaking, defeated nowhere except in Carthage. The Roman army, needed by the Roman party in order to work the new constitutional machinery in the city, was now before the gates.

Carthage Divided Against Itself

After the loss of Sardinia, Hamilcar went to Spain in 237 B.C. and proceeded, by conquering a new Carthaginian province, to replace the loss of Sicily and Sardinia. We know nothing of the conditions of the Phœnicians there. We see from the treaties with Rome that the

existing towns belonged to Carthage. What happened now was precisely that which had taken place previously with the Libyans; the hinterland was subjugated, and a province constituted, while hitherto merely trading towns under Carthaginian overlordship had existed there. Hamilcar fell in battle against the Iberians in 229 B.C. and Hasdrubal took his place. He continued the work of his father-in-law, and made the ancient Mastia the capital of the new province under the name Kartchadast, or Carthago Nova, as it was called by the Romans. After his death, in 221 B.C., the supreme command was entrusted to Hamilcar's son, Hannibal.



HAMILCAR AND HIS SON HANNIBAL
The great Carthaginian generals in the Punic Wars. Hamilcar fell in Spain, and after the death of his son-in-law Hasdrubal, his son Hannibal took over the chief command.

The acquisition of the province of Spain and the second war with Rome seem exclusively to have been the work of the Barcidæ; in fact, the impression is created that these were really the holders of power in Carthage, and had possessed in substance a monarchical power. This depends, however, to a considerable degree on the nature of our accounts; these, on the one hand, only describe the war, in which those personalities were naturally more prominent, and, on the other hand, their object was to justify Rome's action towards Carthage. But to do this they were obliged to represent the Roman party at Carthage as the outraged one, while it can admit of no doubt that in reality the Barcidæ were always in harmony with the constitutional authorities. The Roman party were simply practising treachery. It was not Hannibal who governed the authorities in Carthage—he went as a boy with his father to Spain, and came back to Africa only at the close of the war—but it was the majority of the Families which filled the constitutional offices, and he belonged to their party and executed their resolutions. The command of the army had, of course, given Hamilcar and Hannibal a weighty voice in the council of their party, and they doubtless contributed largely to its preponderating power, but they were nothing more than many other generals of whom history tells; Mago, perhaps, possessed personally greater influence than Hannibal.



HANNIBAL THE VICTORIOUS
Hannibal was, strictly speaking, nowhere defeated except in Carthage by pro-Roman treachery.

The pretext for the war was, as usual, dragged in anyhow by the Romans. Hannibal, when he besieged Saguntum, had in no way infringed the unjustified demand of Rome that the Ebro should not be crossed. The course and result of the Second Punic War are related elsewhere. The Roman party carried its points; a Roman army appeared in Africa; pressure was brought upon the government to recall Hannibal, and the matchless leader was vanquished at Zama in 202 B.C. Rome now dictated severe conditions of peace: cession of the Spanish province to Rome and of the tributary state of Numidia to Masinissa, and the loss of independence. Carthage became tributary to Rome, and forfeited even the right of waging war. Carthage as a sovereign state disappears; politically she could no longer play a part. But commerce gave her an importance which was finally able to win her political power. Rome was bound to take measures against this. Just as the Assyrians always contrived to effect a rebellion on the part of their allies and their tributaries in order to be able to annex their states, so Rome was never at a loss for the means of provoking the last fight of desperation. With this object Masinissa was therefore placed by the side of Carthage. He played, according to instructions, the part assigned to him. The Third Punic War, from 149 to 146 B.C. was the struggle of despair, which was the result of the petty provocations of the Numidian king, and afforded the pretext for getting rid of Rome's rival in peaceful competition. Carthage was destroyed in 146 B.C. In blood and flames sets the sun of the Phœnician city, once the

proud mistress of the seas; and with it disappears the Carthaginian people as such from the history of mankind. Utica became the capital of the new Roman province of Africa.

Carthage Disappears From History

The sources of our information as to the internal development of the Carthaginian state are practically worthless. Besides the eulogies which have been lavished on the Carthaginian constitution by Plato, Eratosthenes, Polybius, Cato, and Cicero, we are indebted to Aristotle's "Politics" for a long discussion of it; but these discussions are for purposes of comparison, and presuppose a familiarity with his lost work on the Carthaginian constitution, lacking which we are reduced to little more than conjecture.

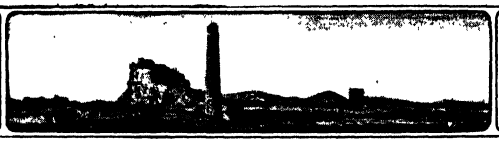
The constitution of Carthage was, so far as we know, that of a provincial town—that is, the government was based on the tribal organisation of still unsettled Semites. There was a council, presumably a representation of the citizens and a body of elders, which may originally have corresponded to the leaders or elders (sheikhs) of the Families, but in historical times, according to its nature, may have comprised the administrative magistrates of the state, elected from the aristocracy. The executive heads of these magistrates were the two *Suffetes*, the "Judges." From this dualism we infer that Carthage was mainly a settlement of two tribes, or else that, after the settlement, in the process of forming a citizen class and a patriciate, these two predominant sections of the community each had a representative in the government.

Government of the Natives

If the Phœnicians, possessors of the best harbours in a large civilised district and limited to a narrow strip of coast, were driven to seafaring and trade, still the settlers in the western basin of the Mediterranean, so soon as they were strengthened in their intercourse with the Eastern civilisation, were enabled to subjugate a larger territory for themselves by defeating the still uncivilised inhabitants of the hinterland. The great merchants of Carthage did not wish to sacrifice the advantage which was obtained by exploiting the productions of the land, and they therefore subdued the Libyan inhabitants of the hinterland. We know little of the actual course of events. The victors must at first have taken only a portion of the land for themselves, while they left the old owners the presumably larger portion in return for a fixed tribute. The introduction of a monetary system, which is essential in a mercantile state, only brought more land into the hands of the Carthaginian lords since the peasants were overwhelmed by debt. Thus a great land-owning class was developed, which employed slave labour for agriculture, and took for its model the Roman system of *latifundia*. It is uncertain what the policy of Carthage was in her foreign provinces. It is well known that the Spanish metal mines were thoroughly exploited. But whether the Carthaginians themselves were the workers, or whether they left the working to the natives and, by a system of taxes, directed the profits into their own coffers, must remain undecided. The latter alternative seems the more probable.

World-wide Commerce of Carthage

We possess practically no available account of their trade relations generally. With regard to their intercourse with the Eastern civilised world, it is obvious that they must have furnished it with the raw products of the countries of the western basin of the Mediterranean. The Bible calls the most important of these countries Tarshish. It must remain undecided to what country in particular this name was applied; in any case the Carthaginians were the masters of the Tarshish trade, the track of which bounded the horizon of the civilised nations of Western Asia. The trade which commanded the Spanish coasts must have penetrated beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. There was the famous attempt which, even before Herodotus' time, somewhere about the year 470 B.C., the "elder" Hanno made to acquire the West African coast by planting factories there. His journey took him beyond the mouth of the Senegal, and the record of his achievement is said to have been set up in the temple of "Cronos" at Carthage. The extant Greek account claims to be a translation of it. The counterpart to this journey is found in the Periplus of Himilcus, who is said to have explored the North as far as Britain. We are, however, less well informed as to his report, since it is only known to us by its employment in the "Ora Maritima" of Avienus.



ROMANS AND VANDALS IN NORTH AFRICA

ROME entered on the inheritance of Carthage and formed the province of Africa out of the territory of the republic. The region preserved its prosperous condition even in the Roman period. The towns which had stood most loyally by Carthage were destroyed, and others were administered by Roman prefects. Only Utica and Hippo, which in the last war had taken the side of the conquerors, retained the greater part of their privileges. Utica gained greatly by the fall of Carthage, of which it took the place for some time in matters of trade, and could compete with Rhodes and Alexandria in wealth and commerce. But Carthage itself rose from its ruins. The attempt of C. Gracchus to plant a colony on the historic site failed, it is true; but Cæsar, and after him Augustus, successfully prosecuted the scheme. The new settlements enjoyed for centuries fair prosperity.

Carthage Rises From its Ruins

But the real inheritance from Carthage was not the rich corn-land and its commanding position on the Mediterranean, so favourable for trade, but the war with nomad peoples, the real sons of North Africa who with restless spirit swarmed round the borders of the rich province. The wise policy of Masinissa had made the Numidian state a formidable power, and its territory extended from the borders of Cyrenaica to Mauretania. After the death of this most loyal ally of the Romans, it required but a slight pretext to renew the old struggle between agriculturists and nomads in the form of a war between Rome and Numidia. Under Micipsa, the successor of Masinissa, friendly relations remained undisturbed. The feud broke out when, after the death of Micipsa, in 118 B.C., and the murder of Hiempsal, the crafty Jugurtha, grandson of Masinissa and nephew of Micipsa, ascended the throne. For the first time a genuine son of North Africa came forward in the theatre of war—a man who combined Punic cunning with brigand bravery, and who, as an ally of the Romans, had learnt the art of war among a people who aspired to the dominion of the world. For the first time, too, a people of Aryan race came into conflict with the native genius of North Africa in a struggle for supremacy on the shores of the Mediterranean. Jugurtha, according to Roman stipulation, had received only the more valuable western part of Micipsa's kingdom—that is, the present Algeria, with the exception of the most easterly portions and of Cirta, the capital—while his adopted brother, Adherbal, was allotted the east, corresponding roughly to the present Tripolis. Adherbal's good fortune was short-lived. In 112 B.C. Jugurtha found a pretext for war; Adherbal was besieged in his capital, Cirta, and in the storming of the town was killed, together with many of the inhabitants.

The Wars of Jugurtha



MASINISSA
King of Numidia and a loyal ally of Rome in North Africa.

Rome had now no choice but to take up arms against the usurper on the trivial pretext that among the slain inhabitants of Cirta were a number of Roman citizens. In reality, the war which now began concerned the security of the province of Africa, which was not only a valuable possession, on account of its natural wealth, but a cornerstone in the fabric of the Roman empire.

The so-called Jugurthine War began in the year 111 B.C., but ended for the time in a shameful peace, for Jugurtha knew how to avail himself artfully of the venality of the senatorial party and of the consul, Calpurnius Bestia, who had been sent out against him. Indeed, when the leader of the popular party, Memmius, succeeded in obtaining the summons of the Numidian king to Rome, the wily African was able to extricate himself from all difficulties, thanks to the corruption of

the parties in power, which astounded the king himself. It was only when he carried his audacity to such a pitch as to cause his cousin, Massiva, who was staying in Rome, and had put himself under the protection of Roman hospitality, to be treacherously murdered that he was forced to leave the city and prepare for a new war. The senatorial party once more conducted the war unenergetically and unskilfully. A division of the Roman army was actually cut off by Jugurtha, and had to purchase its liberty from the Numidian king by a shameful submission.

Rome's Fight for North Africa

At last the popular party, which then embraced the more active element of the Roman people, succeeded in breaking the influence of the former leaders in the state, by enforcing the punishment of the chief offenders, and by placing incorruptible generals at the head of the army. Jugurtha, hard pressed by the consul Metellus succeeded in uniting temporarily the whole power of nomad North Africa against the Romans by making an alliance with his father-in-law, King Bocchus of Mauretania. The Mauretanian kingdom already existed in the time of the Second Punic War, and probably included the greater part of Morocco, while in culture it did not stand much behind Numidia, since the old Phœnician influence on the west coast of Morocco must have left some lasting traces. The alliance soon came to an end. Bocchus gave up his son-in-law to the Romans, who adorned their triumphal procession with him, and allowed the miserable captive to die in a subterranean dungeon. The Numidian kingdom was divided—one part was assigned to Bocchus, another joined to the Roman province, the rest was given over to two Numidian princes.

There was no attempt even in later times at a complete subjugation of North Africa by the Romans. If the Roman rule in North Africa did, however, in time secure a stronger position it was due more to the advance of civilisation and the common progress of the agricultural and town classes than to political measures. Where agriculture took hold, there the Roman influence also gained entrance; and the intellectual ascendency of Rome was followed by a political ascendency, which made the Romans the natural protectors of every peaceful people in North Africa. While the province of Africa was in time transformed into a genuinely Roman territory, Numidia, too, did not escape the fate of being Romanised. Masinissa had diligently encouraged the settlement of agriculturists in his dominion. By so doing he laid a firm foundation for his power and first rendered a united Numidia possible; but he at the same time abandoned the standard of pure nomad life, under which alone the Numidians could hope to resist the influence of Rome

Intellectual Ascendency of Rome

The partly accidental circumstance that King Juba of Numidia, in the struggle between Pompey and Cæsar, placed himself on the side of the first and was involved in his fall, led to the change. Augustus annexed the eastern half of Numidia as a "new province" to the Roman empire and left Juba in possession of only the less cultivated west, as well as of Mauretania, which, however, recognised the rule of the king only to the smallest extent. From this time the name of the Numidians begins to be disused and the designation of "Mauri" becomes universal for the inhabitants of North Africa, especially for the nomads. The Romans soon saw themselves compelled to protect the cultivated lands now subject to their rule by lines of fortresses and a sort of military frontier against the nomads, who, driven back into the steppes and mountains, allowed themselves to be won over quite temporarily as fickle allies, but were always ready to make inroads into the corn-growing district. Since after the final decay of the Numidian power no formidable enemy threatened Roman Africa, a comparatively small number of troops was always sufficient to protect the country. Two legions, and later only one, had their permanent station in Africa; indeed, the military strength of North Africa was trained by Rome to be used in foreign wars. Outside the province only the agricultural districts were under Roman influence; and as these districts lay like oases in the regions occupied by nomads, there never was any attempt at a complete subjugation of the country. This applies particularly to Mauretania, which never became an integral part of the Roman empire.

The First Moors

The external history of Mediterranean Africa at the time of the Roman emperors presents little worthy of narration. Of all

the border countries of the Roman empire, it was the least threatened. At the same time it belonged to those regions which offered little prospect of territorial expansion, and, therefore, never had to serve as the centre of military operations. Such favourable circumstances contributed greatly to the prosperity of the country. Roman Carthage, which had grown up on the site of Rome's annihilated rival, flourished to such a remarkable degree that it could compete in wealth and population with Alexandria. The grain exported from Africa had long become indispensable for Rome and Italy, where the country population steadily diminished; a portion of the stream of gold which poured into Rome was thus diverted to the African province.

The arts and sciences, when they sank from their high place in Rome, enjoyed a second period of prosperity in some provinces, and especially in Africa. But luxury and immorality, the evil associates of wealth, found a splendid soil. Perhaps both phenomena, intellectual development and material luxury, caused Christianity to strike deep root in Africa in a short time and favoured the further spread of the new teaching from this centre. We see the influence of Africa on Christianity embodied in the mighty form of Augustine. An intense and forceful nature, he sought fruitlessly to find the fulness of existence in pleasure, until an hour of true knowledge led him into the path of self-denial, which he trod with the same fiery impetuosity. African Christianity triumphed with Augustine. While it made the culture and wealth of the country of service to its cause, it gave Africa an important place in the civilised world, which, however, it was destined to keep for only a short time and then to lose for ever.



JUBA I. and II.
Kings of the State of Numidia during the Roman ascendency in Africa.

Augustine, the Fiery Bishop

Augustine himself in the last year of his life saw hostile armies appear before Hippo, the town of which he was bishop—armies which were destined to tear Africa away from the Roman empire and to reduce it to a condition of misery, from which it did not rise until the time of the Arabs. In the great migratory movement, which had affected all the tribes of East Germany, the Vandals, who were settled in Western Silesia, had not remained quiet. Their relation to other Teutonic peoples is not quite clear; many historians of the period of the migration class them with the Goths; according to other surmises, they would belong to the great Suevian group. Pure Germans in the anthropological sense they could hardly have been. They were largely intermixed with that older population which must have settled in Germany before the inroad of closely federated Teutonic

Coming of the Vandals

Indeed, it has been concluded from the name of the Vandals that Slavonic or Wendish tribes were merged with them. At any rate, the Vandals are considered the least important of the Teutonic peoples that marched southward, the least courageous, and the most barbarous.

At the time of the wars with the Marcomanni the Vandals had already moved towards the Roman frontier in small hordes, until finally the whole people, moved by a spirit of unrest, began to look for new abodes. Partly as enemies, partly as allies of the Romans, the Vandals, then, as later, a people whose armed strength principally lay in cavalry, appeared on the Danube frontier. Beaten and almost annihilated by the Goths, they at last placed themselves entirely under the protection of Rome and received settlements in Pannonia, until, after a long period of quiet, and aroused apparently by the fortune of their countryman, Stilicho, they moved towards the Rhine; in alliance with the Alans they defeated the Franks on the Main and poured over Gaul, which almost without resistance fell a prey to their predatory hordes.

Three years later the treachery of German frontier guards opened to them the passes of the Pyrenees; and now Spain, which, like Gaul, accepted her fate with dull resignation, learnt all the horrors of a war with barbarians and of a foreign supremacy in 409. After some years of unrest the victors divided the land among themselves, though a part of it still remained Roman. Already better times seemed to be dawning for the vanquished, when the attack of the West Goths brought new disorders into Spain. A part of the Vandals were completely exterminated; the rest retreated towards

the south and once more acquired considerable power there for a time. That they then began definitely to apply themselves to maritime matters and to building a fleet is an important proof that they recognised their situation; and though we might not be inclined to form too high an opinion of their fleet, it permitted them not only to undertake predatory expeditions to the neighbouring islands and coasts, but, in case of need, to flee with their families before the onset of enemies. The perfect development of the Vandal fleet was to take place in Africa.

The Vandals Become a Maritime People

During the feud of the Roman generals, Boniface and Aetius, the former in rage had recourse to the desperate expedient of appealing to Geiserich, king of the Vandals, for help. It was gladly granted. In May, 429, the army of the Vandals landed on the African coast. According to the most trustworthy account, there were, including women, children and old men, some 80,000 souls.

Boniface, who, meantime, had become reconciled with the Roman court, hurled himself against the invaders without avail, although he held Hippo Regius, the seat of the bishopric of Augustine, against the barbarians. After the defeat of Aetius he returned to Rome, where he died of his wounds. Hippo fell, so that in 435 almost the whole of Africa, with the exception of Carthage, the capital, was abandoned to the Vandals. Since nothing was done to ensure the security of this last and most important Roman centre, Geiserich grasped a favourable opportunity and, in 439, took the town by a sudden assault, the effeminate inhabitants offering no serious resistance. After prolonged struggles a new treaty was concluded, which, strangely enough, conceded Mauretania and Western Numidia to the Romans, while the rich east fell entirely to the Vandals in 442. In all these wars there is no trace of any serious resistance offered by the inhabitants. Boniface had defended Hippo with Gothic mercenaries, while the native population lent no appreciable assistance, and the nomad tribes of the country either adopted a dubious attitude, or availed themselves of the difficulties of the Roman governor to make attacks and engage in predatory expeditions. This demoralisation resulted from social conditions, the system of *latifundia* in particular, which had, perhaps, developed more favourably in Africa than in other parts of the Roman empire. The free peasants had long ago become the serfs of the great landed proprietors, and were little superior in position to the masses of slaves who were everywhere to be found.

The Tide of Vandal Conquest

But the great landowners became in their turn easy victims of the policy of extortion followed by unscrupulous governors increasingly as the dignity of the imperial power sank lower. No man who had anything to lose would now take a place in the senate of the large towns, which had once been the goal of the ambitious, for the senators were required to make up those deficiences in the revenue which, with increasing oppression, became more and more frequent. At last Jews, heretics and criminals were forced into posts of honour and stood at the head of the town government which in Roman times had been so powerful. Bloody insurrections repeatedly broke out, always traceable ultimately to the pressure of taxation. The people had long since lost all military efficiency, for while the greatest part of the inhabitants of North Africa had lost all energy of character under the unfavourable social and economic conditions, the citizens of the towns had sunk into extravagance and vice. "Just as all the filth collects in the bottom of a ship," says Salvian, "so the manners of the Africans contain, as it were, the vices of the whole world. All other nations have their particular vices, as they have their peculiar virtues; but among almost all Africans no single vice is missing."

Demoralisation of Roman Africa

Only one thing gave a certain stability to the African population and a power of resistance, though only passive resistance, against the Vandals in particular; and that was religion. The Vandals, during their sojourn in Spain, had developed into fanatical Arians. They cruelly persecuted in its African home the Catholic faith, which Augustine had firmly planted; but in doing so they planted in the vanquished the feeling of brotherhood, while they themselves remained like a strange body in the conquered land, without entering into permanent relations with the people or the soil of Africa. The fact that the Vandals

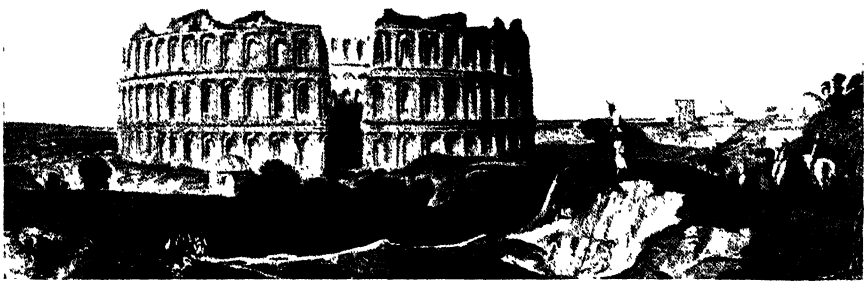
came into Africa entirely as conquerors forced them immediately to organise their political system without special consideration for the conditions of the defeated. In particular, they did not attempt to draw over to their side, or even to spare, the two most powerful orders—the great landowners and the clergy—but actually proceeded to exterminate them; and when they had seized for themselves all their property, assumed the position of the former owners of the soil.

But in so doing they were compelled to stop half-way, for the number of the Vandals was too small to enable them to bring the whole conquered territory under their immediate influence; so that, at least in the more outlying and less fertile regions, old conditions continued, while the richer lands in the vicinity of the capital, Carthage, fell partly to the king, partly to his army. Even the king saw himself soon compelled to settle Roman farmers on his estates or to leave the old proprietors as serfs on their farms; and other leading Vandals followed his example. The downfall was, therefore, not so complete as might seem at the first glance; and a considerable part of the African population, after the first storm of conquest had blown over, might find themselves not worse off under Vandal rule than under the control of corrupt Roman governors. The Africans had even less to do with military service than in the Roman times. Besides serfs and the slaves there were also the native officials, who were treated by the conquerors almost as equals; and the caprice of the Vandal ruler left here and there free landowners in the enjoyment of their property. We thus see the Vandals, after a certain state of tranquillity had set in, almost entirely concentrated in the Carthaginian territory. From there, as from the watch-tower of a castle, they observed their African kingdom and kept it in obedience, while in the greatest part of Africa the Roman institutions remained almost undisturbed, and only the revenues were surrendered to the Vandal overlord. There was no sign of any fusion of the conquerors with the old inhabitants of the country or even of the formation of a new race.

Vandal Conquest Only Partial

Tranquil Vandal Rule

The Vandals, however, founded their power on the insecure base of piracy and their marauding rather than on the development of territorial possessions. The spiritual victory of African Christianity signified the tardy triumph of the old Carthaginian land over Rome, the mistress of the world; now a fleet was destined to set sail from the harbour of Carthage under the command of the fair-haired Geiserich, which was to bring on Rome all the horrors of devastation.



THE AMPHITHEATRE OF EL JEMM, A ROMAN RELIC IN TUNIS

After the fall of Carthage most of North Africa became Roman, only Numidia and Mauretania retaining independence.

With this pillage of Rome, in 455, a long succession of Vandal predatory expeditions begins. Almost yearly King Geiserich harassed the coasts of Sicily and Italy with his fleets; and he knew how to avoid successfully a dangerous blow, planned by the emperor Majorian in 458, in alliance with the West Goths. The confused state of affairs in the western empire constantly afforded him new pretexts for marauding expeditions; and when the Byzantine emperor interfered the Vandal king welcomed the opportunity for completely devastating his territories on the coast. The campaign of

vengeance, which the emperor Leo undertook in 468 with all his forces, absolutely failed, after the Byzantine fleet had been annihilated by a night attack of the Vandals. Some years later Geiserich, whose restless spirit began at last to feel the burden of old age, concluded a peace with Byzantium and soon afterwards with Rome. This most powerful of the Vandal kings died in 477. His kingdom at his death embraced not merely North Africa as far as Cyrene, but also Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic Isles, and a part of Sicily. But, indeed, in internal strength it had lost rather than gained, since the numbers of the Vandals necessarily were steadily diminished by their constant predatory expeditions. It is significant that under his successor, Hunerich, a number of the Moorish tribes regained their independence, while Hunerich himself entirely forfeited what popularity he had among the natives through his cruel persecutions of the Catholics. Still more grave was the defection of the Moors under King Gunthamund from 487 to 496.

Power of Geiserich the Fair

The efforts of King Thrasamund (496–523), by every means, and wherever possible by conciliatory measures, to establish the supremacy of the Arian faith in his kingdom, and thus to root the Vandal power more firmly in the soil, failed as completely as the previous attempts to do so by violence. Nor was the king successful in the wars against the Moors. An alliance with the East Goths, cemented by the marriage of the king with the Gothic princess Amalafrida might have been of great use to the realm, but it was not lasting. Disturbances arose among the Vandals themselves. And when Hilderich, successor of Thrasamund, who sought to gain the support of Byzantium, and was inclined to Catholicism, was driven from the throne by his general, Gelimer, the Byzantine emperor, Justinian, believed that the time had at length come to reassert his old claims on Africa. The attempt succeeded beyond his expectations. The towns of the Tripolitan coast, which had no Vandal garrison, submitted without demur; Carthage offered no resistance; and when Gelimer mustered his Vandals for the decisive battle he sustained, in spite of the enemy's inferior numbers, a crushing defeat.

Decline of the Vandal Kingdom

This ended the Vandal rule. The Catholic population of the country greeted the Byzantine general, Belisarius, as their liberator; the Moors remained neutral or availed themselves of the confusion to make raids on friends and foes. This was all the more grave, because the Vandals had early begun to form a part of their armies out of Moorish mercenaries, and in particular could no longer dispense with the Moorish archers. King Gelimer, who had thrown himself into a frontier castle, surrendered in the spring of 534. Subsequent risings of the Vandals only brought about the result that the rest of the nation were exterminated or banished from Africa. This fact is important, because the attempt has been made repeatedly to trace back peculiarities of North African peoples to a strong admixture of Vandal blood, while, in reality, even at the time of the Vandal rule, religious differences prevented any widespread amalgamation, and afterwards the Germanic conquering race entirely disappeared from Africa. Even their language and customs have left little trace. The emperor Justinian, after the conquest of the country, did not find it hard to reintroduce the Roman institutions, which had only partially been superseded by the Vandals, and among them the detested Roman system of taxation. But as the Vandal conquerors had carried on the war of the settled population against the nomads, which they had been forced, as owners of the cultivated land, to take up, difficulties increased for the Byzantine governors, who had to hold the province. An imposing command of Justinian, that the petty Moorish principalities should in the future submit to the Roman laws, made little impression. Continual risings of the Moors depopulated the land; and, in addition, religious dissensions among the Africans, who were zealous supporters of the faith, found the best soil. Thus the moral and economic forces of North Africa had sunk to the lowest depths when the wave of the Arabian conquest came rolling on.

Disappearance of the Vandals

The West Goths from Spain had temporarily planted foot on the African coast; but the importance of their possessions can hardly have been greater than that of the present Spanish presidios, which exercise not the slightest influence on the interior.



BARBARY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

NATURALLY, the storm of Arabian invasion fell first on Egypt, which in 641 came under the domination of Islam. In the first ardour of conquest the Arabian armies pressed on further, and, perceiving the feeble resistance of the Byzantines, went beyond Tripoli, without, however, at once attaining any permanent results. The difficulties of communication and of sending reinforcements by land always made it possible for the Byzantines, who were the masters of the sea, to win back what was lost. It is obvious that the settled population was again diminished by these wars; but at the same time the importance of the nomad Berbers grew, and the contending powers had more and more to reckon with them.

It seemed as if after the founding of Kairuan in the vicinity of the old capital, Carthage, the Arabian supremacy was secured. But in 683 the general Okba was defeated by the united forces of the Byzantines and the Berbers.

Arabs Cross to Spain

The Berbers, who essentially are disposed to extreme political disunion, combined this time to a great extent under the leadership of a heroic priestess, Damia, or Kahinah, defeated the Arabian general, Hassan ibn Noman, in 696, drove the Arabs back into Cyrenaica, and endeavoured to make the return of their opponents impossible by devastating the frontier lands. Hassan's successor, Musa ibn Noseir, first succeeded in conquering North Africa, or at least in driving out the Byzantines; but he used the hard-won territory as a bridge for passing into Spain. There, in the fertile land that had been cultivated for centuries he founded a strong frontier post of Islam in 712. In this way the victory of the Mohammedan religion in North Africa was assured.

No foreign rule had such far-reaching effects on the coast of North Africa as the Arabian. The Arab invaders were the natural protectors of the settled population, on whose work and tribute their own existence depended. But they were at the same time a people of the desert, who found in the steppes of the conquered land a welcome scope for their love of nomad life. North Africa became a real home to them. While spreading their religion and their language, they assimilated the aborigines to themselves to a continually increasing degree, or drove back the refractory tribes into the mountains and deserts. But by their side rose in rapid growth the native race of the Berbers, to whom the religion of Islam, with its disputes and its infinite sects, gave a new spiritual outlook and supplied the core of a national unity. The struggle between Arabian civilisation and refinement and the rude strength of the Berbers occupied for centuries the history of North Africa, and even to-day the civilisation of the Arabs is not everywhere victorious.

The Struggle of Arab and Berber

Of the greatest importance, however, for North Africa, and especially for the most westerly and most uncivilised district, Mauretania—the later Morocco—was the conquest of Spain and the close relations which were thus necessarily formed between the Mohammedans in Spain and Morocco. The marvellous blending of Eastern and Western civilisation in Moorish Spain, the pure blossoms of art and science which in the gloomy days of the Middle Ages flowered here in fabulous abundance, of which the memory even now glorifies the ruins of Moorish grandeur, did not fail to make a deep impression on the rude sons of Mauretania. But as the advance of the Christian Spaniards began gradually to reduce the territory of Islam in Spain, bands of Moors, skilled in the fine arts, streamed over the straits, and, finding a refuge in the towns of Morocco, transmitted their industry and their skill to the old inhabitants of the land, as later the French refugees brought the germs of industry and skilled production into distant German countries.

Spanish Moors in Morocco

Only one famous craft of the Spanish Moors need be mentioned, the dyeing of leather, which, under the name of

Corduan, was formerly exported to all countries, but is now no longer prepared in Cordova, as of old. In Morocco the dyeing of leather is even to-day one of the most important and flourishing industries. Nor merely in Morocco, but also far to the south, on the banks of the Niger and its tributaries, the same craft is practised, which, introduced probably by emigrant Moors, has found its way thither over the desert. Even direct relations between Spain and the Sudan can be proved, for we find architects, especially from Granada, in the service of Sudanese princes.

Morocco's Most Important Industry

Such facts make it plain that intercourse with the countries of the negritic races must have been developed in a quite different and more important fashion than during the Roman and Vandal times. The growth of the Sudanese trade is, in fact, a further and most valuable result of the appearance of the Arabs in North Africa. When numerous Arab tribes scorned to settle in the corn-growing land as lords of the agricultural population, but turned as true nomads to the steppe and the desert, they brought the influence of Islam into the wide desert belt, whose natural dangers and hostile inhabitants had until now restricted all brisk commercial intercourse.

Things were immediately changed when the Arabs began to act as guides for the merchants. The trading spirit of the Arabian race, which showed itself conspicuously in the first centuries after the conquest, helped to surmount all difficulties. Even the political influence of the Arabian power extended further south than that of the Roman empire, for the armies of the conquerors penetrated to the oases of Fezzan and even Kauar- -that is to say, half-way to the Central Sudan. And as they then succeeded in spreading Islam in Negroland, North and South were united by a spiritual bond, and the severing tract of the Sahara formed no longer a hindrance to the streams of trade and culture. Communication with the Sudan had, however, other results for North Africa than the accumulation of wealth ; those coast towns which lay safe behind their walls and defended harbours showed often an almost republican independence in their dealings with the caliphs. For the treasures of the East and West, which the Arabian merchant forwarded to the banks of the Niger and of Lake Chad, the Sudan offered in return gold and ostrich feathers and, above all, men, sons of Ham, destined in the eyes of believers to be slaves. In the markets of the north coast black slaves were a staple article of sale ; negro women filled the harems of the wealthy, and negro guards protected the governors of Africa and the Spanish caliphs.

The Arabs Open up the Sahara

The result was that beneath the original population of the north coast, which, under Arabian influence, was being absorbed into a new Islamitic nationality, there lay a deeper social stratum, a proletariat, which, in undertaking all hard labour, lightened the burdens of the upper classes, but influenced them unfavourably by the unavoidable mixture of blood. This applies chiefly to Morocco, where even the present ruling dynasty has a goodly proportion of negritic blood in its veins, and everywhere marriages with negro women are of ordinary occurrence. This had not been the case in earlier times to at all the same extent. And as the country already possessed in the powerful Berbers an element not amenable to culture, the hampering influences on civilisation must inevitably have grown stronger with the rise of the negroes. In Africa the supremacy of the caliphs of Bagdad was maintained for only some hundred years. During this period the greater part of the Berber tribes were won over to Islam, but not without frequent risings, which disturbed the peace. The Berbers, who had already taken part in the conquest of Spain as the picked troops of the army, proved dangerous and obstinate opponents ; and though Islam made continued progress among them, the number of the Arabs diminished to a serious extent in the constant battles. An utter defeat of the Arabs near Tangier in 740 is known as the "Battle of the Nobles," on account of the number of nobles and generals slain.

Arabs Become Negritic

When, on the overthrow of the Ommayyads, the caliphate went to the Abbassides Africa became temporarily independent, and was not reduced to submission until 772. In the meantime, a prince of the Ommayyad house, Abd ur-Rahman, made himself master of Spain, and all efforts of the Abbassides to win back the land were successfully frustrated. The loss of the African possessions was henceforth

only a question of time. Mauretania, the present Morocco, which in early times had always been least accessible to foreign influence, owing to its outlying position and its geographical conditions, was the first to break away from the world-empire of Islam. Under the leadership of Edris ibn Edris, a descendant of the caliph Ali, the Moors succeeded in finally shaking off the yoke of the Abbassides. It is a significant fact that Berber tribes were the first to join the new rulers. Immediately the zealot trait in the Berber nature employed itself in the forcible conversion of Christians and pagans, who were still numerous in the land. The empire of Morocco has preserved even to the present day the reputation of being a stronghold of Moslem intolerance. The town of Fez was founded in 806 as the centre of the new state, and within its walls a not unimportant civilisation was soon developed.

The rest of Africa was held only a few years longer by the Abbassides. The caliph, Harun al Rashid, thought he had made a good choice when he entrusted the governorship of Africa to the energetic and wise Ibrahim ebn al Aglab; but only too soon the loyal subject was transformed into the ambitious rebel. He found but little opposition, for even the caliph made no serious effort to recover the lost province. The centre of the empire of the Aglabites remained Kairuan; Tripoli and the greater part of the present Tunis and Algeria formed the most valuable portion of the dominion. Tunis succeeded Carthage as a great commercial town. The Arabian possessions in Sardinia and Sicily naturally fell to the Aglabites, who strengthened their position considerably by the conquest of the important town of Syracuse in 877.

Africa Lost to the Caliphate

The dynasty of the Aglabites was displaced in 908 by Obeid Allah, who posed as the Mahdi promised by Mahomet. He also dislodged the Edrisites from the throne of Mauretania, and united all North Africa, with the exception of Egypt, under his rule. But Egypt, too, was lost to the Abbassides in the year 968, and fell into the power of the Fatemides. These shifted the centre of their power to Cairo, and in 972 gave their western possessions to the family of the Zeirites to hold in fee. The history of the Zeirites shows how at that time, just as much as in the Roman period, North Africa was filled with partially and sometimes completely independent petty states and tribal districts, and how in the hands of a brave leader an empire could be formed that might either last or break up again quickly into its component parts. The Zeirites firmly established their power in the struggle with the feudal lords of Africa, and now, although nominally they remained dependent on Cairo, completely took the place of the Fatemides. Africa remained united, outwardly at least, for nearly a century, until Morocco once more attained its independence, and began to exercise a decisive influence on the history of the surrounding countries.

Petty States of North Africa

Religion gave once again the pretext for a national revolution. Arabs became this time the spiritual leaders of an insurrection, which had, however, mostly to be fought out by the Berbers. An Arabian tribe, whose suddenly awakened religious zeal was sharpened by a famine, under the leadership of its chief, Abu Bekr, took possession of the town of Sejelmesa, and there arose the new dynasty of the Molathemides, or, as it is usually called, of the Almoravides.

Under the second ruler of the line, Yusuf (1069–1109), the greater part of Mauretania was subdued, and a new capital, Morocco, was founded in the south-west, where the pasture grounds of the victorious tribe lay. The forces of a rude, but brave and hardy people, which Yusuf now united under his command, enabled him to prosecute his conquests. While, on the one hand, the empire of the Zeirites had become so disorganised that it finally and irretrievably broke up, on the other hand, the Moorish princes of Spain, who were subject to the rule of the Christians, implored the aid of the African ruler. Nothing could have been more welcome to Yusuf. Received as protector and saviour, he inflicted a crushing blow on King Alfonso VI. of Castile at Zalaca in 1086; but the rulers of Granada and of Seville had in turn to renounce their powers. The cultured Islamitic Spaniards now saw themselves with reluctance ruled by the rude sons of Africa, whose brutal strength they, however, no longer ventured to resist. The conquest was, on the other hand, most advantageous to Yusuf and his African subjects. The overthrow of Islam

Spain Conquered By Africa

had been successfully prevented, and Spain had been made a source of strength to Africa; but the rude Berbers, who crossed the straits, not only found wealth in Spain, but learnt to value in some degree the attractions of a higher civilisation. The age of the Almoravides seems to have been for Africa a period of increasing prosperity and of tolerable internal tranquillity.

Rise of the Berbers

The second successor of Yusuf was defeated by a genuine Berber from the Atlas, Mohammed Abdallah ibn Tomrut. The proclamation by this successful fanatic of his descent from Hosein was one of the favourite means employed by politico-religious reformers to win universal respect. In reality, his success signified a new victory of the native spirit and a further strengthening of the Berber influence. The sharp antagonism to enlightenment so characteristic of Berber life becomes more distinctly seen in the course of history. After bloody civil wars the new dynasty of the Almohades obtained undisputed sway in Morocco in 1140. On them the task devolved of supporting the Moslem states in Spain, which could not, unaided, hold out against the Christians. Once more the African saviours proved dubious friends, and it was only after numerous conflicts that the greater part of Islamitic Spain consented to acknowledge the supremacy of the Almohades.

Though the centre of the African power lay in Western Morocco, and the fate of the state was repeatedly decided there, the eastern districts of the north coast stood only in very loose connection with the empire of the Almoravides and Almohades, and maintained—as, for example, the district of Bugia—under their own dynasties almost complete independence. Sicily, the rampart of Africa, had fallen in the eleventh century into the hands of the Normans, who soon afterwards gained possession of several towns on the African coast, as Tunis and Mahadia; and it may well be imagined that the Berber tribes of the mountains and steppes would hardly recognise a lord over them. It was only in 1159 that Abd al Munen, a prince of the Almohades, succeeded in once more setting foot firmly in the East in conquering Bugia, Tunis, and Mahadia, and in driving out of the land all Christian inhabitants. The claims of the Almohades to Spain became in the end fatal to them. By the ever-increasing power of the Christian states they saw themselves driven to incessant wars, in which the flower of their armies was destroyed. Their dominion received, however, the most terrible blow in the battle at Tolosa, in 1212, in which the enormous army they had collected with the greatest exertions was utterly crushed. Their African empire now began to fall to pieces. In 1206 Tunis was lost to an insurgent, who was able to establish his power firmly, and founded the dynasty of the Hafides. The Spanish possessions also regained their independence. And, finally, after civil war the dynasty of the Merinides eventually gained the throne of Morocco in 1269, after the founder of the family had already asserted his independence in the province of Schaus in 1213.

Driving Out the Christians

Thus, then, the African empire of Islam was finally destroyed; and the chief "Barbary" states of subsequent times already begin to develop—Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and Tripoli. The relations of Islam to the Christian states on the Mediterranean had, meantime, completely changed. The West once more advanced to the attack. The African states soon saw themselves harassed on their own soil by the armies and fleets of the Christian rulers. Then first, and more for defence than for aggression, the fleets of the "Barbary states" were formed, which were destined to remain the scourge of the Mediterranean countries down to the nineteenth century.

Barbary States Develop

The internal development of Morocco offers for centuries nothing worthy of remark. Not until 1588 did the empire of Morocco expand, and then, which is significant, not towards the east or north, but towards the south. A small Moorish army occupied Timbuktu, and the town was in 1680 still in the hands of Morocco. Here and in the western Sudan their influence has been maintained until almost the present day. The opportunity was thus presented to the princes of Morocco of enlisting large numbers of black troops, which were of great service to them in the frequent civil wars, but also continually increased the negritic element in the population of North-west Africa. The negro guards, naturally, found many opportunities to decide the fate of the rulers and of the ruling houses.



THE MODERN BARBARY STATES

AND THE FRENCH IN NORTH AFRICA

THE expulsion of the Moors from Granada was of still greater importance for the eastern African states than for Morocco. The small states in Algeria and Tunisia had led up till now an unimportant existence, which had been only temporarily disturbed by the adventurous and completely unsuccessful crusade of King Louis IX. of France against Tunis. With the increasing influx of Moors, who were filled with a burning thirst for vengeance against Spain, and who also had the means to fit out pirate ships, these small states came into hostile relations with Spain, and in the beginning distinctly to their disadvantage. The punitive expedition which Cardinal Ximenez undertook in the year 1509 struck panic into the whole coast region. From that time the Spaniards occupied not merely Oran, Bugia, and a fortress in the harbour of Algiers, but exacted tribute from some petty states, while the Berber tribes in the mountains were practically independent. The town of Tripoli, with some other places on the coast, was in the hands of the Knights of Malta, and the Genoese occupied the island of Tabarca. Thus the resistance of the African states was limited to petty acts of privateering, until they in their turn were drawn into that new movement of Islam which started with the Turks, and was destined to send out its offshoots as far as the borders of Morocco.

A Cardinal Attacks the Pirates

The man who gave life to the new influence was the renegade Horuk Barbarossa, a Greek from Lesbos. As captain of a privateer, fitted out by traders of Constantinople, he sailed to the Western Mediterranean, and made the town of Tunis the starting-point of successful predatory expeditions. He was soon in possession of a complete fleet of well-equipped ships, the crews of which were, for the most part, Turks. He gradually made himself master of several places on the coast, and at last of the town of Algiers; the expelled ruler tried in vain to recover his small territory by help of the Spaniards in the year 1517. After the death of Horuk his brother, Cheireddin, extended the newly formed robber state, and put it on a permanent footing by placing himself under the overlordship of the Porte.

Founding a Robber State

The period of Turkish rule which now begins was, on the whole, a sad time for the countries on the coast of North Africa. The real rulers of the country were the Turkish garrisons. By the side of these the pasha, appointed by the Sultan, enjoyed only the merest semblance of power, while the Arabian and Berber inhabitants of the country were exposed helplessly and unjustly to the caprice of the rude soldiery. Piracy became more and more the only source of wealth for the unhappy countries. The reason why this source was not soon stopped by strong measures was chiefly that Spain, diverted from her design on Africa by the discovery of America, gradually sank into political impotence. Charles V., by the conquest of Tunis in 1535, took the first step towards ending the curse of piracy. But the attack on Algiers failed; and in 1574 Tunis was finally lost.

There, too, the Turkish military rule was instituted. As in Algiers, the representatives of the soldiers formed a sort of republican government, or "divan," at the head of which a Dey with uncertain influence was usually placed. The relations between Algiers and Tunis were, as a rule, unfriendly: in 1757 Tunis was actually conquered and sacked by Algerian troops, and its reigning lord deposed. As compared with Algiers, the third Turkish vassal state of Tripoli fell into the background even more than Tunis. It had been founded in 1551 after the expulsion

Turkish Vassal States

of the Maltese by an old subordinate officer of Cheireddin Barbarossa, Dragut. Here also the Turkish militia had things completely in their hands. Algiers, Tunis, and Tripoli—nominal vassals of Turkey—all obtained an unenviable reputation for piracy; although, in reality, it was not the nature of privateering itself as practised by them which distinguished them, but only the long persistence of a condition which had been gradually abandoned by the other inhabitants of the Mediterranean. In the Middle Ages the Christian states had fitted out corsairs as much as the Mohammedan states, in order to capture hostile merchantmen and to plunder the coasts of their enemies.

In the Days of the Corsairs



THE PIRATES' STRONGHOLD: THE TOWN OF ALGIERS AS IT WAS ABOUT THE YEAR 1670

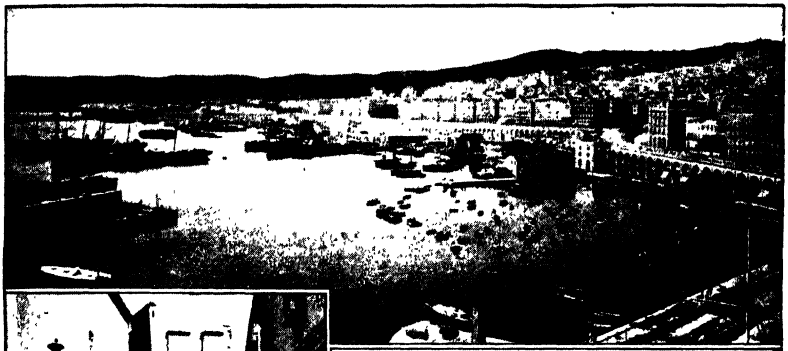
Algiers, one of the three great pirate states of Barbary, was organised by a Greek renegade in 1517, and from that time until the French conquest in 1830 subsisted by open piracy, though nominally vassal of Turkey.

There could be no possibility of thoroughly extirpating the curse unless the districts on the coast were brought under the dominion of a Christian state. But for a long time no nation showed any desire for a difficult and thankless undertaking of this kind; and it was thought preferable to secure immunity by treaties. This succeeded partially, and the whole burden of the loss naturally devolved on those states which could not come to an agreement with the corsairs. On the whole, the power of the Barbary states sank steadily in the course of centuries; and petty enterprises took the place of the great predatory expeditions of the earlier times. But as the number of possible victims was much lessened, the sphere of these raids must have been extended. In fact, the corsairs appeared quite early on the other side of the Straits of Gibraltar. In 1617 Madeira was plundered; the Irish coast was devastated in 1631, and Iceland invaded in 1637.

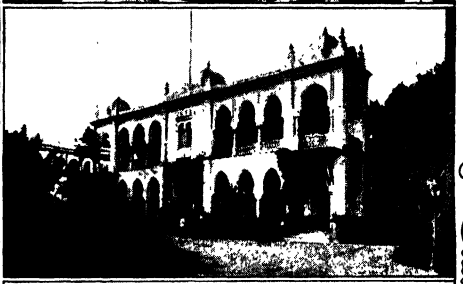
A severe check was inflicted upon them by the English Navy, under the command of Robert Blake, in the time of the Commonwealth; nevertheless, even at the beginning of the nineteenth century Algerian pirates cruised as far as the North Sea. The object of these voyages was not only the seizure of gold and property, but also of men. The sums obtained as ransoms for captive Christians were an important source of income to the rulers and inhabitants of the Barbary states. The power of the Turk waned from the time when his advance was finally repulsed by Prince Eugene of Savoy. States which subsist primarily by open piracy cannot be tolerated by civilised maritime powers. Yet the Barbary pirates continued to practise their profession without being definitely suppressed through the eighteenth century. Even severe chastisement inflicted by British and other fleets in the early nineteenth century did not destroy the plague spot. It was France which finally put an end to the pest.

End of the Barbary Pirates

In 1830, the French monarchy of Charles X. was in parlous state. Searching









ALGIERS: THE BASE OF FRENCH EMPIRE-BUILDING IN NORTH AFRICA

Algiers, the capital and only important seaport of Algeria, was occupied by the French in 1830 after three centuries of piracy. Its exquisite climate has made it a favourite winter resort for Europeans, and the consequent growth of the town can be seen in the picture at the top of the page. Inset on the left is a street in the Arab quarter, and on the right a view of the Governor's palace. At the bottom is a view of the principal boulevard.



THE TOWER OF SKULLS AT JERBA IN TUNIS
A ghastly monument of a Christian expedition to the pirates' haunts in 1561 and its defeat by the Arabs.

for some means of recovering popularity without desisting from its reactionary domestic policy, it sought to obtain martial glory. The Dey of Algiers had very flagrantly insulted the French consul, and reparation had never been made. A strong punitive expedition was despatched; it made a rapid conquest. The Dey and his Turks were removed from the country; and to this the Berber population appear to have felt no strong objections. The French had no more intention of staying in Algeria than Europeans ever have of staying in barbaric realms in which they have been compelled by circumstances to make a military demonstration. But the honest intention of retiring is usually frustrated by the sense of responsibility for restoring order and then for maintaining it—since it is commonly manifest that withdrawal will be followed by the recrudescence of anarchy. So it was with the French in Algeria; and there was a further inducement at the outset to postpone retirement. The Bourbon monarchy fell, and Louis Philippe could hardly venture to signalise his accession by what his enemies would have clamoured against as an example of "the craven fear of being great." So the French stayed—to restore order.

The natives had acquiesced in the ejection of their Turkish governors; they were not equally ready to accept control by the infidels, especially as the latter displayed some want of tact in handling their susceptibilities. They rose in insurrection under Abd el-Kadir, a leader of heroic type, who met with such success that after two years of fighting the French recognised him as sultan of a great part of the country. This, however, did not suffice; and in 1839, two years after the truce, Abd el-Kadir and the French were at war again. This time the relentless vigour of the French attack presently drove the native chief out of the country to Morocco; only to return with fresh forces. Under such circumstances, the emperor had no alternative but to carry the contest through to a finish. The French did so. Abd el-Kadir ultimately found himself compelled to surrender to save his country from destruction. For some time he was held in durance, till Napoleon III. released him.

The whole of Algeria was not, in fact, brought into subjection until 1847. Under the Republic which upset Louis Philippe,



A CONFERENCE WITH THE PIRATE DEY OF ALGIERS IN 1816
The Barbary pirates flourished in the 18th century, and in 1816 a British fleet, under Lord Exmouth, visited Algiers and inflicted severe chastisement, after conference with the Dey.



A GENERAL VIEW OF TUNIS, THE CAPITAL OF THE FRENCH PROTECTORATE
Tunis, the second of the Barbary pirate states, remained a nominal vassal state of Turkey until 1883, when it was placed under French protection, and its government controlled by French administrators.

Algeria was treated as if it had been simply an outlying portion of France. Napoleon III. recognised that European methods of self-government were not adapted to the population. One after another, a series of experiments in the form of military governments, governments more or less modelled on that of the British in India, were attempted, culminating, in 1879, with a reversion to parliamentary methods; but none have achieved distinguished success. On the other hand, there has been a very large immigration of Europeans from Southern Italy, Malta, and Spain, as well as from Southern France, and these elements seem likely to fuse with the native Algerians, so as to produce a distinct race-modification. Finally, Algeria is a base from which French influence has extended southwards to meet the northward movement from the French Sudan, and the consolidation of a French North African empire is in sight.

On the east of Algeria, Tunis—like Algeria, a nominal vassal-state of Turkey—enjoyed in the nineteenth century a much more enlightened government under the ruling dynasty than her neighbours. France, established at Algiers, was willing enough to extend her ascendency to Tunis; but Algerian difficulties on the one hand, and British opposition on the other, checked her zeal. In course of time, however, the Tunisian administration degenerated; European intervention became necessary. The British Government remained inert; Italy, the other Power mainly interested, hesitated to assume direct rivalry with France; and France found sufficient excuse for forcing the Dey to place himself under French "protection." From 1883, therefore, Tunis has been recognised as a French Protectorate—that is, like the protected states in India, it retains its dynasty, but its government is practically controlled by French administrators, with excellent effects.



ABD EL-KADIR
Who carried on a "holy war" against the French in Algeria.

Tripoli, like her western neighbours, owned but a very nominal allegiance to her suzerain at the Porte. But when France was asserting herself in Algeria, Turkey

took the opportunity in 1835, to reassert her authority in this eastern member of the group of Barbary states. The existing dynasty was removed, and the country administered under a pasha as a vilayet of the Turkish empire; and so it remained until 1912, when it was invaded, conquered, and formally annexed by Italy.



ABDUL AZIZ
The Sultan of Morocco, who was credited with Europeanising tendencies, abdicated 1908

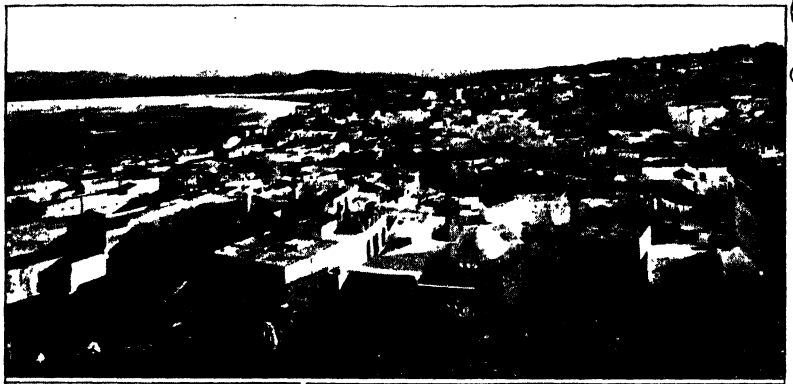
Morocco, though, unlike the other three corsair states, it did not fall under the casually exercised dominion of the Turk, did not establish itself as a consolidated Power till some two centuries after the annihilation of the Moorish power in Spain, when Muley Ismail brought the country under his dominion. Since then it has remained a single kingdom—the type of an Oriental absolutist monarchy. To European influences it continues to oppose an impenetrable screen of what Europeans call fanatical prejudice. The state retains an obstinate power of resistance to the intervention of "infidels," as the Spaniards found in 1859, though their campaign in that year was in form successful. The history of Morocco has been one, not of progress, but of stagnation, if not of retrogression. Its government nominally displays all the worst features of an utterly irresponsible despotism—and its people ask for nothing else. The thing they have is the thing they understand. Individual liberty, in the sense of an absence of government control, flourishes; in the sense of security of life, person, or property against outrage, chains, and robbery, it hardly exists. In the interior, the monarch can command no obedience; nowhere, and at no time is he secure against revolt. The population of Morocco has no idea of accepting the one method by which anything which Europeans recognise as permanent can be established—the assumption of sovereignty by a European Power.



MULAI HAFID, SULTAN OF MOROCCO, 1908-12

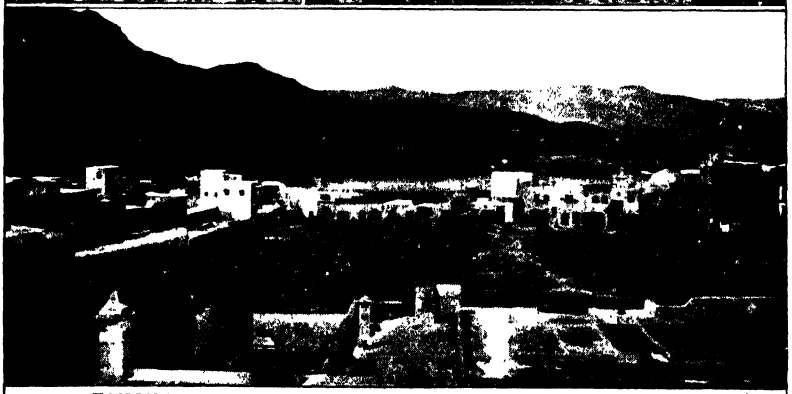
It is not easy to judge how far there is any real probability of such a sovereignty coming effectively into play; the mutual jealousies of European states always militate against any one of them becoming supreme, and even when a supremacy is established, as with the British in Egypt, it tends to be hampered. Nevertheless, a tendency to mutual accommodation has been displayed. In 1904 France and Great Britain arrived at a convention which was accepted by Spain. French antagonism was withdrawn in Egypt, and France was to be in effect recognised as having paramount interests in Morocco. In other words, apart from reservation of express treaty rights, France was conceded the right of intervention in the administration of the Moorish kingdom. Still, as other Powers were dissatisfied, a further conference of all the Powers interested was held at Algeciras in 1906, resulting in an agreement, of which the fundamental point was the paramount authority and responsibility of France.

The Franco-Spanish agreement of 1912 defined the area—a strip of coast line from Ifui, one hundred miles south of Agadir, to Melilla and the Muluya—of Spanish influence, and in the same year a









TANGIERS AND TETUAN: THE CHIEF CITIES OF MOROCCO

Unlike the other three corsair states of North Africa, Morocco did not come under the vassalage of Turkey, but remained a single despotic kingdom. A general view of Tangiers, the chief commercial city and diplomatic headquarters, is given at the top of the page, the royal palace being shown in the middle on the left, and a street in the city on the right. Tetuan, the city and seaport next in importance, is seen at the bottom.

Photos by N. P. Edwards

French Protectorate was formally declared over the rest of Morocco.

On France, therefore, has devolved the lion's shore of the troubles which have continued to disturb Morocco. The sultan Abdul Aziz was credited with European-ising tendencies; but these were not accompanied by administrative vigour or ability. Hence the anti-foreigner agitation has received an additional incentive among the population; and a rival sultan, Mulai Hafid, was proclaimed in 1907, who found considerable support. Abdul abdicated in 1908, and Mulai Hafid reigned till 1912, when he also abdicated, and was succeeded by Mulai Yusef. Throughout 1913 both France and Spain were engaged in serious hostilities with the tribesmen, and the loss of life was considerable. The spirit of revolt against European authority seems by no means yet subdued.

In any case, Islam in its rigid North African form will remain a most dangerous and almost invincible foe to European civilisation. How, even in the year 1914, this fanatical antagonism to European influences had acquired overwhelming force in North Africa is shown by the history of the Senussi order, a party of reform, organised in the true North African spirit of hostility to civilisation. The founder, who came from Tlemcen in Algeria, found in the oasis Siwah a continually increasing body of followers. From here the supporters of the order spun, as it were, a net round North Africa, and gradually acquired an influence with which every ruler of the separate countries and every European colonial power had seriously to reckon. The death of the original Senussi in the middle of the 'sixties did not harm the movement. Under his successor the oasis of Siwah was still the centre of the Senussi influence and the home of a burning hatred of Christianity.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ



RAISULI



KAID MACLEAN

The Native attitude t wards the foreigner was made evident in the capture of the Sultan's adviser, Kaid Maclean, by the brigand Raisuli.



ADMINISTRATION DIFFICULTIES IN MOROCCO: KABYLES DEFYING THE TAXGATHERERS



TROPICAL NORTH AFRICA

ITS NATIVE RACES AND STATES

BY DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

PEOPLES OF THE WESTERN SUDAN

BY reason of its climatic conditions and ethnographical character, the Sudan may be considered as a transition zone between the Sahara and the well-watered tropical regions of Central Africa, together with the Guinea Coast.

In its population, the Negro, the Ethiopian, and the Libyan combine in varying proportions, while at a comparatively later period another light-coloured race, the Arabs, influenced the Sudan.

We may assume that the power and importance of the desert tribes of the Sahara and the southern steppes increased considerably in proportion as the growing numbers of their cattle enabled them to derive more profit from the poor soil upon which they lived. At first probably unsettled bands of hunters, they grew to be powerful and warlike tribes. In this course of development were two separate stages, marked by the introduction of cattle at an early period, and the introduction of the camel, which did not take place until late in the Roman period. At first the black agricultural tribes of Central Africa were superior to the needy inhabitants of the desert, but the balance of power turned in the opposite direction until the negroes were subjugated or forced to retreat.

Development of Desert Tribes

At an early stage the negroes seem to have been spread over nearly the whole of the Sudan and far into the desert. In the Western Sahara are also unmistakable remnants of an old negro population. According to the Roman historian Sallust (86–34 B.C.) the southern districts of the true desert were in the hands of the negroes in his time; but even then forerunners of those different races from which the Berbers were afterward compounded may have been settled side by side with the negro inhabitants.

The State-forming Races

In the Western and Central Sudan are two great state-forming races, largely of negro blood, the Mandingo and the Hausa. These are manufacturing and trading peoples by profession. They are thus endowed with the necessary qualities for entering a foreign district, forming small colonies within it, and seizing the government for themselves when occasion offers. The Mandingo are leather-workers, dyers, weavers, and smiths, and extend as far as the west coast. Trade and manual industry have enabled the Hausa to advance to the slave coast, where their support of Mohammedanism has gained them considerable influence. The Soninke, to the south of the Mandingo, are a tribe of similar character. We have examples of involuntary migrations of this kind, especially in the east of the Sudan, to which inhabitants of Bornu and Bagirmi have been transplanted, bringing with them a higher

civilisation. It is very possible that the transmission of civilisation by migration of this kind was one of the forces which completed the expansion of the earliest states in the Sudan, the negro finding *manufacturing ability to be a new means of overpowering the shepherd tribes of* the desert, who were disinclined to labour.

How Negro Civilisation Grew

The stimulus given to pilgrimage by Mohammedanism extended the horizon and greatly increased traffic. When the Berber races grew to be powerful tribes, excellently conformed to their special environment, the black races, with their tendency to form petty states, were forced to retreat. By far the most important of these tribes is the great Tuareg people, or, more properly, Imoschagh. Their conformation to the conditions of desert life and their advance southward appear to have been purely involuntary. Though the northern parts of the desert were already in the possession of the Tuareg in Sallust's time, the main body of the people seems to have been settled in the fruitful districts under the mountain chain of North Africa until the Arab conquest drove them gradually to retreat southward. Different Arab tribes pressed after them, and in places divided the new territory with them; but the negroes, who were settled in the oases on the south of the desert, succumbed to the attacks of the Tuareg. These repeated shocks produced racial movements which were transmitted to the Sudan in southerly and easterly directions.

Even before that period important negro kingdoms existed in the Western Sudan. The history of the kingdom of Ghana, or Gharata—properly Aucar—can be retraced further than any other. This state is said to have been founded about 300 A.D. It was situated on the edge of the desert, west of Timbuktu, and northwest of the Upper Niger valley. It was not, however, a pure negro kingdom. The ruling house seems to have belonged to a fair race, while the bulk of the population was Mandingo or Malinke. This information is valuable as showing that long before the Mohammedan period the Sudan was a district of mixed population, and that the oft-recurring course of events which brings a fair race to rule over a negro population was not unexampled even at that time. Twenty-two rulers are said to have reigned in Ghana before the beginning of Mohammedan chronology.

Earliest Negro Kingdom

Carthage and Cyrene carried on commercial relations, at any rate indirectly, with the countries beyond the desert, and Mediterranean civilisation had strongly influenced the Sudan when the Arabs overran North Africa. A people thus appeared on the edge of the great desert for whom the inhospitable land had no terrors, and who were spurred on to desperate enterprises by the hope of extending the Mohammedan religion and their own power. The kingdom of Senhagia in the Western Sahara seems to have been the starting-point for the spread of Mohammedan propaganda. The town of Biru, or Whalata, was apparently a centre of trade and of Mohammedan civilisation until it was overshadowed by Timbuktu. In fact, it is at an early period that we find the first traces of Mohammedanism in the Sudan. It was not everywhere that the new religion found favourable soil, and it has not even yet made its way throughout the country; but it brought with it the greatest mark of a higher civilisation, the art of writing, and thus laid the foundation for a reliable history of the Sudan. The most priceless historical records of this district, the annals of Sonrhay, were composed by Ahmed Baba about 1640.

What Islam Did for the Sudan

While Ghana was at the height of its prosperity a new kingdom was developed at no great distance, Sonrhay, where the dynasty of the Saa—apparently also of Berber origin—came to power at the outset of the seventh century. The Saa Alayaman was the first ruler, according to Ahmed Baba, and was succeeded by fourteen kings before the land came under Mohammedan rule. The centre of the kingdom of Sonrhay lay within the great curve of the Niger, south of the modern Timbuktu; but it also possessed important districts beyond the Niger, further to the east.

Sonrhay was at first of no great importance; a third and somewhat younger state, the kingdom of Melle, was for a long time predominant in the Western Sudan. The early history of Melle is wholly obscure. It seems to have been founded by the Mandingo, who perhaps first overthrew the Berber supremacy. At the time of its greatest prosperity its power extended northward far beyond



Hausa woman



Bambara woman



Woman of Massina



Mandingo musicians



Fulbe of Senegambia



Arab of Yola



Woman of Segu



Bambara man

TYPES OF THE VARIED RACES OF THE WESTERN SUDAN

In the Western and Central Sudan the great state-forming races are the Mandingo and the Hausa, who are the traders and manufacturers of the negro peoples. The fair-skinned Fulbe, who first settled in the Senegal valley, are true nomad sons of the steppes. Among the most important of the negro tribes are the Bambara, whose chief centre is Segu.

the curve of the Niger, and it may have made itself felt indirectly as far as the Atlantic Ocean; its rulers were Mandingo, and consequently belonged to the dark races. The first Mohammedan preachers are said to have come to Melle in the year 990 and to have met with a favourable reception. Mohammedanism had spread among the peoples of the desert, and greatly stimulated their tendencies to political union. As early as the ninth century a Berberchief, Tilutan, had accepted Islam, had converted the neighbouring negro races, and risen to great power. About 1034 most of the Berber tribes of the desert were united under the sceptre of Abu Abdallah. Towards the end of the eleventh century the Tuareg founded the town of Timbuktu in a spot which had been regularly used for holding markets; the town became an important centre of their influence. About this period the old kingdom of Ghana was conquered for a time by the Almoravides, who became highly important in the history of North Africa and Spain.

Founding of Timbuktu

Meanwhile the princes of Sonrhay had accepted Mohammedanism about 1009, and become rulers of Ghanata about 1100; the chiefs of Melle, on the other hand, a state which was steadily growing in power, do not seem to have followed this example before 1200. Mansa (Sultan) Mussa was the most important of the rulers of Melle. He ruled from 1311 to 1331, raised his kingdom to the position of a first-rate military power, and proceeded to make conquests in all directions. He subdued what remained of the old kingdom of Ghana, which had recovered its independence but had lost most of its territory to Melle in the thirteenth century; he conquered the Sonrhay kingdom and took the prosperous town of Timbuktu from the Tuareg. His reputation extended far and wide, when he undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca with a vast retinue of followers in the year 1326, and showered wealth around him with a liberal hand. An architect was brought from Granada to Timbuktu to build a palace for the king. After the death of Mussa the kingdom was threatened with disruption; however, Mansa Isliman restored its power about 1335 and recovered Timbuktu, which had been conquered by the heathen prince of Mossi. Melle seems to have carried on a furious struggle with general success against the southern kingdom of Ginne, or Jinne, the princes of which had accepted Mohammedanism in the thirteenth century. Melle continued at the height of its power for another century, and then began to sink beyond hope of recovery. According to Ahmed Baba, an "army of God," which appeared and disappeared with equal rapidity, destroyed the larger part of the population; this must refer to some great and fatal revolution or to a devastating epidemic. In the year 1433 the Tuareg recovered possession of Timbuktu while the governors of the different provinces of Melle were at war among themselves.

Mohammedan Kingdom of Melle

During the latter half of the fifteenth century Sonrhay rose to a dominating position under the guidance of the cruel but energetic Sunni Ali, a ruler of Berber extraction. One of his ancestors, Ali Kilnu, who had been brought up at the royal court at Melle, fled away with his brother and raised a successful revolt in Sonrhay. At first the rulers of Sonrhay were content to retain their independence: Sunni Ali was the first to begin conquest on a large scale. He stormed Timbuktu with fearful slaughter in 1469; the town at once became a trading centre for the Western Sudan and North Africa. He then acquired most of the former kingdom of Ghana and had considerably increased his power, when he was drowned on an expedition to the Sudan in 1492.

Negroes Assert their Supremacy

His son, who succeeded him, was soon overthrown by one of the deceased king's generals, Mohammed ben Abu Bakr by name, a pure negro who took the royal title of Askia. Here we meet with an instance of those reactionary movements which frequently occur in the racial struggles of the Western Sudan: the negro population, which formed the main element in the Sudanese kingdoms, succeeds in throwing off the yoke of the fair desert peoples and asserting the supremacy of its own race. As a matter of fact, the racial fusion which took place in most cases makes it as little possible to speak of pure negroes as of pure Berbers, and a change of rulers disturbed neither the Mohammedan religion nor the existing civilisation. The "Askia" soon showed himself a born ruler. He was a capable general, and strengthened the resisting powers of his kingdom by the encouragement



TIMBUKTU: THE GREAT CARAVAN CENTRE OF THE SAHARA DESERT

Founded by the Tuareg in the 11th century in a spot which had been used regularly for holding markets. Later it fell into the hands of the princes of Sonrhay, and in the 16th century became the centre of a Moorish province.

which he gave to domestic industries; a brilliant pilgrimage to Mecca increased the reputation of his country abroad. He seems to have created a standing army, Sunni Ali having been accustomed to lead but merely a general levy of the whole people. After his return from Arabia he conquered the kingdom of Mossi, the ruler and people of which country had displayed an obstinate hostility to Mohammedanism; he then turned upon Melle, took and destroyed the capital of this ancient kingdom, and made the country tributary to himself in 1501. With the peoples dwelling further south and the western tribes he had a more obstinate struggle. Leo Africanus shows that the Askia also extended his power on the east and succeeded in partly subjugating the Hausa states, which were even then in a flourishing condition; his power extended as far as Agades on the north-east, where he drove back the Berbers and planted negro colonies from Sonrhay. This action may also be considered as a counterstroke of negro against Berber. Toward the end of his life dissensions broke out in his family, and in 1529 his son Mussa forced him to abdicate. Sonrhay maintained its power to the full during a long period of time. Especially glorious was the reign of the Askia Isshak I. (1539-1553), who embarked upon the first of the quarrels with Morocco.

He was succeeded by Daud, who ruled in peace from 1553 to 1582. However, El Hadj, the son of this latter king, was troubled with constant outbreaks of civil war. Shortly after he had ascended the throne ambassadors appeared from Morocco bringing gifts; these were, however, in reality the forerunners and spies of a powerful Moorish army, sent out by the Sultan Mulai Hammed of Morocco, which was advancing through the desert upon the Niger. This monarch had resumed the policy of the Almoravides, who had conquered Ghana from Morocco, and in whose army the Sudanese negroes formed a most valuable contingent. The army of Morocco was overthrown in the desert; but the civil wars continued. In 1587 El Hadj was deposed and died shortly afterward.

Hardly had the Askia Isshak II. put down the revolt and established himself upon the throne when a fresh army advanced from Morocco, seized the capital of Gogo, and then took Timbuktu. The leader of this army entered into negotiations

with Isshak instead of continuing his conquests, and was immediately dismissed in consequence by Mulai Hammed, whose ambition had been fired by the example of the Spanish empire of Philip II. His successor, the Basha Mahmud, notwithstanding the scanty numbers of his troops, utterly defeated Isshak's army, which could not stand before the firearms of the Morocco forces. Isshak fled eastward to the heathen tribes upon his frontiers, and met his death among them. Further resistance was in vain, and the powerful kingdom of Sonrhay was no more. It had comprehended all the country on the Upper Niger and Senegal, and had extended its power to the sea-coast and deep into the desert. The immigrants from Morocco formed a new element in the racial fusion; their descendants are now known as Rumat—literally, sharpshooters. The town of Timbuktu became the centre of the new Morocco province, which did not, however, extend as widely as the old Sonrhay kingdom had done—many of the frontier provinces seceded, and individual races conquered additional territory for themselves, such as the Bambara, and especially the Fulbe.



A VILLAGE SCENE IN THE REGION OF THE UPPER NIGER

The area of the Upper Niger consists largely of steppe lands, and it is only in the commercial towns that there is permanent civilisation. This village is inhabited by an industrial tribe.

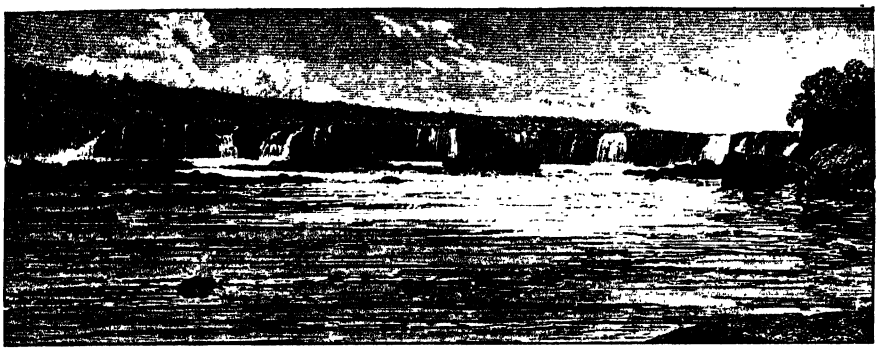
The destruction of the kingdom of Sonrhay led to more important results than these. Hitherto the central point of West Sudanese civilisation had been upon the Upper Niger, where Northern influences made themselves most rapidly and certainly felt. Henceforward it moved eastward to the Central Niger and Benue, and to the district contained in the angle of these two streams, the Hausa states. When once civilisation had made an entry into this district it became more strongly rooted there than upon the Upper Niger.

The Hausa States

Since the latter area largely consists of steppe lands, nomadic tendencies are predominant, and civilisation is permanent only in the commercial and industrial towns. Now the Hausa states form a country of towns, from which civilisation radiates to the surrounding districts; the inhabitants also are not wandering nomads, but agricultural negroes. It is true that civilisation has not even yet become universal, nor is the country a political whole. Heathen races have their settlements scattered between the territories belonging to the several states, are persecuted by the expeditions of the territorial masters and make raids upon the country in revenge for the tribute of slaves which is constantly exacted from them.

Beginnings of the Hausa

The ancient history of the Hausa states is even more obscure than that of the western kingdom. All that can be said with certainty is that the Hausa people, to whom the states owe their name and their first political organisation, were originally settled as a whole further to the north, and that they belonged to those negro races which inhabited the southern parts of the Sahara and the neighbouring districts. The mountain land of Air, or Asben, may once have been in the possession of the Hausa. Thence they were driven south by the Berbers of the desert, having previously received some infusion of Berber blood, and gradually imposed their language upon a countless number of tribes, language and not race thus



VIEW OF THE GREAT CATARACT OF GOUINA ON THE UPPER NIGER

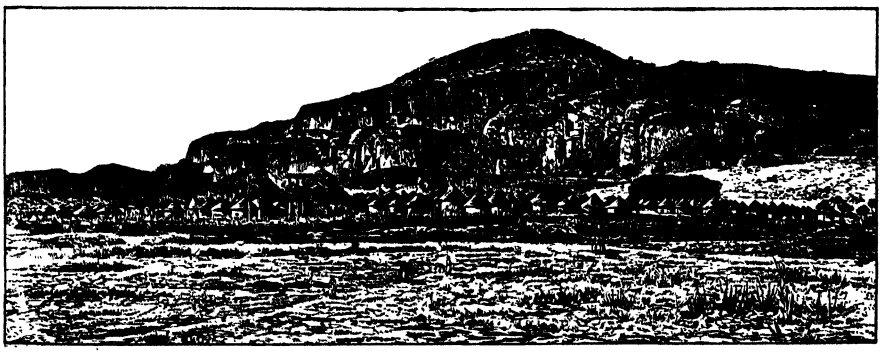
The Niger, the third longest river of Africa, rises near the west coast, and flows right across the bend of Africa into the Gulf of Guinea. Like all the African rivers it is much broken by rapids and cataracts, one of which is seen here.

becoming the bond of unity among them. The Hausa point to Biram as the cradle of their race, a little town lying east of Kano, near the borders of the kingdom of Bornu; if this tradition be reliable, the greater part of the Hausa civilisation must therefore have come from the Central Sudan, and especially from Bornu rather than *from* the west through Melle and Sonrhay.

The founder of the town of Biram bore the same name as the place, and from him and his grandson, Banu, it is said that the forefathers of the seven ancient Hausa peoples descended, and also the first kings of those seven states which were bounded collectively by the River Benue and the desert on the one side, and by the Niger and the Bornu frontiers upon the other. But when the Hausa started from the lands on the edge of the desert to found their kingdom, the original inhabitants on the river banks held out against them for a long period, and are to be found existing in parts even at the present day, just as they defied the attacks of the Sudanese civilisation and its exponents in a thin strip of country on the Atlantic coast, or as they even now maintain their position in the Upper Nile valley. The seven old Hausa states were Biram, Kano, Daura, Gobir, Katsena, Sofo or Saria, and Rano. Gobir and Daura, together with Biram, may be considered the earliest political creations of the Hausa people. They have a tradition that the mother of the founder of the Hausa kingdoms was a Berber woman, which confirms the opinion that they are not a pure negro people, but have intermingled with the races of the desert.

Hausa Talent for Trade

The Hausa people probably developed their great talents for trade and



LARGE NATIVE VILLAGE AND MOUNTAIN SCENE ON THE UPPER NIGER

Note the stockade and the conical-roofed huts, which are typical of the whole of tropical North Africa.

manufacture at an early period. It was perhaps rather the influence of their civilisation than their military power which extended their language, and to some extent their authority, over a second group of states which are generally known as the illegitimate or bastard Hausa states, from the tradition that they were founded by seven illegitimate sons of Banu. They are Kebbi, Zanfara, Guari, Yauri, and beyond the Niger and Benue, Nupe, Yoruba, and Kororofa. The legends concerning the founders of the seven Hausa states enable us to form some idea of the political conditions prevailing during their antiquity.

Antiquity of the Hausa States

When the Hausa states of Banu were divided among his sons they also received definite posts of responsibility: thus, two of them were appointed overseers of traffic and commerce, two more were to superintend the dyeing industry, a fifth had to make the kidnapping of slaves from hostile districts his special business. Here we have an excellent sketch of the economic conditions of the old Hausa kingdoms. The main sources of the national wealth were the flourishing manufactures, especially the making and dyeing of textile fabrics, which were distributed far and wide by a vigorous trading system. Slave hunting was the means of obtaining cheap labour for the factories, which were, however, generally carried on by the freemen, and slaves were used also for purposes of agriculture, though this again was chiefly in the hands of the half-civilised aboriginal negroes, who lived around the great industrial centres. Slaves were for many reasons a very important article of export, and to this chiefly was due the flourishing character of the trade between the Sudan and the countries round the Mediterranean.

In early times both the rulers and the inhabitants of the Hausa states were in a state of heathenism. It was apparently in pre-Mohammedan times that the nucleus of the kingdoms was formed upon the southern edge of the desert, even though the Arabs and the racial movements caused by their expeditions provided the real impulse which drove the Hausa southward. States began to be formed at an early period in the territory of the true and half-breed Hausa states, as is proved by the existence of the old kingdom of Fumbina in the modern Adamawa.

Hausa Before Islam

In fact, the entry of the Hausa into the districts which they now occupy naturally brought about the retreat of the peoples settled there, who may have been partly civilised and capable of concerted political action; and an impulse was thus given to the formation of new kingdoms on the border of the modern Hausa land. If it is the fact that the Hausa migrations were connected with the racial changes caused by the advance of Mohammedanism, then the foundation of the Hausa kingdoms may be placed in the ninth or tenth century of our era.

Little is known of the history of the Hausa states previous to the introduction of Mohammedanism, which seems to have been first effected in Katsena about the year 1540. In the sixteenth century Katsena was the most powerful kingdom, and the ruling dynasty can be retraced to about the year 1200. About 1513 it seems to have been conquered by the Askia of Sonrhay, Hadj Mohammed, and forced to pay tribute. When the prince of Kebbi shook off the yoke of Sonrhay, Katsena became dependent upon Kebbi, and at a later time was under the influence of Bornu. The first Moslem prince of Katsena was called Ibrahim Maji; fifty years after his death the Habe dynasty came to the throne, and ruled until the country was conquered by the Fulbe. The town of Kano rose to importance after Katsena; it was partly inhabited by Bornu people, and repeatedly united to the Bornu kingdom. During a long period the rulers of Bornu and Kororofa struggled for the possession of the town. We have but scanty information upon the condition of the other Hausa states and their relations to one another previous to the beginning of the nineteenth century. The kingdom of Saria, Soso, or Segseg seems to have been temporarily in the possession of the first Askia of Sonrhay.

Rise of Kano

Our lack of information is due partly to the fact that when the Fulbe conquered the Hausa states they deliberately destroyed all the earlier historical records. Hence continuous history begins only with the victorious invasion of the Fulbe, who have given their name to the whole district for the time being. Where the Fulbe race—also known by neighbouring peoples as Fula, Fellani, Fellatah, and Fullan—has preserved its purity, the slender, sinewy figure and the fair colour of the

TUAREG SLAVE HUNTERS RETURNING WITH THEIR UNHAPPY CAPTIVES FROM A SUCCESSFUL RAID UPON NEGRO VILLAGES

skin mark this people as true sons of the steppes; their habits are those of typical nomads, and for livelihood they depend upon cattle-breeding. Their language shows their connection with the Berber races. Their original settlements were in the Western Sudan, probably in the steppe district north of the Senegal and partly in the valley of this river. The conjecture that the Fulbe are the old dominant race of Ghana can be no more proved than the theory, which is not without intrinsic probability, that the ancestors of this people reached the Sudan from Morocco.

True Sons of the Steppes

It is at a somewhat early period that the Fulbe appear in the history of those states on the Upper Niger and Senegal which were the first to bcome important in the Western Sudan. It is quite possible that they originally settled as a state upon the Central Senegal, soon spreading further eastward, at first almost imperceptibly. About 1300 the Fulbe, who were settled in Melle, sent an embassy to Bornu. Sunni Ali, king of Sonrhay, made an expedition against the Fulbe in the south of his country in 1492, and made them tributary to himself; but about 1500 we hear of the Askia Hadj Mohammed as again struggling against this people, so that they had presumably become powerful and had spread considerably eastward.

This expansion was brought about at that time by the same methods as at a later period. The Fulbe entered the territory of settled peoples in their character of wandering cattle-herds, and seized any opportunity which offered of making themselves masters of the country and founding small independent kingdoms. About 1533 mention is made of wars between the declining kingdom of Melle and those western Fulbe who had settled near their original home. As the Fulbe advanced eastward they naturally incorporated other nomadic races with themselves, and also intermarried largely with the negroes, especially with the dark-skinned Jolof, near the old settlements of their race; in this fusion the Torode tribe originated. A development in the direction of a caste system reduced many tribes to the position of manual workers; some portion at least of the Fulbe people abandoned their nomadic life in favour of manufacturing occupations. These migrations gradually brought the Fulbe into Hausa territory. At first they were merely tolerated, and contemptuously regarded as intruders. In the sixteenth century they had increased considerably, and gained some political influence in certain quarters, especially in Kebbi, where about this time they succeeded in interfering in the dissensions of the Kanta dynasty, which had been founded shortly before. Even then individual bodies had advanced as far as Bagirmi on the east, and perhaps also to Adamawa on the south. At the present day, heathen Fulbe are settled in that district, the rest of the population being distinguished by a fanatical adherence to Mohammedanism.

Advance of the Fulbe

This same fanaticism was the ultimate cause of a fundamental revolution in the Hausa states. As in most cases, so also in this, the religious movement was nothing else than the natural result of a gradual change of social and racial elements; but the religious movement produced this further consequence—that it roused the Fulbe to consciousness of their own strength, and gave them a common watchword against the Hausa, who approached religious questions in a spirit of tolerance though not of absolute indifferentism.

Hausa Religious Revolution

In the year 1802, in the land of Gobir, a Fulbe sheikh, by name Othman dan Fodio, succeeded in using a religious movement to forward his political designs; his vigorous religious songs roused his compatriots to the height of enthusiasm and excited them to war against the rulers of Gobir. Though at first defeated, he contrived to make head against his adversaries, and upon his death he left a kingdom to his warlike son Mohammed Bello. The latter, though constantly defeated by the kings of Bornu, steadily increased the area of his dominions. The sultans of Sanfara, Gobir, and Nupe formed an alliance with the Tuareg, and strove to drive back the Fulbe, but in vain. At the same time the Fulbe in the river district on the Senegal revolted and founded the kingdom of Futa Jallon in the mountainous country to the south of the river. In 1816 a fanatic from Gando set up the kingdom of Massina, to which Timbuktu was added in 1826. Between the years 1850 and 1860 Segu, which had been founded about 1650 by the heathen Mandingo, suffered a similar fate.

The Hausa states fell entirely into the hands of the Fulbe; though some states held out for a long time, the Hausa people were forced to surrender their supremacy to the nomadic people they had formerly despised. In other respects political conditions underwent but little change. The chief Fulbe power was centred in the kingdom of Sokoto, Mohammed Bello's inheritance. The king of this state is at the same time spiritual lord of all the Fulbe states on the east, but his influence does not extend to political relations. The lands upon the Central Niger form the kingdom of Gando; its first ruler was Abd Allahi, Othman's brother. To Gando belong—though only as regards religious matters—the highly civilised Nupe, with its capital, Bida, which was weakened by civil war and fell into the hands of the Fulbe in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Their most southern state is Ilorin, to the north of Yoruba. Finally Adamawa on the south-west, which was conquered by the Fulbe during the years 1820–1830, is now practically independent. The other rulers of the former Hausa states are chiefly loosely dependent upon Sokoto; some of them, such as the sultan of Bautshi, whose dynasty came to the throne about 1800, are not Fulbe, but pure negroes.

Break-up of Hausa States

The first attack of the Fulbe had shaken the states of the Western Sudan to their foundations and had threatened Bornu itself with destruction, but the kingdom which they founded soon showed signs of disruption. Many of the Fulbe moved into the town, intermarried with the Hausa, and lost their own language and their distinguishing characteristics, with the exception of the Borroro, who clung to their nomadic habits. At the same time their fanatical temper disappeared, and with it their military prowess. The armies raised by the sultans consisted almost exclusively of negroes. In short, the negro element began to assimilate with the dominant race imperceptibly, but irresistibly. Further, the Fulbe rulers were as little masters of the whole district as the Hausa kings had been. Numerous heathen races continued to offer a desperate resistance to the Mohammedan advance; even when conquered, converted, and made serfs to the Fulbe, they merely helped to swell the numbers of the negroes. One small Hausa kingdom was even able to preserve its independence. When the Fulbe conquered Saria, the capital of the old state of Soso, the king retreated southward into heathen territory and there founded a new kingdom, with Aguja as its capital, which survived all the attacks of the Fulbe. The Hausa also maintained their position in their early home at Gobir. Thus the Fulbe supremacy was nominal rather than real, and extended over a district the population of which a higher civilisation had endowed with indestructible powers of recuperation. Though reduced to the position of an inferior race, the Hausa people were rapidly distributed in the course of trade over all the surrounding districts, and brought their language with them. As far as Kete-Kratji in German Togoland, Hausa is now the universal commercial language, though in a somewhat debased form. The Fulbe kingdom has decayed internally and is on the point of dissolution. Small tribes are able to cut all communications between Kano, Saria, and Sokoto for a long period in the year, or to carry off Hausa people from the very gates of Gando. The only reason why this kingdom has so long survived any foreign attack is the fact that no energetic neighbour is to be found upon its frontiers.

Hausa a Universal Language

On the south the old Hausa kingdoms were surrounded by a ring of independent heathen states—Korosofa, south of the Central Benue, Fumbina, the predecessor of the modern Adamawa, and others. The whole southern frontier of Adamawa, so named after the first Fulbe ruler, Adama, touches Central Africa with its pure negro population; hence unbounded possibilities of extension lay before it, and its rulers were enabled to carry on slave hunting upon the largest scale. The soil is, moreover, extremely rich and fertile, and specially adapted for an agricultural people, so that the cattle plague, which impoverished the Fulbe in the other Hausa countries, was but little felt in this kingdom and did not seriously impair the national strength. In Adamawa most of the Fulbe had devoted themselves from an early period to agriculture, and labour for this purpose was always obtainable by slave hunting; moreover, the immigration from Bornu of industrial families proved highly

Heathen State of Adamawa

beneficial to the development of civilisation.

Adamawa is governed by the prince of Yola, who is resident on the north-western frontier, facing the other Hausa states. His influence is weakened by the remote position of his capital, and his supremacy is by no means universally acknowledged throughout the country. Small heathen districts and communities are to be found scattered everywhere among the main centres of the Fulbe power, and most of these are in a state of continual feud both with the Fulbe and among themselves. The organisation of the Fulbe kingdom in general and of Adamawa in particular is exactly parallel to mediæval feudalism. The provinces are placed under separate dignitaries, each of whom commands a large number of vassals, while most of the officers at court are in the hands of the slaves. The most important Fulbe provinces of Adamawa are Bubanjida, Ngaundere, Tibati, and Banyo. Before the entry of Germany, Tibati and Ngaundere extended their frontiers, and were the strongest provinces in the Fulbe kingdom. Near them and to the south of Adamawa is the independent heathen state of Galim, which was formed in comparatively recent times, and has been strengthened by the addition of numerous heathen refugees. In the north the fierce guerrilla chief Mallam Hajato, son of Prince Saidu and grandson of Mohammed Bello, has thrown off the supremacy of Yola. Lower down the Benue the Fulbe have founded new states within the last century. In our own times Germany has entered Adamawa on the south and checked the advance of the Sudan negroes.

Negro Advance Checked

In spite of unfavourable conditions, the small numbers of its army, and the difficulty of providing reinforcements, not to speak of the numerous revolutions in Morocco itself, which cannot have failed to influence the course of events in the Sudan, the supremacy of Morocco over the western districts previously belonging to Sonrhay was maintained, nominally at least, for a surprisingly long period. The reasons for its long continuance are sufficiently simple. The Morocco soldiers, the Rumat, whose muskets had brought the war to a rapid termination, settled in the strongholds and adopted the position of a ruling caste, gained friends and influence by marrying the native women, and eventually became a separate nationality, capable of retaining their hold of the conquered district in independence, though it was against their interests to sever all connection with Morocco.



AHMADU, LAMINE OF SEGU

Ahmadu, "Lord of the Faithful" in Segu, inherited a great kingdom on the Upper Senegal and Niger, created by his father, but was subjugated by the French.

The connection between the new province of Sonrhay and Morocco thus continued unbroken until the latter kingdom was shaken by the disturbances which broke out after the death of Mulai Hammed in 1603. From that time onward Morocco no longer sent out a pasha as governor, and administration was carried on by the Rumat themselves. Every newly-elected pasha was forced to secure recognition by presents to his supporters, and the system resulted in excesses which surpassed all that Rome had seen under the Pretorian guards. One hundred and fifty-four pashas are known to have ruled within a period of one hundred and fifty years. Civil wars and extortion were the natural consequences of such an unsettled state of affairs. At the same time constant struggles with the different Tuareg races had to be maintained.

In the seventeenth century Sonrhay provided a large number of black soldiers for the Morocco army. These constituted the bodyguard of the sultans, and rendered valuable service against such vassals as attempted revolt. About 1680 a small Morocco army made an expedition against the Sudanese districts which were independent of Morocco, and returned home with rich booty. But from 1682 the sultan of Morocco's name no longer appears in the government documents, the last trace of dependence thus disappearing. The attempt of one ambitious ruler to found a dynasty of his own proved a failure.

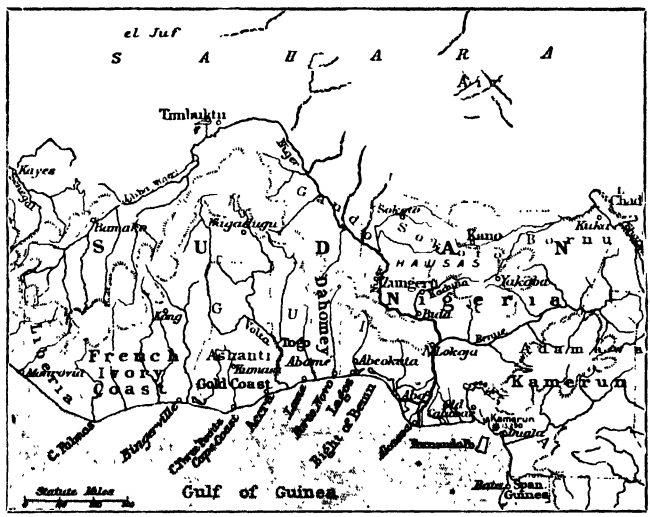
End of Moroccan Supremacy

The power of the Rumat, the descendants of the old Morocco army of conquest, gradually declined. In 1737 they were defeated by the Tuareg prince Ogmor, who now became the overlord of Sonrhay for a time, though he did not succeed in entirely subduing the Rumat. About 1770 the town of Gogo, or Gao, on the Niger, was lost to the Tuareg. On the north bank of the river rose the powerful kingdom of Aussa, which cut off all communication with Morocco and seized Timbuktu. Finally, at the beginning of the nineteenth century the Rumat power was utterly destroyed by the attacks of the Fulbe. Mohammed Lebbo started from Gando, the new Fulbe kingdom on the Central Niger, with an army of fanatics, and in 1816 founded a kingdom on the upper part of the river, the central point of which was the town of Massina.

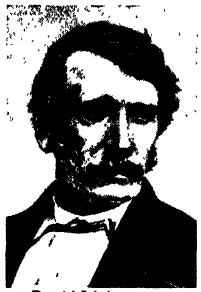
Rise of Fulbe Fanatics

A further period of disturbance began with the rise of a new Fulbe fanatic, Hadji Omar. He set himself up as the founder of a religion, and soon collected a powerful army. After utterly devastating the negro kingdoms on the Senegal and Upper Niger—Bambuk, Kaarta, and Segu—he entered into rivalry, much to his own disadvantage, with the French in Senegambia, and finally gained possession of Timbuktu. When his garrison had been driven out by the Tuaregs he marched upon the town in person, but was severely defeated in 1863. However, he succeeded in uniting the territory on the Upper Senegal and Niger into a great kingdom, which he left to his son Ahmadu, who assumed the title of Emir el-Mumenin, or Lamine, lord of the faithful, as his father had done, chose Segu-Sikoro as his capital, and thus lived among the Bambara negroes, who were chief among the tribes subject to him. Segu was conquered by the French in 1890, and a year later Ahmadu's kingdom was was completely subjugated. The history of those districts which lie further to the south-west toward the coast and have been visited by Europeans only in recent years, is comparatively obscure. Their economic importance rests chiefly upon their possession of the kola nut, which has become a valuable article of exportation. By no means all of these districts were or are Mohammedan. In many of the south-western kingdoms the numbers of the faithful are extremely scanty, while others cling tenaciously to heathenism. The kingdom of Mossi, lying nearly halfway between Ashanti and Timbuktu, is a stronghold of heathenism, and, what is about the same thing, of a pure negro nationality. After the fall of the kingdom of Melle new states were formed of its southern provinces. Undoubtedly the Mandingo kingdom, mentioned in the sixteenth century, was one of these, as the Mandingo people were the founders of Melle. In this case also large towns became the central point of the kingdom, such as Kong, the importance of which was formerly much exaggerated, owing to the false rumours which reached the coast. In the middle of the nineteenth century Samory founded a powerful kingdom to the south of Segu, which ultimately fell to the attacks of the French in 1898.

French in Segu



MAP OF THE NIGER RIVER AND GUINEA COAST



David Livingstone



Hugh Clapperton



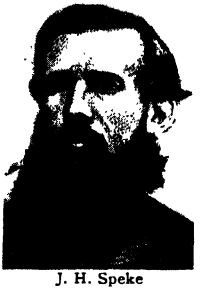
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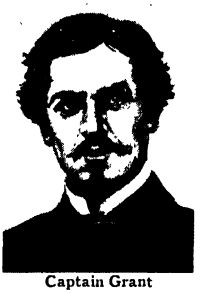
Sir H. M. Stanley



V. L. Cameron



J. H. Speke



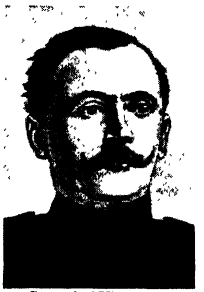
Captain Grant



James Bruce



Gustave Nachtigal



Captain Wissmann



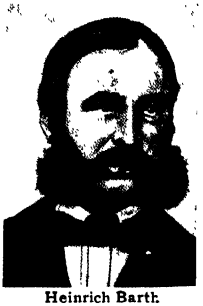
Sir Richard Burton



Joseph Thomson



Lewis Krapf



Heinrich Barth



George Schweinfurth



Wilhelm Junker

MEN WHO BROUGHT LIGHT TO THE DARK CONTINENT

The first considerable African exploration was begun at the end of the 18th century by Mungo Park, who solved the Niger problem. In North African exploration Barth, Clapperton and Bruce were prominent. Livingstone discovered Lake Ngami and the Zambesi, and explored the Congo; his reliever, Stanley, followed the Congo to its mouth, while Cameron crossed its basin. Schweinfurth, Junker and Nachtigal were the chief explorers of the East Sudan. Speke and Grant traced the Nile to its source, while in Central Africa Stanley, Thomson, Burton and Wissman discovered much.

Photos: Elliott & Fry and Russell & Sons



THE CENTRAL SUDAN

THE STRUGGLES AND DECAY OF ITS NATIVE STATES

HITHERTO the central districts of the Sudan, extending to the Nile region, have been invaded by European activity far less than the west. The district is by no means uniform but consists of a number of territorial areas more or less self-contained, wherein are to be found a corresponding number of political communities generally independent of one another. On the west we can observe the Chad basin, in the fruitful plains of which the kingdom of Bornu has developed. Next we have the valley of the Shari, with Bagirmi, and finally in the east two mountainous districts with the states of Wadai and Darfur. To the south of these districts begin the pure negro territories, which belong ethnographically to the northern frontier of the Congo basin. As being the source of an unceasing supply of slaves, they have founded the prosperity of the states in the Sudan proper, and have also given rise to continual racial fusions. On the north extends the Central Sahara,

Prosperity Based on Slavery

the peoples of which have taken an important part in the history of the Sudan states, and in some cases have decisively influenced their fate. It was from the desert and the North African coast that civilisation was brought into the Central Sudan.

The geographical position of the Central Sudan, especially of the area from Bornu to the North African coast, is of the highest importance. North of Lake Chad the Mediterranean makes its deepest indentation in the African continent, forming the two bays of the Syrtes. The emigrant advancing southward from this point will find rest and repose in a chain of oases, including the land of Fezzan, the greatest of all the oases of the Sahara. Hence the journey from Tripoli to Lake Chad has been a favourite route with European explorers; there are no great mountain chains to be crossed as in Morocco and Algiers, and the dangerous part of the desert is comparatively narrow. So favourable a conjunction of circumstances must have given rise at an early period to trade and intercourse, which would be only temporarily interrupted by the desert tribes.

The most remarkable people of the Central Sahara are the Tibu, or Teda; the purest types of this race are settled in

A Strange, Unsociable People

the mountains of Tibesti, and have apparently dwelt here from very early times. They are a peculiarly unsociable type of humanity, wholly conformed to the conditions of their environment, both in character and physique. A strong, perhaps even a preponderant infusion of negro blood has left unmistakable traces in the race; possibly, also, certain dwarf tribes resembling the Bushmen, of which the old geographers make mention, may have been absorbed by them. Spareness of build, activity, and power of endurance are the chief characteristics of the individual. The colour of the skin is, upon the average, lighter than that of the Sudan negroes, and darker than that of the Berbers. The negro type of face is to be found side by side with features of a more aristocratic cast. Their perseverance and their intellectual quickness enable the Teda to become capable merchants as well as clever robbers and thieves. A further stimulus in these directions is given by the avarice and lack of scruple which has been ingrained in them by years of grinding poverty.

At the present day, in addition to Tibesti, the Teda inhabit the oasis of Kauar on the chief route from Bornu to Tripoli. Antiquity has nothing to tell us

A Race of Merchant Thieves

concerning the Teda; nor have they any traditions of their own. It is only a few centuries ago that they seem to have embraced Mohammedanism; yet Arab strongholds appear at an early date in Fezzan and in the Central Sahara. Very little is known of the early history of these Arabs; but at a later period we are able to learn the history of one Arab tribe, which is not only noteworthy in

itself, but may also serve as a typical example of nomadic life, and of the influence exerted by nomads upon trade and settled races.

The tribe of the Aulad Soliman once dwelt near the great Syrtes, where the herds of camels found abundant pasture during the winter; in the summer they moved to Fezzan, in order to visit their date plantations and collect the harvest. Dissension with the rulers of Tripoli drove the Aulad Soliman into a temporary exile in Egypt. In 1811 disturbances broke out again in Tripolitania and Fezzan, and the usurper Bey Mohammed el-Mukni seized the town of Mursuk. The tribe then took the opportunity of returning to Fezzan, and laid siege to Mursuk, but was in large part treacherously annihilated in 1815.

Nomad Lords of Fezzan

For twenty years the tribe disappears from the history of Fezzan, while a new generation of warriors was growing up. Then a chieftain's son, who had been brought up at the court of Tripoli, joined in some of the raids from Fezzan into the Sudan, and was struck with the wealth of that country; as his tribe had recovered its strength, he conceived the idea of leading it into this district to acquire riches and power. For the moment he found a sufficient field for his energies in Tripoli and Fezzan, and maintained his position as lord of Fezzan for twelve years.

When he lost his land and life in a decisive battle against the Turks his earlier plan was remembered; and the remnants of the tribe marched southward, first upon Bornu, and afterward to Kanem on the north shore of Lake Chad. They numbered scarce a thousand men capable of bearing arms, but in spite of these scanty numbers they soon spread the terror of their name throughout the district between Lake Chad and Tibesti; they plundered the flocks of the resident tribes, exacted toll from the caravans, and made forays from time to time into the adjacent Sudan states, until, as they extended their sphere of action, they came into collision with the most eastern of the Tuareg tribes, who were accustomed to import Bilma salt to Bornu and the Hausa states from the pits at Garu and Kalala in the oasis of Kauar. The Tuareg are said to have lost fifty thousand camels in a short time. But this warlike people could not be provoked without making reprisals; an army of seven thousand men marched to Kanem, and defeated the Aulad Soliman so utterly that the tribe and its power seemed to be annihilated for the second time, in 1850. However, it recovered itself, and was taken into the service of the king of Bornu as a frontier guard against Wadai. In time the Aulad Soliman regained its position and became the terror of the neighbourhood, which was so utterly devastated that the Arabs were obliged to push their marauding expeditions to a greater distance. Such was the condition of affairs when the German explorer Gustav Nachtigal visited the country in 1871. In earlier times there may have been many a counterpart to this history which shows to what a small extent the steppes and deserts form any real boundary to the Sudan states.

Terrors of the Sudan

Thanks to its favourable situation, to the fertility of its soil, and to a happy fusion of populations, Bornu for a long period illumined the darkness of the Central Sudan with the light of its civilisation, and was able to transmit the seeds of higher culture to neighbouring kingdoms. Anterior to its partial inclusion in the British protectorate of North Nigeria, at the end of 1899, it comprehended the territory extending from the south-west of Lake Chad and west of the Shari to the frontiers of the Hausa states; it was bounded on the north by the desert and on the south by the settlements of independent heathen tribes. It was a typical Sudan state, a district of transition from the Sahara to negro Africa. On the east and the west its boundaries were determined with some precision; but on the north and south they varied, and were rather lines of decreasing influence than definite frontiers. Kanem in particular, the country to the north-east of Lake Chad, was ultimately almost entirely independent of Bornu, although at one period the most intimate relations had subsisted between these two districts.

Light in the Dark Sudan

It is not until about 900 A.D. that its history becomes reasonably trustworthy. Bornu is an admirable example of the manner in which states which were first formed on the desert frontiers of the Sudan have gradually shifted their centres of gravity further and further south into

what was once pure negro territory; thus the origins of the Bornu kingdom were not in the modern Bornu, but in Kanem, further to the north-east, at the present time the raiding district of the Aulad Soliman. The Kanembu, as they are called from their old place of settlement, together with the Kanuri, form the nucleus of the Bornu population. However, Kanem itself does not seem to have been the original home of the Kanembu, who are related to the Teda in point of language and were possibly an early offshoot of this desert people of the Tibesti, inasmuch as their own traditions speak of earlier settlements lying further northward.



TYPES OF THE TUAREGS OF THE NORTHERN SAHARA
The most important of the Berber tribes is the great Tuareg people, originally settled in North Africa, but driven to retreat southward into the Sahara after the Arab conquest.

A great impulse was given to the kingdom of Kanem under King Hume or Ume about 1130 A.D., when Mohammedanism was introduced, and the land was thereby brought into close connection with the Mohammedan civilisation. The strength of this connection is shown by the fact that the ruler of Bornu undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca, in the course of which he died in Egypt in 1151. His son and successor, Dunama II., made three pilgrimages to Mecca, and died in 1205. In the second half of the thirteenth century Dunama III., Dibbalami, became famous as a powerful monarch; he organised the army, and either introduced or so improved the cavalry, the most dreaded arm of the Sudanese forces, that his successors were able to advance northward and reduce Fezzan, and also to take the first steps toward the subjugation of Bornu on the south, which was at that time inhabited by heathen negro races in a low stage of civilisation. The kingdom of Kanem seems to have attained its greatest area about this period; it was even in friendly relations with Tunis, and consequently in touch with Mediterranean civilisation.

However, shortly afterwards the process of disruption began, and advanced as it usually does in states based upon feudal organisation. Quarrels about the succession, revolts of powerful vassals, conspiracies of every kind, sapped the strength of the kingdom for two centuries. None the less, about 1360 the conquest of the heathen countries on the south was gradually completed in spite of the desperate resistance of the aboriginal inhabitants, the So, who had defeated four kings of Kanem between 1348 and 1351, and take the form of giants in the legends of the Bornu people. Some portion of the inhabitants of Kanem immigrated into this newly acquired territory, but the aboriginal negro inhabitants were not wholly expelled.

It was, moreover, high time for the rulers of Kanem to find and secure for themselves a new district further removed from the steppe-dwellers and their attacks; for not only were Fezzan and Tibesti gradually slipping from the grasp of the shattered kingdom, but it proved impossible to retain possession of Djimi, the capital. In this quarter the Bulala tribe gradually made themselves masters of the land after a long struggle, and, about 1370, forced the rulers of Kanem to retreat southward to Bornu. Wars with the

Bulala began under the rule of King Daud, and continued until the definite abandonment of Kanem, though the cession of this place by no means made an end of the internal dissensions and disunion of what now becomes the kingdom of Bornu. The Bulala also continued their hostilities for a long period. Meanwhile the resources of the new district seem to have been gradually developed, and to have proved favourable to the rise of a second era of power. The impulse was given by the energetic king Ali Dunamami (1465–1492), who checked the excessive growth of feudalism, and created a definite centre for the kingdom by founding a new capital, Oasr Eggomo, and especially by extending his frontiers westward. When his son Idris III. had twice defeated the Bulala, about 1500, Bornu again became the dominant power in the Central Sudan and westward as far as the Niger. Under Mohammed V. (1515–1539) the kingdom reached the highest point of its prosperity. A no less distinguished ruler was the "Sultan" Idris IV., Amsami, who reigned from 1563 to 1614. He secured the military supremacy of his kingdom by the introduction of firearms, subdued the small half-independent heathen tribes within the boundaries of Bornu, then extended his influence over the Hausa states on the west and the desert tribes on the north, and in general established his kingdom so firmly that it enjoyed a period of comparative peace and prosperity under his successors.

Rise and Fall of Bornu

But the peace thus acquired was but the prelude to a second fall. In the following period most of the rulers were weak-minded pietists, who allowed the military power of the kingdom to decay. The body politic was internally corrupt, and was saved from destruction only by the absence of any more powerful enemy. The inevitable collapse came at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In 1808 began the Fulbe revolt in the Hausa states, which eventually made this apparently harmless pastoral people the masters of that great district. The Fulbe had also migrated into Bornu about 1560 at latest, and their excitement at the success of their kinsfolk is not surprising. King Ahmed (1793–1810) was, according to the chroniclers, "a learned prince, liberal to the priests, extravagant in almsgiving, the friend of science and religion, kind and gracious to the poor"; but energy he had none. When the Fulbe, under their leader, Othman dan Fodio, attacked Bornu, all resistance was in vain, the more so as the country had been depopulated by a fearful plague. Birni was hastily abandoned by King Ahmed, and fell into the power of the nomad race in 1809.



THE SHEIKH WHO SAVED BORNU

In 1800, during the reign of a weak king, Bornu was overrun by the nomad Fulbe, but was rescued by the efforts of Faki Mohammed el-Kanemi, a petty feudal lord, who assumed the title of sheikh and the real power.

Bornu, however, was not destined to share the fate of the Hausa states. The kingdom displayed unsuspected recuperative powers. The leader of the Kanembu was the Faki Mohammed el-Amin el-Kanemi, a native of Fezzan. He entered into marriage relations with one of the petty feudal lords of Bornu, and drove the Fulbe out of his territory by arousing in his own followers a spirit of religious enthusiasm which proved a match for the fanaticism of the Fulbe. After the death of King Ahmed, in 1810, his son Dunama X. continued the war against the Fulbe, but met with no definite success, until he was driven to place himself under the protection of the victorious Faki. The king attempted afterwards to recover his independence, with the result that Mohammed el-Amin gained all the real power, he

The Saving of Bornu

himself becoming a mere figurehead. At that time a new capital, Kuka, was founded.

Mohammed, who now assumed the title of "sheikh," found himself involved in a severe struggle with the neighbouring kingdom of Bagirmi in 1817, from which he did not emerge in triumph until 1824, after being forced to procure reinforcements from Fezzan. When he died, in 1835, he left to his son Omar, and to the nominal sultan, Ibrahim (1818–1846), a strongly established, though not very extensive, kingdom. Omar succeeded in concluding peace with the Fulbe and in reducing the western provinces to obedience; but the adherents of the deposed dynasty seized this opportunity of striking a blow at the usurper with the help of the king of Wadai.

Triumph of the Sheikh

Omar gathered a small army, but was defeated at Kusseri in March, 1846. He then had the sultan Ibrahim executed, and retreated to a strong position in Ngornu. The ruler of Wadai had advanced too far from his base of operations and was obliged to retire for reinforcements, leaving Ibrahim's son Ali, whom he had set up as sultan, to continue the struggle. Ali soon met with an honourable death on the field of battle, and his family became thereby extinct.



BODYGUARD OF THE SHEIKH OF BORNU



SUDANESE SOLDIERS OF BORNU

Omar thus became sole ruler of Bornu. He proved a pious, judicious, benevolent, and generally moderate ruler, and the peace of his reign was disturbed only by the revolt of his brother Abd er-Rahman, who temporarily (1853–1854) drove him from the throne. At this time the organisation of Bornu was much like European feudalism in the Middle Ages. The sultan of Bornu theoretically ruled over several other sultans, who were practically independent. The other territories of Bornu proper were either personal property or were held by the ruling dynasty and the nobles of the royal family. However, many of the smaller princes were mediatised and their titles void of real significance. The king was surrounded by a council, or Nokena, composed of his relatives, the representatives of the different tribes and classes of the population and of the military authorities, which met every morning in the palace.

In addition to the members of the council numerous officials and favourites also existed, whose offices were in many cases sinecures, together with many eunuchs and slaves. The sources of national income were the king's landed property and that of his courtiers, and the profits gained by slave-hunting, which was an industry regularly carried on in the heathen districts in the south. Thus slaves were accepted as payment by the

merchants from the north coast, who brought in European wares, guns, horses, etc., and were often forced to await the return of the troops before their accounts could be settled. Such expeditions against the heathen were always a necessary condition of existence for the states of the Sudan.

Bornu in Our Own Time

In modern times Bornu has again been thrown into confusion, though on this occasion the disturbing cause has not come from the Fulbe, but from the east. When Sheikh Omar died, in 1882, after a long reign, he was first succeeded by Aba Bu Bekr until 1885, who was followed by Aba Brahim until 1886, and finally Aba Hashim until 1893, a learned but indolent prince. Events in the Eastern Sudan and the results of the Mahdi revolt proved fatal to him.

While the Egyptians were engaged in the conquest of the Upper Nile district, Zebehr, the slave-hunter, had become so powerful that the Egyptian Government determined to remove this disturbing cause, and, after enticing him to Cairo, kept him prisoner. His son Suleiman thereupon revolted, but was several times defeated in 1880 by Romolo Gessi, and finally surrendered to the Egyptians. But one of the subordinate leaders of Zebehr's army, Rabah, a low-born Arab by extraction, refused to surrender, and retreated westward with a division of the troops, consisting of about 3,000 negro soldiers. Here he held out until 1891 in Dar Runga; he did not, however, join the Mahdi kingdom, which had arisen during that time. Slave-hunting was probably his chief source of income, supplies being gained by secret trading with the Mahdi district of the Sudan. When his hunting-ground for slaves became exhausted he was forced to extend his operations further westward and to attack the states of the Central Sudan. He was immediately repulsed by the warlike Wadai; but Bagirmi, being a weaker state, was quickly overcome in 1893. The king evacuated the country almost without a struggle, and threw himself into his fortified capital of Massenya. Bagirmi, however, was regarded by Rabah merely as affording him a passage for attack upon the weak and wealthy kingdom of Bornu. With the help of the Fulbe chieftain, Mallam Hajato of Jamare, who readily joined in the enterprise, he penetrated as far as Kuka, but was there defeated by Kiyari, who had dethroned and executed his weak uncle, King Hashim. However, Rabah's emissaries had previously sown the seeds of treachery and disunion among the nobles of Bornu; Rabah gained the victory in a second battle, slew the king, and subdued his capital in 1894. Dikaua, on the Yaloe river, south-east of Lake Chad, became the capital in place of the unhealthy town of Kuka, which was destroyed.

Conquered by the Slave-hunters

Thus it appeared that a new dynasty had been founded, and that this infusion of fresh blood might revive the failing powers of Bornu. As a matter of fact, trade with the north increased, and at the same time the boundaries of the kingdom were extended towards the south and south-west as the result of conflicts with the petty states there situated. However, a struggle with the French led to the overthrow of



OMAR, SULTAN OF BORNU, WITH HIS ESCORT
The son of the sheikh who saved Bornu and established it as a strong kingdom.

the conqueror. Several small French expeditions, striving for the great object of a union of the Congo land with the Western Sudan and Algeria, were beaten back or destroyed altogether at the instigation of Rabah. Finally, however, in February, 1899, Rabah was defeated and killed by the French; and at the beginning of 1900 Kanem, or Halifa Djerab, also recognised the French supremacy. However, Rabah's son Fad el Allah continued to hold out with his brother Niebe on Lake Chad with the support of the influential Senussi, made an incursion into Bornu, and at the beginning of 1901 expelled Hashim's second son, the sultan Gerbai, who had been set up by the French; but about the middle of 1901 he was driven back to Gujiba in North Nigeria. In the course of a further attempt to invade the Shari delta, he fell on British soil, on August 25th, 1901, in a conflict with the French. Niebe was taken prisoner. In this way the desired connection of the French colonial districts was brought about, although their control cannot as yet be considered more than nominal.



THE SULTAN RABAH OF DIKAUA, THE CAPITAL OF BORNU
Rabah, a leader of the slave-hunter Zebehr's army, conquered Bornu in 1894 and made Dikaua its capital. He was defeated in 1899 by the French, whose supremacy is now recognised.

Bagirmi, the neighbouring state to Bornu, is very similarly situated in point of position, and has suffered a like fate. Bagirmi proper consists of the level districts on the Central and Lower Shari, and its lowest part forms the western frontier of the little kingdom of Logone, which is dependent upon Bornu. In the north Bagirmi is separated from the desert by Kanem and the most westerly provinces of Wadai; hence its influence extends further south than that of the states of Bornu or Wadai. Further the civilisation of Bagirmi is of considerably later growth than that of its neighbour Bornu. In the sixteenth century several small heathen kingdoms existed upon the area of the modern Bagirmi. The country was also overrun by wandering Arabs as well as by the bodies of the Fulbe, who were dependent upon the owners of Kanem, the Bulala. The nucleus of an important state was formed by immigrants from the east, who can hardly have come from any great distance. The leaders of these foreigners succeeded in shaking off the influence of the Bulala and also in winning the rest of the nomadic population to their own interests. The first prince of Bagirmi, who founded the capital of Massenya, or Massenja, and his immediate successors had not been converted to Mohammedanism. Malo, the last of the heathen kings, was deposed in 1568 by his brother Abdallah, who had accepted the tenets of Islam.

The State of Bagirmi

First Prince of Bagirmi

Under the Mohammedan dynasty, which was thus founded, the civilising influences exerted upon Bagirmi came almost exclusively from Bornu. Among Abdallah's successors Mohammed el-Amin is worthy of mention. He extended the area of the kingdom and undertook a pilgrimage to Mecca (1751-1785). At the outset of the nineteenth century Abder-Rahman of Bagirmi revolted against Bornu, which seems to have exercised some kind of suzerainty. He was utterly defeated and slain by Sabun, sultan of Wadai, whom the king of Bornu had summoned to his help. In consequence

the country came under the influence of Wadai, and civil war was the result. When Othman, or Burkomanda, eventually gained the throne he was obliged formally to acknowledge the supremacy of Wadai and to submit to the imposition of a tribute. In spite of this, we find him engaged in petty warfare—now with Bornu, now with Wadai—and making good his losses by marauding expeditions against his neighbours and the heathen races of the south. His son, Abd-el-Kader (1846-1858), continued this policy until the latter years of his reign, which he was enabled to spend in peace. A curious instance of the Fulbe restlessness, from which Bagirmi had been hitherto spared, proved in its consequences fatal to this monarch. Under the leadership of a fanatic of Fulbe extraction a great caravan of pilgrims marched through Bornu to Bagirmi in complete defiance of the king's regulations. The king attempted to oppose them by force of arms, but was defeated and slain.

A War With the Pilgrims

His successor, Mohammedu, escaped, and when the band of pilgrims broke up on the death of their leader he took a bloody vengeance on part of them for his predecessor's defeat. For a long time King Ali of Wadai had borne with the unfriendly behaviour of the prince of Bagirmi, his vassal, in silence. In the autumn of 1870 he suddenly appeared with an army before Massenya. After a long siege of this extensive town he succeeded in breaching the walls with a powder-mine, captured the town, and forced the king to fly to the south. Ali had the plunder conveyed to his own capital, settled many of the industrial inhabitants of Bagirmi in Wadai, and about 1885 placed Abd-er-Rahman Gaurang, the son of Abd-el-Kader, on the throne. A fresh outbreak of civil war enabled Rabah to make himself master of the country in 1893. Gaurang held out in the capital of Massenya, and thought himself secure from further attacks after placing himself under French protection in 1897. But in the autumn of 1899 he was again hard pressed by Rabah, until, in 1900, the French attack on the state of and the death of Rabah gave him a breathing space. In later times the state of Wadai became the dominant power in the Central Sudan as opposed to the older state of Bornu. Its authentic history begins at an even later date than that of Bagirmi. It is an indisputable fact, at any rate during the Mohammedan period, that the kingdom of Bornu, owing to its favourable situation in connection with the Mediterranean states, was the centre whence all the districts on its eastern frontier gained the means of advancing their civilisation. This is also true to some extent of the Hausa states, since not only was the Bornu civilisation spread far and wide by trade and commercial intercourse, but also because parts of the Hausa race migrated voluntarily or involuntarily into the other countries of the Sudan, and there formed the nucleus of a settled industrial population. In this manner the seeds of a higher civilisation were carried westward to Bagirmi, Wadai, and Darfur.

Rise of the State of Wadai

This was not, however, the line of movement invariably followed. As long as the civilisation which had advanced up the Nile from Egypt continued to flourish in the Upper Nile valley, the light of culture came from the east. It is probable that even in antiquity the Central Sudan had received valuable, though not permanent, impulses from this district. Remains of the old civilisation are yet to be found here and there. The Arab traveller Zain el-Abidin, whose narratives are usually trustworthy, visited Wadai in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, and speaks of ruins, stone sarcophagi, and remnants of a sun worship which he affirms that he discovered near the capital. This may be considered an offshoot of Egyptian civilisation in remote antiquity; but we have no means of connecting it with the modern history of the country, which hardly begins before the sixteenth century of our chronology.

Centre of Sudanese Civilisation

Until a short time ago Wadai embraced, speaking generally, the district between Lake Fittri and the mountains of Darfur on the one side, the desert and the tributaries of the Shari on the other. The nucleus of the kingdom is formed by the mountainous country on the east, together with the central district. Here dwell the ruling people; while on the south, as everywhere in the Central Sudan, are districts inhabited by heathen tribes of pure negro blood, cutting off all connection with Central Africa in general and the Congo valley in particular. The

inhabitants of the mountains, the Maba, who are now the ruling tribe, seem from their dark colour to have received a strong infusion of negro blood, though they may originally have been closely connected with the Ethiopians. Their country is by no means unfertile, but its wild nature is reflected in the rough and violent, though energetic, character of this people, which has made them superior in the long run to the unsettled nomads of the desert and a standing danger to the neighbouring kingdoms of the Sudan. In many cases the social system of the Maba races shows remnants of ancient institutions -- for example, of a matriarchal system, the wife's property being held entirely separate from the husband's. As regards religion, some tribes are more fanatical than others.

The modern civilisation of Wadai is of Western origin, but the first impulse to constitutional unity came from the east. The Arabs made their influence felt here before the period of the Mohammedan movement, having crossed the southern extremity of the Red Sea, which has never been any real barrier to communication between Arabia and Africa. With this heathen Arab group we may associate the Tunjer, who seem to have previously been settled in Nubia. With the appearance of this Arab race, who are credited with having attained a comparatively advanced stage of civilisation, the history of Wadai begins. The petty mountain tribes of Wadai, constantly at war with one another and sunk in absolute barbarism, were for the first time united into some kind of polity, perhaps from about 1500–1600 A.D., by the Tunjer, who insisted upon the recognition of their supremacy and upon the payment of tribute. After Darfur had shaken off their yoke the Tunjer continued to rule in Wadai for some time, until their power was also broken in the latter district. It was not a native leader who brought about their overthrow, but Abd el-Kerim, the descendant of a man of Arab extraction, an immigrant from Shendi, on the Nile. Abd el-Kerim had acquired great influence among the native tribes, and here once again a religious movement became the cloak for a national revolution. This leader was a Mohammedan, and as such the natural enemy of the heathen dynasty of the Tunjer and their sultan, Daud. He won over the Arab races and the dark-skinned mountain tribes, defeated the sultan, and forced the Tunjer to the westward. In the new capital of Wara he gathered round him the first Mohammedan congregation, the numbers of which increased rapidly. Darfur had freed itself from the Tunjer rule at an earlier period, and had grown so powerful that it had made the last Tunjer princes of Wadai tributary to itself. Abd el-Kerim, when he seized the inheritance of the Tunjer, was obliged also to accept this dependent position, and, according to custom, a princess was sent to the king of Darfur every three years. Bornu, which was previously in friendly relations with the Tunjer, had also to be appeased by a payment of tribute. Abd el-Kerim is said to have reigned from 1635 to 1655, and his son Charut from 1655 to 1678.

Sudanese Victories of Islam

Beginning of History of Wadai



ONE OF THE SULTAN OF BAGIRMI'S LANCERS

Bagirmi, a Shari river state, suffered a fate similar to its neighbour Bornu, coming under French influence in 1900.

The power of Wadai gradually increased. In the rude but powerful mountain population the country possessed a race which was indisputably superior in military prowess to the inhabitants of the neighbouring states. These conditions naturally influenced the relations of Wadai and Darfur. A national opposition was apparently organised against the handing over of a princess to Wadai, a form

of tribute which had been placed upon a regular footing by the sultan Yakub Arus (1681–1707). The payment of tribute ceased. The sultan Ahmed Bokkor of Darfur was a man of peace, and hesitated before employing armed force to avenge the insult. Arus himself then advanced to the attack, but was forced to retreat, and, after reaching Wadai with much difficulty, found himself obliged to conclude peace. However, tribute was not again exacted, and when Omar Sele, Ahmed Bokkor's grandson, attempted to restore the old state of affairs and invaded Wadai he was defeated and taken prisoner by Arus.

Princesses Offered as Tribute

Under Charut the younger (1707–1747) the country enjoyed a period of peace and prosperity. But his successor, Djoda (1747–1795), soon found himself involved in war with Darfur. The army of the eastern state was defeated, and a noble, who gave himself out as the sultan, was kept prisoner for a long time in Wadai. Djoda also undertook eight great campaigns against the heathen tribes upon the south, and thus extended his kingdom in this direction. On the west he conquered part of Kanem. Wadai had encroached upon the rights of Bornu by the occupancy of Kanem, but the sultan Abd el-Kerim Sabun (1803–1813) made the attack upon Bagirmi of which the consequences have been already described, and brought this neighbouring kingdom under his influence. Notwithstanding the unfavourable position of his country, he successfully revived the trade with Tripoli and Egypt, and by settling families from Bagirmi in his territory he raised the standard of manufacture, both of these improvements adding largely to the royal income. Campaigns against the independent negroes of the heathen states were almost an annual event. At that period the real wealth of the country was not derived from trade and manufacture, as at the present day, but from a highly flourishing system of cattle-breeding and from agriculture. From these sources was drawn the sultan's income, all taxes being paid in kind. The land was considered as the sultan's property. It is only in the original Maba districts that landowners in the full sense of the term were to be found. Still, the tenants in the other districts are by no means the sultan's serfs. They are sturdy, independent types of humanity; the comparative ease with which their obedience is secured is due entirely to their social organisation, which seems to be of great antiquity, and is based chiefly upon the division of the members of any one group into old men, youths, and children. Notwithstanding the uncivilised character of the people, religious education is much more advanced than in Bornu or Darfur. In recent times evidence of elementary attempts at scientific inquiry is to be found.

Agricultural Prosperity of Wadai

After Wadai had enjoyed prosperity under a succession of capable rulers, Yusef Chorefin came to the throne (1813–1820), the type of a bloodthirsty monarch, conspicuously unsuccessful in all foreign enterprises. The mother of the next sultan, Rakib, who was still a minor, was descended from an Arab slave family; she, together with the numerous representatives of the Arab nationality in Wadai, thought that the opportunity had now come of deciding the old quarrel between the nomadic and settled tribes in favour of the Arabs. Though the queen-regent resorted to measures of the utmost cruelty to secure her aims, the plan was defeated by the determined resistance of the mountain tribes—Kodoi—who chose as their ruler Abd el-Aziz (1829–1835), a prince of the royal house, stormed the capital of Wara after a severe struggle, and crushed Sultan Rakib and his adherents. However, peace was not restored by this success. The mountain tribes had found that revolt was an occupation very much to their taste, and proceeded to support pretender after pretender to the throne on which they had themselves placed Abd el-Aziz; when he stopped this dangerous amusement by force of arms Wadai was reduced to great extremities by a famine. An army marched south against the heathen countries to procure a supply of corn; the sultan of Darfur at once availed himself of this opportunity of making an incursion into the disturbed frontier districts of Wadai. Exactly at this juncture Abd el-Aziz died.

The Old Nomadic War Revived

Mohammed Sherif, a prince who had been forced to flee from Wadai at an earlier period, succeeded in setting himself upon the throne and in securing his position after the retreat of his friend Mohammed el-Fadl of Darfur (1835–1858). Mohammed

Sherif then renewed the war against the sultan of the little mountainous country of Tana, to the east of Wara, which had now become a neighbour of some importance. In 1846 he also interfered in the affairs of Bornu. At Kusseri he crossed the Shari and defeated the sheikh Omar, but was unable to maintain his position in the enemy's country, and ultimately—apparently upon the receipt of 8,000 Maria Theresa thalers—retreated to Wadai. In his own country, of which Abeshe had now become the capital, his avarice absorbed his energies and made him very unpopular. The consequence was a series of revolts and internal dissensions, in the course of which the country of Tana became the invariable place of refuge for the defeated revolutionaries, and ultimately for the eldest son of the sultan Mohammed, whose mother was a Fulbe woman. Mohammed Sherif attempted to punish Ibrahim of Tana for his conduct, and was himself severely defeated.

He was succeeded by Ali, the lawful heir to the throne (1858-1875-76), who deserves credit for the encouragement which he gave to trade and barter, the revival of caravan communication with the Mediterranean, his protection of the learned, his strict enforcement of law, and the peaceful character of his relations with neighbouring states. About 1870 a flourishing trade existed with Egypt by way of Darfur and Julo, with Bornu and Benghazi, the harbour of Tripoli, the exports from Wadai being slaves, ostrich feathers, and ivory. The king himself equipped caravans, and made a larger profit than he could gain by taxation and customs duties. This policy contributed to increase the strength of Wadai and to make it a formidable rival to the other Sudan states.

An Admirable Ruler

Latterly Wadai was hard pressed—by the invasion of Rabah, on the one hand, and, on the other, by the rivalry of the European colonising powers, which brought about the Franco-British agreement of March 21st, 1899. Turkey also claimed that Wadai formed part of the hinterland of Tripoli. The natural conditions of the country have endowed the native peoples of Wadai with the highest degree of tenacity and military prowess. To this day the aboriginal mountain peoples of the Maba group form the flower of the population and the ruling class. No sultan whose mother was not of Maba extraction could hope to ascend the throne of Wadai. The French protectorate has produced no material change in these conditions.

In the neighbouring district of Darfur the influence of Eastern civilisation is more marked; its history also can be retraced further than that of Wadai, which lies, so to speak, in the dead water between the main streams of civilisation in the Central and Eastern Sudan. Little, however, is known concerning the Darfur of pre-Mohammedan times. The nucleus of this state is a mountainous district, the highest part of which, in the Djebel Marra, may be considered as the cradle of the old heathen state Darfur. Its first rulers came from the East, and, to judge from the majority of the royal titles, were mixed with Arabs, if they were not of pure Arab blood. These were the Dajo, a people of little account, and in a low stage of civilisation at the present day; but at one period they were the most important element of the population, and held the country more or less in subjection to themselves from their station in the Marra mountains. The first Dajo king, Kosber, is said to have resided in Debba, at the eastern foot of the Djebel Marra. Tradition speaks of twenty-one, thirteen, or even so few as five Dajo rulers.

Mountain State of Darfur

We are better informed respecting the Darfur dynasty of the Tunjer. The first Tunjer ruler was Ahmed el-Maqur. The dynasty of the Kera, who brought the Tunjer predominance to an end, sprang from a fusion of native families with the old ruling house. The last Tunjer king was called Shau, the first Kera king was Delil Bahar, or Dali, a half-brother of Shau, the severity of whose rule had provoked a rebellion. Dali availed himself of this favourable opportunity to introduce laws and institutions into the kingdom, which remained in force until Darfur lost its independence. His government may have fallen in the middle of the fifteenth century. The land then seems to have been disturbed by quarrels concerning the succession; continual changes in the government were the natural consequence. Suleman Solon was the first king to grasp the reins of government with real firmness; as a child he had fled to Wadai and had been received by the Massalit, his mother's

Darfur in the 15th Century

relations. He returned to war against his great-uncle Tinsam, established himself in the Marra Mountains, and from this point subdued and extended the territory of Darfur. He is especially noteworthy as the introducer of Mohammedanism. The military strength of the people seems at that time to have been greater than their civilisation. Suleman Solon (1596–1637), by a series of campaigns extended his power eastward beyond the Nile up to the Atbara, thus ruling over the whole of Kordofan and part of Sennar; he also interfered to some purpose in the affairs of the Eastern Sudan. Less prosperous was the reign of his son Musa (1637–1682). Under his rule a feature peculiar to almost all the Sudan states became very prominent. While remote districts recognised the monarch's authority, tribes which he was unable to subdue were to be found a few miles from his capital. As the inhabitants of the Tama Mountains were a thorn in the side of the kings of Wadai, so the Massabat were a standing menace to Musa; their sultan Djongol laid claim to the throne on the strength of his relationship to the ruling dynasty. At that period, however, the supremacy of Darfur was undisputed over a wide area; Wadai, which had been connected with Darfur since the time of the Tunjer, also recognised its suzerainty.

Darfur's Greatest Ruler

This condition of affairs was greatly changed during the reign of the next king, Ahmed Bokkor (1682–1722). His policy aimed at making the kingdom a pure Mohammedan state; by encouraging the priesthood and founding schools he hoped to crush heathenism and barbarism at the same time. To this end he settled in Darfur colonies of foreigners whose civilisation was more advanced than that of his own people. Together with peoples from the banks of the Nile he chose inhabitants from Bornu and Bagirmi. The next rulers were the tyrannical Mohammed Daura (1722–1732) and his son Omar Lele (1732 to 1739; deceased about 1750 in Wadai), whose followers showed their disgust at his military incapacity by deserting him in the decisive battle against Arus of Wadai. He was succeeded by Abul Casim (1739–1752). When he made an attack upon Wadai to avenge the last defeat, the Furaner freemen deserted without striking a blow,

The Rule of the Tyrants

being embittered by the severity of the taxes and the undue preference given to slaves. His brother Tirab (1752–1785) was then elected sultan; he consolidated his kingdom, undertook numerous campaigns, and enjoyed a high reputation for learning and piety. After a series of disputes as to the succession, he was followed by his brother Abd er-Rahman (1785–1799), whose peaceful government greatly increased the prosperity of the country.

During the reign of his son Mohammed el-Fadl (1799–1839) began that revolution in the Eastern Sudan which was destined to prove fatal to Darfur. Kordofan, which had hitherto been under the supremacy of Darfur, was conquered by the Egyptians. Mohammed el-Fadl correctly appreciated the situation, and attempted to strengthen his powers of resistance by subjugating Wadai, but his plans were wrecked by accidental circumstances. His successor, the sultan Mohammed el-Hasin (1839–1873), was occupied chiefly by wars with the Arabs in the south-east of Darfur, the Risegad, and other almost unconquerable tribes. Hasin's campaigns were almost entirely fruitless of result. With Egypt, on the other hand, he was on excellent terms, though he by no means under-estimated the dangers which threatened him from that quarter, and induced the Turkish sultans Abd ul-Medjid and Abd ul-Aziz to confirm his supremacy. With King Ali of Wadai he also concluded an offensive and defensive alliance.

The End of the Kingdom

On the death of Hasin, his youngest son, Ibrahim Koiko, ascended the throne in 1873, and the kingdom rapidly approached its doom. The Egyptian Government had appointed Zebehr to be governor, or Mudir, of the province of Bahr el-Ghazal, situated upon the southern frontier of Darfur. In this capacity he attacked and conquered the Risegad, who had made a temporary peace with the sultan of Darfur, in view of the approaching danger. Ibrahim was thus forced to enter into war with Zebehr. The campaign was decided late in 1874 by the battle of Menawatji, in which the sultan Ibrahim was killed. Thus Darfur became part of the Egyptian Sudan. Until 1879, descendants of the king held out against the Egyptians in the Marra Mountains, the cradle of the old princely stock. The remainder of the story belongs to Egyptian history.



THE EASTERN SUDAN

THE NUBIAN PEOPLE, ANCIENT AND MODERN

AS regard the broader lines of development, the Eastern Sudan displays many points of affinity with the western districts; but as its geographical character differs in two main points from that of the countries on the southern frontier of the Sahara, its history in these respects ran a course of its own.

The first point of difference is the existence of the Nile, which creates a narrow strip of fruitful land in the midst of a steppe district. The river, being navigable, makes of this fertile territory a connected whole, though its unity is not that of those arable districts situated like oases at some distance from the stream, while the cataracts have effectively prevented the Nile from serving as an open highway to Egypt proper. Still, civilisation spread by this channel to the districts of the Sudan at an earlier period than in other cases. The second special characteristic is the neighbourhood of the Eastern Sudan to the sea and to Arabia. The narrow channel of the Red Sea presents no obstacle to the crossing of a people, like the Arabs of old, whose merchant ships reached India and Zanzibar. The Arab steppe-dwellers hold with reference to the Eastern Sudan that position which was occupied on the west by the desert tribes, who have so often founded and destroyed powerful kingdoms. No enemy of this kind threatened the Eastern Sudan upon the north. Egypt and her ancient civilisation was at times a cause of fear, but more often of reverence for the priceless gifts which she bestowed. Apart from these special features, the general characteristics of the Eastern Sudan correspond to those of the central and western parts.

Characteristics of the East Sudan

During remote antiquity we find that the greater part of the modern Nubia was peopled by a red-skinned race, the Kushites, who were apparently of Hamitic origin and related to the Egyptians. Further, in the desert land right and left of the Nile valley, we find miserable tribes of steppe-dwellers, who were also Hamites or Ethiopians; and fair-complexioned Libyans are also to be found who may have made their way to Nubia from the north coast. While Egypt was developing her civilisation, the Nile valley was uncultivated above the first cataract; its population was on the level of the wandering desert nomads of the neighbourhood. It is hard to say how far northward the negroes extended. Probably negro tribes and Kushites lived side by side where the Nile valley was broader and more fertile, the negroes being in sole possession of the river banks further in the Sudan, perhaps in the same manner as the Shilluks and the Dinka now inhabit the shores of the upper river. The tribute of the land of Kush was always largely paid in slaves.

Remote Antiquity in Nubia

As the Kushites were related to the Egyptians, the different theories upon the origin of the Egyptians apply equally to them, and need not be discussed anew. Commercial enterprise, and the hope of gain, attracted individual Egyptians southward, until the rulers of the country interfered, occupied part of Nubia, and monopolised the profits. Two very valuable articles were exported from Kush—namely, ivory and black slaves—which appear as the regular tribute payment in the Egyptian picture writing. But interest rose to an extraordinary pitch when rich deposits of gold were found in the mountains on the south, which for a long period were to be the sole source whence Egypt drew her supply of this desirable metal. Wood for shipbuilding was also brought from Kush at the time when extensive forests covered the mountains on the banks of the Nile, which are now absolutely bare. The earliest information which we possess

Egypt's Gold Supply

upon the relations of Nubia and Egypt is derived from an inscription of the sixth dynasty, which, among other subjects, describes the preparations of king Pepi I. for a campaign into the Sinaitic peninsula and the south of Palestine. We are told that on this occasion troops were drawn from the negro countries of Aaretet, Zam,

Earliest Relations with Egypt

Aman, Uaust, Kaau, and Tatam. Thus we see that about this period part of the Kushites recognised the full supremacy of Egypt, which had perhaps been already enforced for some considerable time. We have no information for the period subsequent to Pepi's dynasty.

When Egypt recovered her prosperity, under the eleventh dynasty after the fall of the old kingdom, and Thebes became the capital, Nubia also felt the consequences of the change. The Nubian possessions seem to have been one of the most important sources of the king's revenue; not only the products of the gold-mines, but also the tribute paid by the subject races, came directly into his coffers. However, the district was not completely subjugated until the era of the twelfth dynasty. The name "Kush" is then for the first time applied to the land in the south, and probably referred at first to the territory of the most powerful among the tribes which were then subdued. This tribe must have belonged to the red-brown Ethiopians. Negroes do not appear in these conflicts before Senusret I. Negro labour also seems to have been employed under compulsion in the gold-mines.



NEGROES OF ANCIENT NUBIA

From a painting in an Egyptian tomb, commemorating one of Egypt's many wars with the Nubians.

Upon this occasion, as before, the advance of the Egyptian kings was due chiefly to anxiety to get possession of the gold-mines and to ensure the safe arrival of their output. Kush was kept in subjection by a chain of military posts, which also formed little oases of civilisation. Senusret III. built a frontier fortress at Semneh above Wadi Halfa [see page 2058], and forbade the negroes beyond this boundary to pass this point in their boats as they sailed down stream. The king secured the frontier by a second campaign, and Kush was henceforward in close connection with Egypt.

It is obvious from the position of this frontier fortress that only the northern parts of Nubia were in the hands of the Egyptians, and that the modern Dongola never belonged to the kingdom of the Pharaohs. In spite of this fact Egyptian civilisation spread further up the Nile, a development which must have taken place on peaceful lines. Such transmission of civilisation was facilitated by the fact that the Egyptians were in possession of the gold-mines south of the modern Korosko. At Korosko the road branches off into the desert, and, by cutting off a great bend in the Nile, forms the route of quickest communication with the Sudan. It was perhaps at an early period that the beginnings of the later kingdom of Napata on the south came into existence, though the actual foundation of the state is an event which belongs to the period of the Ramessides. This kingdom may, however, have received the seeds of civilisation from another direction. When the prosperity of Egypt revived, under the eleventh dynasty, an unprecedented impulse was given to commercial enterprise, and Egyptian fleets sailed down the Red Sea as far south as the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb. The Egyptians were not skilled seamen, but the desire to secure a supply of that desirable commodity, frankincense, without the inconvenience of dealing with middlemen, had impelled them to venture upon the perilous waters of the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aden, and had thus brought them into communication with the inhabitants of Southern Arabia and Somaliland. The starting-point of the Egyptian voyages must have been somewhere about the latitude of Thebes, where the little

The Egyptian Trade in Frankincense

harbour of Kossir, or Kosseir, is to be found at the present day. An inscription describes fully how a road with water cisterns was laid from Thebes to the coast through the barren mountain district, and how a ship was built upon the shore which seems to have made a successful voyage to Punt, a name apparently denoting the coasts on each side of the Gulf of Aden. Commercial intercourse eventually became fairly vigorous, and may have



THE STRIKING RESEMBLANCE OF THE NUBIANS OF TO-DAY TO THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS

exercised some indirect influence upon the civilisation on the Upper Nile. Under the thirteenth dynasty a prosperous trade with Punt continued. It may then have declined until it was temporarily resumed at the time of the "New Kingdom"; but it gave so powerful a stimulus to the Arab coast dwellers that they were afterward able to become the carriers of the trade in the Red Sea and the northern Indian Ocean. However, they were much more strongly influenced by the Babylonian-Assyrian civilisation than by the Egyptian. That the Nubian possessions were, at any rate, retained during that period is proved by a dumb but irrefutable witness, a giant granite figure of King Sebekhotep V., which still rises upon the island of Argo above the third cataract, quite close to the modern Dongola.

Long afterwards, when the Hyksos had been driven out and the military "new kingdom" was founded, the kings set to work to recover the influence which the country had lost in Nubia. At first expeditions were sent out, rather with the object of weakening the Kushite tribes than of making a permanent subjugation, but afterward the kings devoted their energy to this latter task. Thothmes I. advanced by land and water, apparently contrived to transport his ships above the



A GROUP OF MODERN NUBIANS: WARRIORS AND A CHIEF

This picture, together with that above, illustrates the very striking way in which the ancient Egyptian method of doing the hair, as well as certain characteristics of dress adopted from the Egyptians, is continued to this day.

first cataract, and, after defeating the Nubian fleet in a great battle on the Nile, subdued all the country up to the third cataract.

These wars with Nubia do not harmonise with the tradition, which is in any case very doubtful, that the Hyksos were expelled with the help of the Ethiopians. Possibly in the course of the struggle with the northern intruders a temporary alliance was formed with some of the "nine bow-peoples," as the Nubians are called in the Egyptian inscriptions. The consort of the first Egyptian king of the victorious eighteenth dynasty seems to have been an Ethiopian. Under Queen Hatshepsut, who was regent for Thothmes III., the frontiers of the Nubian province were certainly extended further southward; at the same time the trade with Punt was revived, and territory perhaps acquired on the coast of the Red Sea. Pictures belonging to the king's reign show the inhabitants of the Upper Nile valley, the red-brown Kushites, and the dark-skinned negroes bringing cattle, giraffes, the skins of wild animals, gold rings, and precious stones as tribute; but even at that period negro slaves were the most welcome of the presents brought from the south.

Wars and Alliance With Nubia

In this way negro and Egyptian were commingled, and at the same time Egyptian farmers and craftsmen settled on the Nubian Nile, especially after Rameses II. had caused a number of new towns and temples to be built in that district. The gold-mines continued to yield a rich output. The Nile valley was taxed in the same way as Egypt proper, and the tributary tribes on the south made heavy payments to the royal treasury. Nubia was thus an important and carefully-administered province of the Egyptian kingdom. In any case Egyptian civilisation advanced far into the Sudan, and led to results which were afterward to react upon the destiny of Egypt. When the royal power began to decline in Egypt, and mercenaries became predominant, the native dynasty held out longest in Thebes, as it had done before on similar occasions. After the loss of this town it retreated, apparently to Kush, and there founded a separate kingdom, the rulers of which continued characteristically enough to assume the royal titles of the Egyptian kings. This is the account usually given of the origin of the Napata kingdom, a name in general use and derived from the capital situated below the fourth cataract.

A Second Egypt Attempted

Napata forms a very remarkable contrast to the Sudan states of modern times. Founded by a fair-complexioned people in a district originally negro, with a civilisation and a religion of northern origin, it seems to have been intended as a second Egypt; upon occasion its rulers even dared to aspire to the throne of the elder state. But its power is not permanent. Its exotic civilisation deteriorates; and the black races, constantly reinforced by fresh infusions of negro blood, lay like a leaden pall upon the state and stifled every upward tendency. The growing strength of the negro races is easily explained. The centre of the Napata kingdom lay at first, as is obvious from its historical development and the position of its capital, in the Nubian Nile valley, and the dominant race were the Kushites, who were commingled with the immigrant Egyptians; but later, when the various attempts to conquer Egypt had definitely failed, the more southerly districts of the Eastern Sudan inhabited by negroes were added to the kingdom, in particular the important peninsula between the White and the Blue Nile. During the early period of Ethiopian independence a difference between the condition of Ethiopia and Egypt, proceeding from causes purely ethnical, became more and more pronounced in course of time. In Egypt religion doubtless counted for a great deal; but among the duller Ethiopians it became absolutely predominant, and in Napata the priesthood, which naturally was chiefly recruited from Egypt, lived in a golden age. This was partly due to the fact that the priests in Ethiopia appeared as the chief exponents of civilisation; but a more potent cause was the character of the Kushites and Berbers, which has remained unchanged to the present day. Nowhere has Mohammedanism found such faithful, bigoted, and devoted adherents as among the Berbers; without their help, for example, Islam would never have conquered Spain, nor maintained its hold over the country for so long.

Golden Age of the Priesthood

These characteristics of the "blameless" Ethiopian people, which were equally strong in ancient times, were highly valued by the priests, and explain why so many exaggerated accounts of the moral purity of the Ethiopians and the high excellence of their civilisation were current in the

ancient world. The Egyptian priests were the source of these rumours, and in this way discharged some part of their obligations to their most loyal adherents.

The confusion prevailing in Egypt upon the downfall of the "new kingdom" not only secured their independence to the Ethiopians, but also enabled the Ethiopian dynasty, which was probably of Egyptian origin, to seize the throne of the old kingdom with the help of Kushite warriors about 840 B.C. This portion of Ethiopian history is again absorbed in that of Egypt, and we can pass on to the time when the Ethiopian dynasty found it necessary to evacuate the territory of the Lower Nile, about 668 B.C.

Our information upon the affairs of the kingdom of Napata after the retreat of the Ethiopians from Egypt is derived from Greek sources and the inscriptions of the Ethiopian rulers. The priesthood had turned the piety of the princes to good account, and had gradually become a directing influence within the state. In the name of their divinity they elected that candidate to the throne whom they preferred, and if a ruler thwarted their policy he was informed that it was God's will that he should expiate his sins by a voluntary death. However, religious conflicts and bloody disputes about the succession were by no means exceptional events. When Egypt had recovered its independence an unsuccessful attack was made upon Nubia; and, in consequence of internal dissensions, part of the Egyptian warrior caste, which had originated from mercenaries settled in the country, emigrated to Ethiopia.

Suicide By Order of the Priests

After the separation from Egypt, the centre of gravity of Ethiopia shifted more and more southward. Napata remained the home of the priests, but the kings built a new capital south of the confluence of the Atbara and the Nile, the town of Meroe, by which name the kingdom was generally known in later times. Thus, Ethiopia was in less danger than before of being involved in the further destinies of Egypt. In the time of the Persian supremacy over Egypt the invaders seized a part of Nubia, and in some degree the events of antiquity were repeated in this frontier land; but the kingdom of Meroe was untouched. The overwhelming influence of the priesthood was broken for a time by King Argamon—the Ergamenes of the Greek accounts—about 270 B.C. The priests, as usual, had sent the old but vigorous prince the command of God that he should put an end to his life; Argamon answered by cursing the priests.

The monarchy thus gained in independence, but this advantage was counterbalanced by the development of another peculiarity, which recurs in manifold form throughout the world. In Meroe the old matriarchal system, whereby children belong to the mother's and not to the father's family, appears to have held its ground with such tenacity that the queens acquired a position of unusual privilege, acted as regents during the minority of their sons, and eventually, when these latter came of age, declined to resign their authority, but left the son in the position of co-regent. Writers of the classical period invariably speak of these queens by their title of Candace.

The Priests Defied

Ethiopia was gradually transformed into a pure Sudanese state. Its attention was directed chiefly to the negro lands on the south, and its connection with the north steadily relaxed. Once only did a queen of Meroe attempt to revive the old traditions and to enforce the Ethiopian claims to Egypt by force of arms in 23 B.C.; but Egypt was then a province of the great Roman empire. The Ethiopian attack failed miserably before the resistance of the Roman frontier troops, whose leader, Petronius, replied with a punitive expedition, which ended with the destruction of Napata, the old royal capital. The collision had no further consequences. Meroe remained independent of Rome behind the barrier of the desert and the Nile rapids. In the course of the century the kingdom became weaker and fell into a state of disruption. Previously the information received in the north concerning Meroe had been very scanty, and now all communication was cut off by the rude tribe of the Blemmyer, who began their devastating raids in the mountain country to the east of the Nubian Nile, and completely blocked the road down the Nile valley. However, fragments of the Græco-Roman civilisation were carried southward, and prevented Meroe and the Eastern Sudan in general from relapsing into utter barbarism.

Decay of the Kingdom of Meroe

It was in full accordance with the religious character of the Ethiopians that

the Christian missionaries, who eventually penetrated to their district, should have met with the unexpected success which they obtained. The date of their first appearance in Meroe is unknown; but it is certain that the disruption of the kingdom and the decay of the old priesthood were events no less favourable to their efforts than was the support gained from the infiltration of the Greek language and culture. In Nero's time the town of Meroe seems to have been in ruins. The kingdom itself was divided by its configuration into two main parts—a Nubian district, for which the name Napata reappears; and especially the south-eastern district, the centre of which was in Axum, among the sturdy mountain tribes of Abyssinia, and in close relations with Arabia. Axum had been strongly influenced by Greek civilisation. Moreover, among the people of Napata, the later Nubians, Greek influence had taken the place of Egyptian in a large degree. The only Nubian prince of whom we have any information during a long period, Silkon, who lived in the fifth or sixth century A.D., used the Greek language in an inscription, though in a barbarous form, assumed the title of Basiliskos, and compared himself with Ares, the god of war. However, at that period Axum was by far the more powerful, and in a sense the more civilised, of the two kingdoms.

Greek Culture in Meroe

It must have been shortly after Silkon's time that the conversion of Nubia to Christianity was brought about. When Mohammedanism raised its standard and subdued Egypt, in the year 639, Nubia became a refuge for the fugitive Christians, as it may have been for the Egyptian priests at an earlier age in time of dangerous revolution. Together with Axum it formed a stronghold of the Christian faith which long withstood the assaults of the Arabs. We may reasonably suppose that it was these refugees who completed the conversion of the people and fanned the flames of their religious zeal. But though Christianity has held its ground to the present day in the mountains of Abyssinia, in Nubia it eventually succumbed to the attack and persecutions of Mohammedanism. By the Arab immigration across the straits, Nubia was not only severed from Axum on the south, but was also cut off from all connection with the negro districts, a connection which is indispensable to the economic prosperity of the Sudan states.

History of Christianity in Nubia

In consequence the centre of gravity of the Christian state of Nubia again shifted northward to the modern Dongola. Its area had now been greatly reduced, and here, protected by deserts and cataracts, the little Christian kingdom offered a successful resistance to the attacks and the propaganda of Mohammedanism for a long period. A remnant of the Græco-Egyptian civilisation survived in this district at a time when elsewhere all traces of antiquity had been swept away by the stream of change. In the year 651 bands of Arabs burst into Nubia and besieged Dongola, but met with so resolute a resistance that they contented themselves with the imposition of a yearly tribute of 360 slaves, promising, moreover, to send a present of corn in return.

This connection with Egypt appears to have continued for a long period with occasional interruptions. In the tenth century we hear of various attacks delivered by the Nubians upon Egyptian territory. In the year 962 an ambassador of the Ikshid princes of Egypt was received in Dongola by the king of Nubia; his attempts to convert the king to Mohammedanism proved ineffectual. The king's declaration that his country was more powerful and populous than Egypt seems to show that even then the southern possessions had not been entirely lost. Another source of information speaks of thirteen provinces, which were administered by the high-priests. Even during this later period hereditary rights went in the female line of descent. This fact, and also the dominating position of the priesthood, is in agreement with the organisation of the old kingdom of Napata.

Christian Kingdom of Dongola

In the eleventh century the power of Nubia began to decline, although it still successfully resisted the attacks of the sultans of Egypt. During the years 1172–1174 a small Christian buffer state, which had been formed on Egyptian soil about Assouan and Elephantine—that is, north of the first cataract—was overthrown. The Nubian kingdom then seems to have been torn by internal struggles. Eventually the Egyptian sultans found that their attacks were no

longer opposed by the united forces of the country. In 1275 the town of Dongola was conquered, and David, the reigning king, expelled. After a series of conflicts which brought the Mohammedan army almost to the southern frontier of Nubia, King David was definitely driven out of the country; his nephew Shekendah became king, and Nubia was made a vassal state of Egypt, and was consequently thrown open to Mohammedan influence.

Yet the strength of the united Christian state had not been entirely broken. Such remnants of Christendom as were left in Egypt looked to Nubia for support. About the middle of the thirteenth century the threatening attitude of the ruling Kyriakos of Nubia put a stop to the Christian persecutions in Egypt; but shortly afterward the ruling dynasty in Dongola accepted Mohammedanism. It was not the old royal house which had adopted the new faith, but a usurper, apparently of the tribe of the Beni Kensy, or Kenz, near Assouan. That Nubia during this period suffered greatly from internal strife and the attacks of foreign enemies, is proved by evidence from many quarters. It seems that one of the pretenders secured the support of Egypt by adopting the Mohammedan faith. The confusion was probably evoked and fostered by the influence of the bands of Arabs who now began to spread in the Nile valley.



ZEBEHR PASHA

The most important of the petty trader-princes of the Sudan during the days of the prosperity of the Egyptian slave-trade was Zebehr Pasha, the famous slave-hunter.

When Christianity had thus lost its hold of the country it disappeared imperceptibly but inevitably. The priests diminished in numbers, the churches fell into decay, and the Christian clergy, who seem, to judge from the case of Abyssinia, to have preached a very degraded form of the Gospel, were replaced by Mohammedan missionaries; nor does it anywhere appear that the process of change was attended by any serious conflict. The ties of connection between the Christian congregations were gradually dissolved in consequence of the increased immigration of Arab tribes, and the Arabs themselves became the dominant power. Nubia thus underwent the fate of all the Sudan states—the nomadic overpowered the agricultural people.

Islam Replaces Christianity

Henceforward Nubia can hardly be considered as a self-ruled district, for the ruling power passed from one Arab group to another—changes barren of result. The Shaikiah Arabs eventually proved themselves the most powerful tribe. The general stagnation was at length disturbed by the revolutions in Egypt at the outset of the nineteenth century. In 1812 the remnant of the Egyptian Mamelukes fled to Nubia, prevented all pursuit on the part of Mehemet Ali's troops by devastating the Nile valley, and established themselves in Dongola in 1814. In 1820 the Egyptian troops succeeded in driving the Mamelukes from this retreat. Access to the Sudan proper was thus made possible, and a new and eventful period began for the districts on the Upper Nile.

Mamelukes

Dongola

Christian states also existed in the southern parts of the old kingdom of Meroe. Aloa, the capital of which must have been situated near the later Khartoum, is mentioned in the tenth century; a smaller state was the kingdom of Mokra, between Aloa and Dongola. At a later period a Mohammedan kingdom was formed, Sennar, which again was conquered and reconstituted about 1500 by the Fundj, a tribe apparently related to the Shilluk. The Fundj extended their influence over Nubia and Darfur, and probably destroyed the last remnants of the Christian states on the Upper Nile. At the same time it seems likely that the Fundj migrations were closely connected with the movements of the Galla, who brought fearful destruction upon the Christian kingdom in Abyssinia about the same period.

As the power of Sennar declined, the kings of Darfur were able to extend their influence beyond Kordofan to the Nile, and even to make Sennar tributary to themselves for some period of time. About twenty small principalities existed on the Nile from Sennar northward toward Dongola, so that Egypt had no great obstacles to surmount when it addressed itself to the

task of extending its influence southward. Mehemet Ali, who had conquered the Mamelukes in 1811 and was striving to make himself independent of the Porte, had every reason for employing the wealth and the admirable soldiery of the Sudan for the struggle which lay before him. The first step to this end was the conquest of Dongola. When the Shaikiah Arabs, the real masters of Nubia, recognised the intentions of Egypt, with which they had joined hands against the Mamelukes, they offered a desperate but fruitless resistance. In 1820 the Egyptian troops, under the command of Ismail, a son of Mehemet Ali, renewed their advance southward. One detachment invaded Sennar, another turned upon Kordofan, both attempts being attended with success. However, the country remained in the hands of the Egyptians, was exposed to the rapacity of the officials for ten years, and was shattered by the occasional revolts of the desperate population. The free negro races on the south felt the weight of the new yoke in all its severity. Their land became more than ever an area for the operations of the slave-hunters.

Mehemet Ali in the Sudan

The inexhaustible supply of black slaves and ivory in the Upper Nile districts was not clearly manifest until the Government sent several expeditions up the White Nile and established communication with those districts without much difficulty. Ivory was at first the staple article of trade. Slaves were occasionally captured or purchased, to be given in exchange for the valuable commodities offered for sale by the natives, who themselves without exception were anxious to acquire slaves. By degrees slave-hunting inevitably became the more important occupation. The native tribes, who lived in their usual state of mutual hostility, aroused the avarice of the traders, with whom they allied themselves against their neighbours. By this means they gained a temporary accession of strength, ultimately falling victims to the rapacity of the slave-hunters. By such processes Egyptian influence was steadily extended—at any rate, indirectly—in the negro lands. The Government had only to follow in the tracks of the traders. Among those traders who ruled as petty princes in their own sphere of plunder, and naturally could not remain permanently at peace with the Government, the most important was Zebehr of Dar Fertit. The ivory and slave trade had enjoyed only a few decades of prosperity when a storm of indignation was aroused by the expostulations of European missionaries and explorers against this destructive system. Egypt was at that time anxious to be considered a civilised state, and was forced to yield to the pressure. The vice-regent, Said Pasha, appeared in person at Khartoum in 1855, curtly prohibited the slave trade, and especially forbade his officials to make their customary raids into negro territory, an edict which cut off the larger part of their income. The consequence was that the slave trade, if more dangerous, was also more lucrative, and that the officials covered their loss of income by bribes and hush-money.

Growth and Death of the Slave Trade

European influence, and therefore opposition to the slave trade, greatly increased in Egypt upon the accession of Ismail Pasha in 1863. He was a man devoted to Western culture, determined, rather out of vanity than from inward conviction, to declare himself in favour of reform and progress in every direction. At that moment the Englishman, Samuel Baker, had returned from his journey to the Albert Nyanza by the Upper Nile with the intention of procuring the assistance of the Egyptian Government against the slave-traders. Ismail supported his plans. In 1869 Baker Pasha entered the Upper Nile district with a small army, and by 1873 had succeeded in extending the Egyptian rule to Lake Albert and the frontiers of Unyoro. General Charles Gordon was now called in to reduce the Sudan to order. During the years 1874–1877, Gordon, under the greatest difficulties, was occupied in bringing the undertakings begun by Baker on the Upper Nile to a conclusion. In 1877 he was appointed pasha and governor-general. He was then called to Darfur by a revolt raised by Zebehr's son Sulaiman, who was defeated and killed in 1879–1880 by the Italian Romolo Gessi. Gordon, however, had been very feebly supported from Cairo. He despaired of completing his task and resigned.

Gordon's Work in the Sudan

And so we reach the last phase in the history of the Egyptian Sudan. It dates from the beginning of the Mahdist revolt in 1881, of which the story has already been told in the concluding chapter of our account of Egypt.



ABYSSINIA'S MOUNTAIN KINGDOM

ITALY'S DREAM OF A COLONIAL EMPIRE

THE highland country of Abyssinia, with its sheer descent to the sea on the east, forms a natural fortress, comparatively easy for hostile access on the southern side alone. The ethnical and political development of the country has entirely conformed to these natural conditions. In the south there is little political union, and the supremacy of the Abyssinian nationality is by no means absolute. In the west the rivers flowing down from the highlands point the way to the Nile and the ancient civilisation of Meroe. Here lie the gates through which some portion of Abyssinian civilisation made its way into the highlands. But the most permanent and decisive influence came from the coast, where the path of the world's commerce passed for thousands of years—a commerce which was almost destroyed for a time by the discovery of the maritime route to India, but has recovered more than its former brilliancy by the opening of the Suez Canal. The various influences which have affected Abyssinia are reflected in the composition of its people. The nucleus of the population, and probably the oldest stock, were Hamitic tribes, related to the Nubians and in a more remote degree to the Egyptians. The inhabitants of Punt, the ancient land of frankincense, also seem to have been Hamites. This people covered all the coastline of the Gulf of Aden and was further in touch with the later Phœnicians. Probably here, as in the rest of the Sudan, the frontiers of the negro races lay further northward than in our own times, though it is possible that the climatic conditions of Abyssinia were unsuitable for the negroes. At the present day pure negro tribes inhabit the central parts of the Blue Nile. To the Hamitic was added a strong Semitic element from the neighbouring land of Arabia. A Semitic language eventually became the universal idiom, the Geez, which is now dead and is used only in the church services, but is represented by two daughter languages, the Amharish and the Tigrish.

A Path of the World's Commerce

The first seeds of higher civilisation must have come to Abyssinia from Egypt by way of the kingdom of Napata, and naturally developed here at a later time than in Nubia. In the course of years, however, the highlands made greater progress than did Meroe and gave proof of stronger powers of resistance. This is partly accounted for by the configuration of the country, which has produced a sturdier type of humanity than the hot districts on the banks of the Nile, and especially by the neighbourhood of Arabia and of the Red Sea, with its constant stream of traffic. When the connection between Meroe and Egypt came to an end the former naturally relapsed into barbarism and ultimately succumbed to the attacks of its enemies; but in the case of Abyssinia separation from the Nile valley did not imply degeneration, but only obliged the country to strengthen its connection with Arabia and the seafaring races.

Birth of Abyssinian Civilisation

The cradle of the Abyssinian civilisation and ruling power was the modern Tigre; that is to say, the most northerly province and the one nearest to the sea. South-west of Adua are yet to be seen the ruins of the old Ethiopian capital of Axum, with its obelisks and pillars, the style of which plainly points to Egypt, the parent of all early Ethiopian culture. When the kingdom of Axum became an independent power it is impossible to say. It apparently rose as an offshoot of the Arab coast kingdom Habashat, about the beginning of the Christian era. Some information upon the early history of the country is to be gained from the Abyssinian legends, According to these sources, the founder of the town of Axum was a son of Ham, called Cush, so that the kingdom was founded shortly after the Flood. From a son of Cush named Ethiops

Ancient Ethiopian Kingdom

it received the name of Ethiopia, which it divided with Meroe at an earlier period; but to this name it is now the sole claimant, and it appears to the present day in the official title of the Abyssinian ruler. The legend is conjoined with another Biblical story, that, in the eleventh century B.C., Maketa, queen of Sheba ruled in Axum, and paid a visit to King Solomon, and their son, Menilek Ebn-Hakim, afterwards known as King David I., became the founder of the Ethiopian dynasty, and from him the rulers trace their descent to the present day.

Solomon's Son King of Abyssinia

The truth seems to be that civilisation was not fairly established in Axum until the age when Greek influence became predominant throughout the ancient world. While the Ptolemies ruled over Egypt the coast of the Red Sea was constantly visited by ivory traders and others. A trading station, Adulis, was founded near the modern Massowa, and military expeditions were even made into the interior. Greek was gradually adopted as the language of the court, the Greek mythology was partly borrowed or amalgamated with native beliefs, and Greek art and culture were patronised, at least by the nobility.

Several centuries of the Christian era had elapsed when Abyssinia reached the highest point of its prosperity, which was attained about the period when the first Christian missionaries penetrated to the Abyssinian highlands. To the year 333 belongs the boastful inscription which proclaims the king Uizanas, or Aeizanes, as ruler, not only of Northern Abyssinia, but also of large areas in Southern Arabia, thus showing that the kingdom of Axum was then the dominant power on the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb. In his inscription Uizanas calls himself a son of the war god Ares; but he may himself have favoured the introduction of Christianity and have received baptism from Frumentius, the apostle of the Abyssinians. The introduction of Christianity definitely determined the course of spiritual development to be followed by Abyssinia. In this case it was no thin veneer of new doctrine to be wiped away by the lapse of time. In spite of all the calamities of fate Christianity remained permanent.



RUINS OF AXUM, CAPITAL OF ETHIOPIA
According to tradition, Axum was founded after the Flood by a son of Ham. Remains of the king's seat are shown here.

The succeeding period is shrouded in obscurity; tradition has handed down nothing but a list of kings. Abyssinia maintained its influence in Southern Arabia, though with the consequence that it became thoroughly saturated with Semitic civilisation. However, communication was steadily maintained with the Greek world. About the year 532 the emperor Justinian is said to have ordered Caleb, the ruler of Axum, to put a stop to the persecutions of the Christians which the Jews had begun in Southern Arabia. Caleb obeyed, and took the opportunity of greatly extending the Abyssinian power, which seems to have been slowly retrograding. In 571, the year of Mahomet's birth, an Abyssinian general made an unsuccessful campaign against Mecca. Southern Arabia was then abandoned, ostensibly in consequence of the ravages of smallpox among the Ethiopian troops. Then came the first waves of the Mohammedan movement, which passed harmlessly by, so far as Abyssinia was concerned. But Christianity was to undergo another trial: the old dynasty known as Solomon's was expelled for centuries by a Jewish family. Jews, known as "Falasha," inhabit Abyssinia at the present day, and there can be no doubt that they originally migrated from Arabia into the African mountains. Israelite nomads are known to have migrated from antiquity to Arabia and to have advanced to the south of the peninsula, and Mahomet's first campaigns were directed against Jewish nomad tribes in the neighbourhood of Medina.

Abyssinians at the Gates of Mecca

It was during the ninth century of our chronology that king Delnaod of the old Solomon dynasty was driven from the throne by a Jewess. Judith practically exterminated the old royal family and



AN ABYSSINIAN PRIEST



ABYSSINIAN COURT LADIES

secured her power in Northern Abyssinia, while the south, and Shoa in particular, probably remained independent under petty Christian rulers. After her death the crown remained in Jewish hands for more than 350 years. The striking weakness of Christianity in Abyssinia at this time is to be explained partly by the Mohammedan conquest of Egypt, which cut off communication with the rest of the Christian world. Formerly the bishops of Abyssinia had been sent out by the Patriarchs of Alexandria, and connection with the religious development of the civilised world had thus been maintained; henceforward the Abyssinians were forced to apply to the Coptic patriarchs in Cairo, whose nominees soon brought the country into a state of religious confusion and discord. It is at this period that the degeneration of Abyssinian Christianity begins.

Struggle with Islam

In the year 1262 the Jewish dynasty was overthrown by a scion of the old royal house of Solomon, the ruler Iquon Amlag of Shoa, who thus united the whole of Abyssinia under his sceptre. The leading spirit of the anti-Jewish movement was the archbishop Tekla Haimanot. It was high time for Christianity to bestir itself. Mohammedanism had long before gained a footing upon African soil, and was preparing to overthrow Nubia and Abyssinia, the two remnants of the Christian Ethiopic kingdom.

Embassies to Rome and Portugal

Abyssinia was now a united whole, and able to withstand all immediate attacks; but the danger grew ever more menacing. In their isolation the Abyssinian rulers bethought them of their co-religionists in the West. They began to reply to the messages which the popes had continued to send them at intervals. The Negus Constantine (1421-1468) even sent an embassy to Rome, and put the Abyssinians in connection with the Catholic Church. But the Negus was anxious for more than spiritual support from his European fellow-believers; he therefore turned to Portugal, where the spirit of adventurous enterprise inherent in the Western races had then reached its highest activity.

His embassy was enthusiastically received. When we remember that it was the hope of finding the legendary kingdom of Prester John which inspired the Portuguese mariners to fresh enterprises, we can well understand the satisfaction of King Alfonso V. at receiving an embassy directly from this kingdom. It was, however, impossible to send any practical help to the hard-pressed Abyssinians before the circumnavigation of the Cape of Good Hope in 1486; and after the discovery of India, in 1498, the attractions of this new acquisition claimed all the energies of Portugal. In 1514, however, a small fleet was sent to the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb, but was almost at once wrecked in a storm. Thus

Abyssinia found itself entirely alone in the hour of greatest need.

An Hour of Darkness

In the year 1527 the Turks had seized the harbour of Massowa, and concluded an alliance with the prince of Harar, Mohammed Ahmed Granj, who thought the time had now come for him to satisfy his inherited hatred of the Abyssinians. He equipped an army, which Turkish help enabled him to provide largely with firearms, whereas the Abyssinians at that time were armed only with spear and sword, and advanced through the passes into the highlands of Shoa. Spreading devastation as he went, he continued his victorious career northward, destroyed the old capital of Axum, and shook the Abyssinian nationality to its foundations. From 1537 the Galla tribes poured into the desert district between Shoa and Northern Abyssinia; their numbers had swelled to a formidable extent, and they had long been menacing the southern frontier.

At length, in 1541, a small Portuguese force under Christoforo da Gama appeared in Massowa and joined the remnants of the Ethiopian army. The Portuguese leader was slain almost immediately; but Mohammed Abu Granj also fell in the battle. The exiled king Claudius was now able to regain his grasp of the reins of power. His position was not an enviable one; the Portuguese demanded heavy compensation for the assistance they had given, the Galla were threatening the kingdom on the south, and, as if this were not enough, Rome was beginning to send out missionaries with the object of Catholicising the Abyssinian Church. The first Jesuit mission arrived in Abyssinia in 1555. Upon the death of Claudius, in 1558, civil wars broke out, for which the Jesuits may not have been wholly blameless, although it was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century that they acquired any great influence. Correctly appreciating the situation, they represented Western civilisation, and by many public services won people to Catholicism.

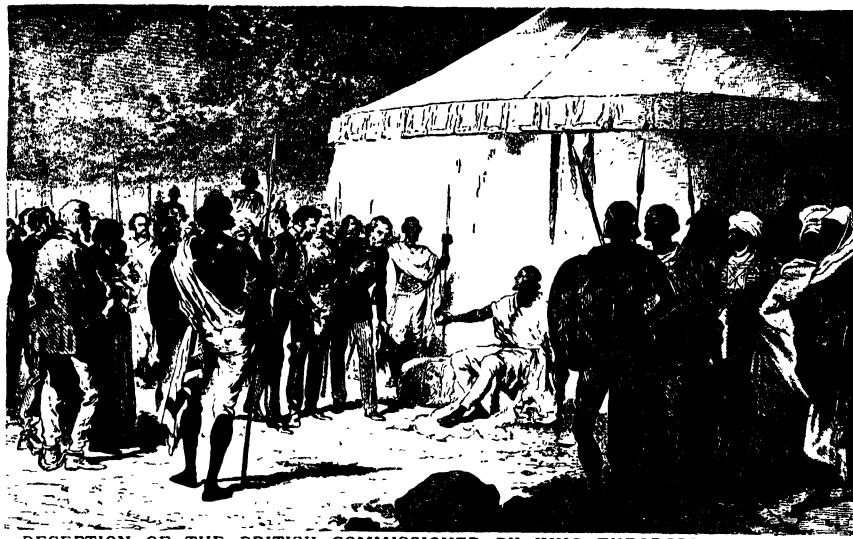
Why the Jesuits Failed

But the Abyssinian Church was thoroughly adapted to the character of the nation, and, in spite of its internal decay, was not thus to be remodelled upon a system adapted to the needs of Western civilisation. This fact the Jesuits failed to appreciate. Fazilidas, the son of King Sosnesos, took the lead of the anti-Romanist party, compelled his father to restore the Ethiopian Church, and after his accession to the throne, in 1632, destroyed the Jesuits and their adherents in 1634. All later attempts to reintroduce the propaganda of Rome failed entirely. On the contrary, the Ethiopian Church gradually connected itself with the Greek Orthodox Church, whose theology was better suited to the monophysite Abyssinians than the Romans, and thus in course of time entered into friendly relations with Russia.



FACSIMILE OF TWO PAGES FROM AN OLD ABYSSINIAN BIBLE

Christianity was introduced into Abyssinia about 350 A.D., and, in spite of all calamities, has remained permanent, though it degenerated in form, and the Ethiopian Church of Abyssinia has become connected with the Greek Orthodox Church.



RECEPTION OF THE BRITISH COMMISSIONER BY KING THEODORE OF ABYSSINIA
Theodore, Negus of Abyssinia, who fought his way to the crown in 1855, was incapable of reasonable behaviour to his European co-religionists, and missionaries suffered severely from his capricious treatment. When Mr. Rassam was sent by Great Britain to remonstrate, he was imprisoned, necessitating the expedition of Lord Napier to Magdala.

As years went by the disruptive forces within the kingdom grew stronger. The provinces achieved a greater measure of independence. The country was continually devastated by civil war, much to the advantage of the Galla, who became an influential power as the mercenaries of the princes, and nearly succeeded in making themselves supreme. Civilisation relapsed, especially in the little Abyssinian states on the south, which were separated by the Galla from the northern states. About 1750 the ambitious vassal Ras Michael made himself notorious by his bloodthirstiness. After the abdication of the Negus Tekla Haimanot, in 1777, anarchy became rampant. The princes of Tigre made more than one attempt to seize the supreme power, especially Sabagades in 1823, and after him Ubie. The latter gained possession of Tigre after a bloody conflict won by Ras Mario in 1831, and ruled as he pleased in Northern Abyssinia until 1854. About this time Ras Ali was ruling in Amhara, and acting as the protector of Saglu Denghel, the nominal monarch in Gondar, while the prince Sahela Selassie had made himself independent in Shoa.

Civil War and Disruption

But the man who was to restore the unity of Abyssinia had already begun his work. By name Kasai, the son of poor parents, though apparently of noble descent—born about 1820 as the son of the governor Hailu Maryam of Quara—he had won some reputation in true Abyssinian style as a guerrilla leader, and in 1847 became the son-in-law of the Ras Ali of Amhara. Shortly afterward he had a quarrel with his father-in-law, defeated him near Aishal in 1853, and made himself master of Amhara; in 1854 he defeated the Ras Ubie of Tigre near Debraski and thus gained possession of Northern Abyssinia. On February 4th, 1855, Kasai had himself crowned under the name of Theodore as Negus Negesti—literally, king of kings; the ceremony was performed by the Abuna Selama, who had surrendered to him in the church of Deresge Maryam.

Theodore Reunites the Kingdom

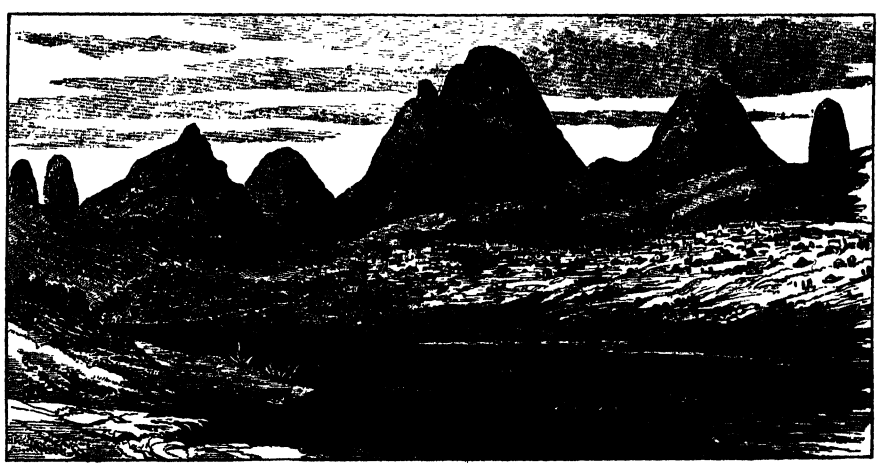
The new monarch was soon able to subdue the southern part of the country. The independent Galla princes of the highlands were conquered, and Haila Malakot, the king of Shoa, fled to a monastery in 1856; his son Menelik was allowed to ascend the throne of Shoa as the vassal of the Negus. However, peace was not even then assured to Abyssinia; revolt followed revolt in rapid succession, and the king's troops brought greater misery upon the land than the rebels, for they received neither pay nor supplies, and

devastated the country in a frightful manner. The Negus was equally incapable of reasonable behaviour to his European co-religionists. The missionaries in particular suffered from his violent and capricious temper and his distrustful character; whether, like the Catholics, they were definitely excluded from his favour, or whether, as in the case of the Protestants, a temporary display of partiality was followed by treatment correspondingly severe. In 1864 Theodore imprisoned a number of missionaries, together with the French and English consuls. When Britain sent her commissioner Rassam to remonstrate, he also was imprisoned. A British expedition, under Robert Napier—Lord Napier of Magdala—landed at Sula, or Zoulah, south of Massowa, on January 2nd, 1868. The advance into the highlands was beset with difficulty, but the British encountered practically no resistance, with the exception of an unimportant skirmish when they reached the mountain fortress of Magdala, where Theodore had taken refuge (April 10th). The Negus then released his prisoners. When the British advanced to storm the place on April 13th, the Emperor Theodore committed suicide on the next day. His son Alemajehu died shortly afterward in England.



KING JOHN OF ABYSSINIA
After the suicide of Theodore and the confusion and war following, a prince of Tigre secured the throne, assuming the name John.

Though Theodore had been able to impose only a temporary unity upon the Abyssinian kingdom, he had restored the old prestige of the crown. In Abyssinia, as in different European countries, feudal development had resulted in absolutism. After some years of warfare and confusion, the prince of Tigre, Kasai, who was nearly forty years of age, was able to defeat Gobesie, the prince of Lasta and Gojam, at Adua, on July 14th, 1871, thanks to the support of the British and the munitions of war provided by them; he then secured the chief power, and ascended the throne on January 21st, 1872, under the name of John. Hardly had he reached the goal of his ambition when he found himself involved in a quarrel with Egypt, which desired to carry out its East Sudan policy in the case of Abyssinia also. The Egyptian troops, under Werner Munzinger Bey, the governor of Massowa, occupied in 1872 two districts belonging to Abyssinia—namely, Bogos and Mensa in the North. John was then occupied in suppressing a revolt among his vassal princes and was unable to prevent this encroachment. The Khedive Ismail was emboldened by



GENERAL VIEW OF ADUA, THE CAPITAL OF THE MOUNTAIN STATE OF ABYSSINIA

his success and determined upon the final conquest of Abyssinia in 1875. When he ordered his troops to advance into Tigre, the Negus John collected his forces and utterly destroyed the Egyptian army, who were led by Arakel Bey and Axendroop, a former Danish colonel, in the battle of Gudda-Guddi. Another attempt of the Egyptians in the following year ended in almost equal disaster. Prince Hasan was totally defeated at Gura on March 7th, 1876, and with difficulty escaped to Massowa with a remnant of his troops. Menelik of Shoa then submitted when John marched against him in 1879, and the two princes made peace. In 1880 Ras Adal of Gojam followed the example of Menelik. At that moment a European Power conceived the idea of extending its supremacy over Abyssinia. Before the general rush of the Powers for territory in Africa had begun, Italy had been induced by P. St. Mancini to secure a trading station and a point of ingress to Central Africa on the bay of Assab, near the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb. When the general partition of Africa began, the Italians turned their attention to Abyssinia, whose favourable situation and Alpine climate appeared specially adapted to the needs of European immigrants. The state of affairs in the Sudan, which was then practically in the hands of the Mahdists, was all in favour of the Italian undertaking, since British policy in Egypt was by no means opposed to the appearance of another friendly Power in the neighbourhood. Thus Italy met with no opposition when she sent her fleet to Massowa in February, 1885, and declared an area of about 600 square miles on the coast to be an Italian protectorate. As the climate of the coast proved unhealthy, part of the neighbouring Abyssinian highlands was soon occupied.



KING MENELIK II.
Menelik, who was Prince of Tigre, gained the throne in 1890, and has raised Abyssinia to unprecedented prosperity.



MENELIK'S QUEEN
The queen Taï Tou is Menelik's principal wife. She has the sole right to use a coloured umbrella and gold jewellery.

By this time the strength of the Ethiopian kingdom had been considerably increased, and in its resistance to Italy it was encouraged by certain of the European states. Russia and France, already anxious to place obstacles before the Triple Alliance, had reasons of their own for opposing any extension of Italian power. France, which had also gained a footing on the coast, looked on Italy as an intruder, and Russia was in relations with the Ethiopian Church. This dual alliance, and the support which it gave to Abyssinia, undoubtedly contributed in no small degree to the ultimate defeat of the Italian plans.

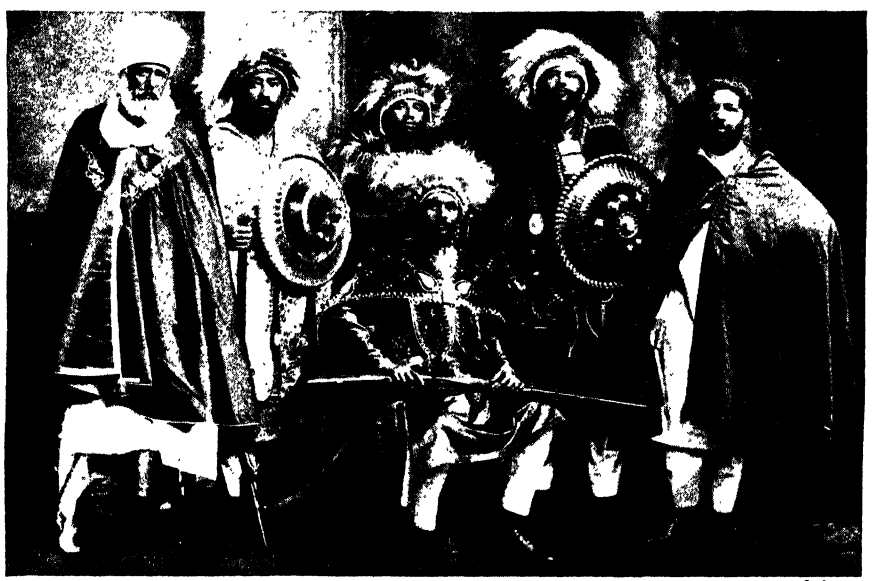
On January 26th, 1887, occurred the first collision between the Italians and the Abyssinian troops under Ras Alula. A small Italian column was destroyed at Dogali, or Saati, but an attack upon the fortified positions was repulsed with heavy loss to the Abyssinians. In the next year the Negus himself marched against the Italians, who had been considerably reinforced, but avoided a battle in view of the favourable position which his enemies had occupied. On March 9th, 1889, the emperor John fell at Metemmeh, fighting against the Mahdists in Galabat. His nephew Ras Mangasha, who should have inherited the kingdom upon the premature death of the crown prince Area, was not recognised.

There was but one possible successor to the Negus John, Menelik II. of Shoa, born in 1844 at Ankober, the son of the then crown prince Ailu Malakot, and the most powerful vassal in the kingdom since 1878. With great foresight he ceded a large part of Tigre to Uccialli on May 2nd, 1889, which, together with the coast line, was formed into the colony of Erythrea.

On September 29th, he accepted the extension of the Italian protectorate over Abyssinia. The districts south of Shoa were then subdued with general success. Harar and Kassa recognised Menelik's supremacy, and Abyssinian outposts were stationed on the Central Juba as far as Berdera. The dangers of Mahdism, which was beating upon the gates, were soon averted, in particular by the Italian occupation of Kassala on June 17th, 1894. Menelik, being now freed in that quarter, could renew his opposition to Italy.

In consequence of the continual outbreak of small disturbances on the frontier, the Italians, under the major-general and civil governor of Erythrea, Oreste Baratieri, crossed the boundary river Mareb in 1894, and at Coatit and Senafe, on January 13th and 16th, 1895, scattered the Abyssinians under Ras Mangasha in Tigre, and garrisoned the important post of Adigrat. They had shortly before strengthened their flank against the Mahdists by the capture of Kassala, already mentioned. Meanwhile, Menelik was making preparations, to which Baratieri replied by occupying Adua on April 1st, and shortly afterward the fortress of Makale, south of Adigrat. But on December 7th, 1895, the Italian outpost—1,050 men—under Major Toselli was almost destroyed at Amba-Aladji, and Major Galliano, with 1,500 men, was blockaded at Makale. Though additional supplies of money and troops were sent out to Major-General Baratieri, that officer remained incapable of dealing with the state of affairs. Makale was surrendered January 20th, 1896, the garrison stipulating that their withdrawal should be unmolested. Some of the native allies seceded from the Italians, and an Abyssinian army threatened the line of retreat to Adigrat. In this desperate situation Baratieri suffered a defeat on March 1st, 1896, at Adua, which entirely overthrew the Italian power in Abyssinia. In the peace of Addis-Abeba, on October 26th, 1896, Menelik was content to secure the recognition of Abyssinian independence and to limit the colony of Erythrea to the area which it had occupied before 1889.

Thus the dream of a great Italian colonial empire passed away. Meanwhile, Russia and France continued the work of establishing their influence in Abyssinia to their own commerical advantage. Menelik has latterly found time to secure his conquests in the south, to subdue the refractory Ras Mangasha in 1898, to set Ras Makonnen over Tigre in 1899, and to raise the power of Abyssinia to its present height, unprecedented in the history of the country.



Lafayette

RAS MAKONNEN, PRINCE OF THE ABYSSINIAN PROVINCE OF TIGRE WITH HIS SUITE



THE GOLD COAST AND SLAVE COAST

GEOGRAPHICALLY speaking, Senegambia is a transition point between negritic West Africa and the Sudan. With the latter it is brought into connection by the proximity of the desert and of the desert tribes and the rivers communicating with the interior, while its affinity with the former, is shown by the pure negro substratum of its population. The remnants of several peoples in a low stage of civilisation are now settled upon the coast to the south-west as far as Sierra Leone. The Jolof are the most important race in the country; when they first become known to us historically, in 1846, we find them thoroughly well organised politically, though already entering upon a period of retrogression. At an earlier period the Jolof had probably extended much farther into the interior. About 1500, the larger part of Senegambia seems to have formed a fairly uniform state under a Burba-Jolof or Great-Wolof, whose district included even the mountain country of Futa; but shortly afterwards the kingdom falls into a number of petty states, constantly at war with one another—Cayor, Baol, Ualo, Sine, and others—although the tradition of their earlier unity has not even yet entirely faded. It is highly probable that the fall of the Jolof kingdom is to be connected with the rise of the Fulbe military power at that period—in other words, with the events then occurring in the Sudan proper.

Tribes Without History

With the Jolof we have to mention the Serer, the Barbacin of the Portuguese, the inhabitants of the coast about Cape Verde, who maintained themselves in partial independence of the Jolof and preserved the tradition that they had migrated to the coast from the interior at an early period—in the fifteenth century.

In fact, however, we can hardly speak of the "history" of the scarcely distinguished tribes which have been more or less predominant along the coast. It is not till we come to Ashanti and Dahomeh, behind the actual coastal tribes, that we meet with what can be called states. Although these two states appear to be primordial in their origin, yet it was European influence which brought about their rise. Both are very similar in their manner of development and their customs, and both lie behind the belt of forest which protects the interior by impeding any advance from the coast. The power of both Ashanti and Dahomeh is founded upon the same basis, and the final destruction of their independence came to pass very nearly at the same time.

Ashanti and Dahomeh

Ashanti does not appear as a historical state before the end of the seventeenth century. The name of the new kingdom was first known on the Gold Coast about 1700. In physique, language, and customs the Ashanti population is closely related to many of the dwellers upon the Gold Coast, among whom the Fanti are the most powerful tribe. They themselves, however, have a tradition that their original home was near the town Inta, or Assienta, north-west of the territory they now occupy. We may, therefore, assume that the Ashantis, together with the later inhabitants of the Gold Coast, undertook one of those migrations to the sea of which we hear in the case of other peoples, and that during their progress part of the original race failed to penetrate to the coast and remained behind the forest belt on the first terraces of the highlands.

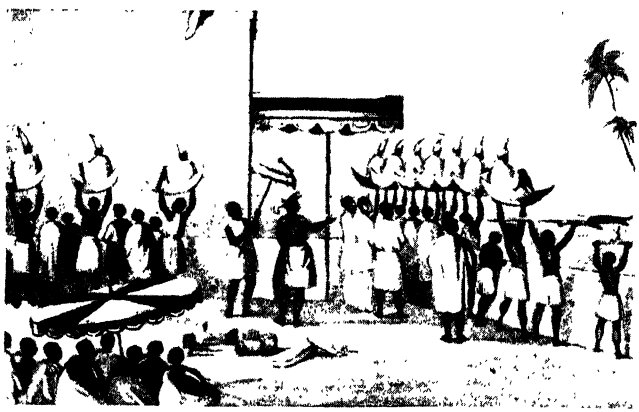
Before the rise of Ashanti a state appears to have existed in the interior, the capital of which lay to the south of the modern royal residence of Kumassi; according to Ashanti tradition the state was known as Denkjera. The Ashanti are said to have been exasperated by excessive demands for tribute, to have revolted at the beginning of the eighteenth century, and to have utterly defeated the ruler of Denkjera under their king, Osai Tutu, or Sai Totu, in the year 1719, although the former brought cannon into the field, which he had brought from the

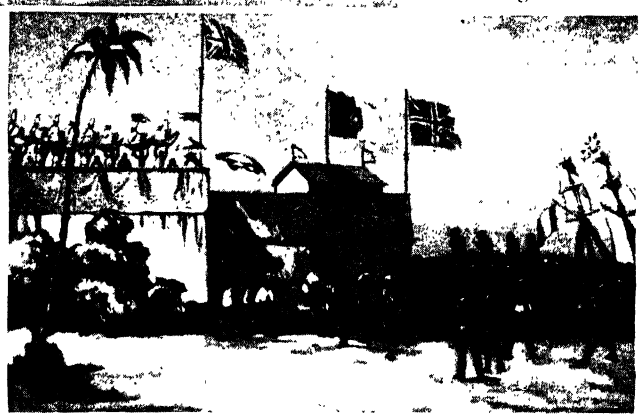
Birth of the State of Ashanti

Dutch in exchange for slaves. There is the less doubt about the fact of this victory, as the cannon were preserved in Kumassi until modern times and have been seen there by Europeans. But the real cause of the collision, and the consequent domination of Ashanti, was undoubtedly the exigencies of the slave trade. The Denkjera tried to obtain supplies by raiding the Ashantis; the Ashantis overthrew the Denkjera, and took over the business.

The slave trade was largely to blame for those bloody hecatombs in honour of dead kings which were a regular part of a funeral ceremonial in Ashanti and Dahomeh. The custom of sacrificing human beings to the dead is found among many savage peoples of Africa, but in few cases did it grow to such cruel proportions as in Ashanti and Dahomeh; there it is to be referred to the low value set upon human life, which is the inevitable consequence of continual warfare, and also to the fluctuations in the slave trade, which often made it impossible to export all the slaves on hand at a profitable rate. Sometimes a sudden rise in prices saved the victims already doomed to death; for instance, in the year 1791 the king of Dahomeh determined, in consequence of a sudden demand for slaves, to slaughter comparatively few of the captives taken in war and to send the remainder down to the coast.

Osai Tutu, the founder of the Ashanti kingdom, fell in an expedition against the coast tribe of Axim. His successors, foiled in an attack on Dahomeh, directed their excursions mainly to the north; at the close of the eighteenth century they defeated the Sudanese cavalry in several engagements. However, the north could not offer a sufficient supply of slaves to meet the existing demand. Hence the energetic Osai Kwamena, who ruled in Kumassi from 1800 to 1824, first reduced the Mohammedan countries upon his northern frontier, and in 1807 led his armies against the coast tribes of the Fanti and disturbed the peace of the European forts. In 1811 and 1816 he repeated his invasions with such success that the British agreed to the payment of a subsidy. When the Governor of Sierra Leone, Charles McCarthy, refused payment, he was defeated and killed by Kwamena, on January 21st, 1824. This was the beginning of the hostilities which were inevitably to bring about the





HUMAN SACRIFICE AS FORMERLY PRACTISED IN DAHOMEH
In Ashanti and Dahomeh the custom of human sacrifice grew to cruel proportions. These illustrations show the sacrifice of prisoners captured in war by King Gezo.

fall of Ashanti in course of time. Kwamena's successor again advanced upon the Gold Coast, but the new governor, Niel Campbell, inflicted a terrible defeat upon him, and under the next king, Kwaku Dua (1830–1867), Ashanti remained at peace for a long time. A new war, very much against the will of the peaceful monarch, broke out in 1863, ostensibly against certain of the coast tribes, but also against the British, under whose protection these tribes were living. At first no event of importance took place. In 1868 Kofi, or Kalkalli, ascended the throne of Ashanti, and in 1871–1872 the British took over certain places from the Dutch — Axim, Sekundi, Tshama, Elmina, Anomabo, Apang — and disturbances began upon the coast in consequence. An Ashanti army then appeared in the British protectorate, for the Ashantis looked upon the Gold Coast as a tributary district, where no changes could be made without their sanction. The first campaign ended in long negotiations, until in 1873 the Ashanti army again advanced. This time the British determined to make an end of so undignified a situation. European troops were sent into the country under the command of Sir Garnet Wolseley, as he then was. After a toilsome passage through the region of primeval forest the king's army was totally defeated on January 31st, 1874. On February 4th the capital, Kumassi, was reached and burned on the following day. The Ashanti terror was at an end. The corner of the coast between Ashanti and Dahomeh, the modern Togoland, is inhabited, especially in its mountainous districts, by a very mixed population, which must have suffered greatly in the wars of the neighbour states. But here also greater uniformity is gradually rising by more peaceful methods, as the language and civilisation of the Ewe races, which are related to the Dahomeh people, are steadily spreading. The old languages of the inhabitants are partly retained as "fetish dialects."



KING GEZO OF DAHOMEH

During whose reign the prosperity of Dahomeh began to decay owing to the cessation of the slave-trade, raids being made almost entirely for victims for the infamous human sacrifices.

The history of Dahomeh is very similar to that of Ashanti, although it begins at an earlier period. It contains, however, noticeable points of difference, arising in great measure from the configuration of the country. In the first place, the influence of Dahomeh upon the coast has been greater than that of Ashanti, as the European settlements on the Slave Coast were of less importance than on the Gold Coast. Moreover, Abomeh, the capital of Dahomeh, is situated far nearer to the sea than Kumassi. In the second



DAHOMEH AMAZON



DAHOMEH WARRIOR

The ferocious soldiers of Dahomeh, especially the famous Amazon Guard, were a terror to all neighbouring races.

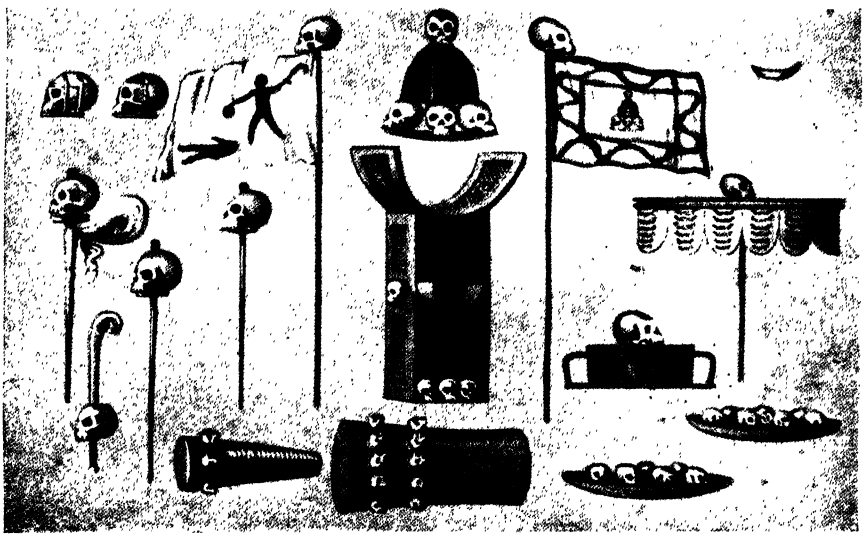
place, Dahomeh was for a long period in some way dependent upon a state with Sudanese civilisation, Oyo, which again seems to have been tributary to the kingdom of Nupe, on the Niger. In the country itself the faith of Islam took so strong a hold in course of time that in the year 1855 the Mohammedans actually planned an insurrection.

Among the people of Dahomeh, the Fon, the tradition runs that they had migrated from the interior of the continent to their present territory. Like the Ashanti, they are the most important members of a group of races related by language, the Ewe peoples, or Asigheh, who extended from the Volta as far as Yoruba and the Niger. The pure dialect of Dahomeh is also spoken in certain places on the coast—in Weidah, in Badagry, an old centre of the slave trade, and in the Mohammedan island of Lagos.



KING BEHANZIN OF DAHOMEH
The last native ruler, who was deposed in 1892, when France took possession.

The rise of the kingdom of Dahomeh was certainly brought about by a course of events similar to those which occurred in Ashanti. The ruling dynasty, to which the foundation of the state must be ascribed, has remained upon the throne until modern times. The first ruler, Takudua, is said to have come forward in 1625. As the line of dead monarchs increased in number, the hecatombs in their honour appear to have become larger and more frequent. The king also had viceroys of a kind, known as "princes of the forest," he himself bearing the title of "prince of the town." In spite of the rather low population the military power of Dahomeh was always important, and became a terror to all neighbouring races in consequence of their constant drill, their incessant campaigns, and their ferocious bravery. Most extraordinary is the fact that even the female part of the population contributed a strong and especially formidable contingent to the army, the "Amazon guard." This institution was no doubt a remnant of the matriarchal stage of society; the Amazon legends of European



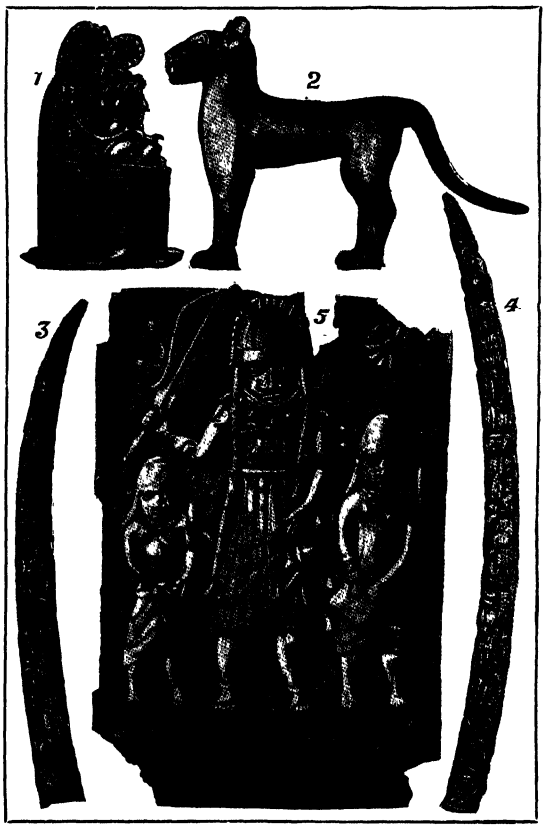
THE MURDER MANIA OF DAHOMEH ILLUSTRATED IN ITS ART
The custom of sacrificing human beings on funeral and other occasions grew in but few cases to such cruel proportions as it did in Dahomeh and Ashanti, where the low value set on human life was a consequence of the continual warfare and fluctuations in the slave trade. The custom is reflected in the decorative use of the skull.

and Asiatic peoples possibly point to a similar state of affairs; but it may have come into use at a period when the male strength of the community had been brought very low by endless wars. This is the more probable in view of the fact that the kings of Dahomeh were accustomed to put every one into the field who could stand upright, in order to terrify their enemies with the appearance of overpowering numbers. The enormous losses of men finally brought the kingdom to such a pass that very few pure-blooded Dahomeans remained, and their place was taken by the children of slaves belonging to neighbouring races.

The Amazons of Dahomeh

For a long time the affairs of Dahomeh attracted very little attention from Europeans, until, in 1723-1724, and again in 1727-1728, the king Guadja Trudo appeared on the coast, conquered the rulers of Popo and Weidah and reduced them to vassalage. Several European factories were destroyed on this expedition, and many Europeans were carried off to the new capital of Allada—which was later exchanged for Abomeh; they were, however, released later on, with the single exception of the English governor of Weidah, who had to pay for his hostility to Dahomeh with his life. After the subjugation of the coast, the slave trade revived considerably; Weidah and the neighbouring harbours were the most important export stations for these black cargoes, and the name "Slave Coast" recalls that disgraceful epoch even today. An attempt of the coast races to reconquer Weidah in 1763 was a total failure. The ruler who succeeded Guadja Trudo (1708-1730) was greatly his inferior in warlike zeal, and as the coast was now tributary to Dahomeh, he directed his armies against the less known races of the interior. He overran the district of Togo, which lies between Ashanti and Dahomeh; in the first half of the nineteenth century Ashanti itself is said to have been tributary to him. On the other side his expeditions seem to have penetrated as far as Benin. The gradual cessation of the slave trade by sea naturally had a great effect upon Dahomeh, as the state's existence depended upon this traffic. The continuance of their raids may be partially explained by the fact that some demand for slaves existed in the Mohammedan states on the north, but chiefly by the bloody funeral sacrifices which took place at certain periods of the year, and were almost invariably preceded by a raid into neighbouring territory. Conquest upon a large scale was a thing of the past. Such was the condition of Dahomeh in the last years of Gezo, and under his successors Bahadung, Gelele, and Behanzin, until

The Disgraceful Slave Coast



THE WONDERFUL NEGRO ART OF BENIN

Marvellously carved elephant tusks (3 and 4) and admirably cast bronzes in Benin in 1897. The technical perfection of the casting of a winged negro (1), the panther (2), and the chieftain (5), is extraordinary.

Colonel Dodds took possession of the country in the name of France in 1892, and put an end to the bloody rule of the old royal house.

If Ashanti and Dahomeh are to be considered as the head and front of the negro resistance to Sudanese influence, Yoruba is remarkable as being the district where the civilisation, the religion, and the trade of the Sudan are most deeply rooted even as far as the coast. But it is only the civilisation of the fair Sudanese races, and not their political power, that is a modifying factor in this district. In the north the town of Ibadan is the main bulwark against the Fulbe. In the south the constitutional principality of Abbeokuta is in a flourishing condition; it was founded as a refuge state about 1820–1825, and the population increased rapidly.

An End to the Reign of Murder

On the other hand, the kingdom of Benin, which had been practically inaccessible to Europeans for a long period, forms a parallel to Ashanti and Dahomeh in certain respects. It was not until the British stormed the capital in the spring of 1897 that information was forthcoming upon the bloody sacrificial customs there prevailing; at the same time material evidence of the highest importance both for the history of the country and for negro art was brought to light in the shape of old bronzes and ivory carvings. These productions mark the culminating point of a native West African art, hardly touched by any external influence. The clothing of the different Europeans represented shows that these works were completed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—at any rate, hardly earlier than 1550; therefore the kingdom of Benin must have been at the height of its prosperity and in communication with the Portuguese about that period. It remains uncertain whether it was European influence which brought the art of brass founding to the high technical perfection which it attained; but in any case the Benin bronzes are evidence for the artistic gifts of the West Africans, and help to point the contrast with the utter lack of artistic talent among the South and East Africans.

Wonderful Negro Art of Benin

At the close of the eighteenth century, when antipathy to the slave trade was rising in England, which had on her hands a number of slaves liberated during the American War of Independence, various attempts were made to settle and to civilise liberated slaves on the coast of Africa: these attempts were by no means unsuccessful in Sierra Leone, where the movement was very sensibly directed by the English Government. A few decades later, Liberia was founded from North America. In that country a society was formed in the year 1816—the American Colonisation Society for colonising the free people of colour of the United States—the object of which was to return liberated negroes to Africa and to form them into an organised colony.

After several failures, the colony was founded on Cape Mesurado, and in 1822 obtained a constitution under the name of Liberia, but was governed for some time longer by a white agent, Ashmun, who may be considered the real founder of Liberia; he succeeded in organising the somewhat helpless elements of the new state, and in considerably extending its area. The number of immigrants steadily increased. In 1835 the temperance party founded a special colony, Maryland, which was joined to Liberia in 1857; other companies were content to found individual settlements within the Liberian territory. At length the hostility of Britain, who declined to recognise the supremacy of the American Colonisation Company, forced the Liberians to declare their independence on July 26th, 1847; they placed their country under a republican constitution elaborated by Professor Greenleaf, of Harvard University. Roberts, who had hitherto acted as governor, was chosen president, and the first negro governor, Stephen Allen Benson, was elected in 1855. Immigration from America gradually declined, the first hardy colonists died out, and their descendants proved an inferior stock. This deterioration became terribly plain abroad upon the contraction of a loan of £100,000 sterling in 1871, which Liberia obtained upon terms incredibly disadvantageous. In the year 1914 the population consisted of 10,000 "Americans," the immigrants from America and their descendants, and of the natives of the coast, who numbered two millions. On the appointment of an American Receiver-General of Customs, in 1912, a loan of £340,000 was made to Liberia at 5 per cent. by British, American, French, and German bankers.

Negro Republic of Liberia



FROM THE KAMERUN TO THE HORN OF AFRICA

AS we pass eastwards from the coast still less is known of the tribes which form the transition zone between the Sudan and the Bantu negroes. The first group we meet with are the Niam-Niam, or Makaraka, a name properly applied to the most eastern branch of the race, and sometimes extended to include the whole.

They call themselves Sandeh. Their district lies on the northern tributaries of the Upper Ubangi; the population is by no means uniform in character, the land being sprinkled with remnants of peoples half or wholly subjugated. When the Niam-Niam were first visited by Europeans they were undoubtedly in the course of a northward advance. Possibly they were originally connected with the Fan of the west coast; but they must have been in contact with the races of the Congo itself for a long period. This is evidenced by the characteristic throwing-knife of the Niam-Niam—which is wholly unlike that of the Fan, and is found among the dwellers on the Congo about the mouth of the Aruwimi—as also by the fierce cannibal habits which distinguish them sharply from the races on the Upper Nile. To these latter the Niam-Niam were objects of hatred and disgust by reason of their cannibal customs. The name "Niam-Niam" was given them by the Denka, and denotes "devourer."

A Fierce Race of Cannibals

The people of Mangbattu, on the sources of the Ubangi, resemble the Niam-Niam in many points, though they are, or rather were, upon a far higher level of civilisation. They are in many respects a mysterious race. A great deal in their civilisation reminds us of the Wahuma states on the great lakes, especially their use of pounded bark as clothing material. Their general practice of cannibalism connects them with the Congo races. It is however remarkable that the weapon characteristic of this zone of transition, the throwing-knife, is not found among the Mangbattu. Their traditions point to an immigration from the west, and not from the east; nevertheless they show unmistakable traces of Hamitic blood. George Schweinfurth, the first European to visit the Mangbattu, found them governed in 1871 by two supreme chiefs, Munsa and Degberra. On the north the land was divided by a frontier of desert from the territory of the Niam-Niam.

Hunters Become Hunted

On the south lived pure negro races in a low state of civilisation, known by the Mangbattu as Momsu and Mambode. South-west were the remarkable dwarf people, the Akka, which were partly subject to the chief Munsa. The Mangbattu made constant raids in true Sudanese style into the territory of their southern and south-eastern neighbours, and sold the slaves, whom they captured, to the Nubian merchants, who had even then found their way to the northern tributaries of the Congo, until eventually the Mangbattu became the hunted instead of the hunters. Their power collapsed upon the fall of Munsa in 1873.

A transition to the races of the Nile valley is formed by a group of peoples inhabiting the highlands about the southern tributaries of the Gazelle River, of whom the Bongo are the most important. Their comparatively fair colour and several of their manners and customs seem to connect them with the Niam-Niam, though in other points they rather resemble the true Nile negroes.

When we reach the upper channel of the White Nile and the Bahr el-Ghazal we come upon a chain of pure negro tribes which has found a refuge from the attacks of advancing migrations and has dwelt in security for thousands of years. Pottery akin to what these tribes make at the present day is found at a depth of seven or eight feet, which points to their having occupied this region since a remote antiquity. This, moreover, is borne out by their peculiar anthropological character; a very definite development in precise adaptation to their environment. Thus the more northern races of the Upper Nile valley have become typical swamp

The Races of the Upper Nile

peoples. In comparison with the inhabitants of the rocky highlands which surround the Nile valley, the Shilluk, Nuér and Dinka present the appearance of human flamingoes. Flat feet and long heels are distinguishing marks of their physique. Like swamp birds, they are accustomed to stand motionless for hours on one leg, which is supported by the knee. Their gait is slow, the limbs and neck long and thin. Surely we are here reminded of the legendary cranes with whom the pygmies fought.

The Human Flamingoes of the Nile

So complete a conformation to environment cannot be accomplished in a few centuries; we have here the results of development lasting throughout an immense period of time. Further, an expedition sent by the emperor Nero to the Upper Nile merely brought back accounts of the people "invariably naked" above Meroe, whose customs correspond exactly to those of the modern swamp-dwellers. In spite of their secluded situation, the peoples of the Nile valley were not wholly untouched by foreign influence, as is shown by the progress among them of cattle-breeding and iron-working, two great achievements of civilisation which certainly did not grow up spontaneously among them.

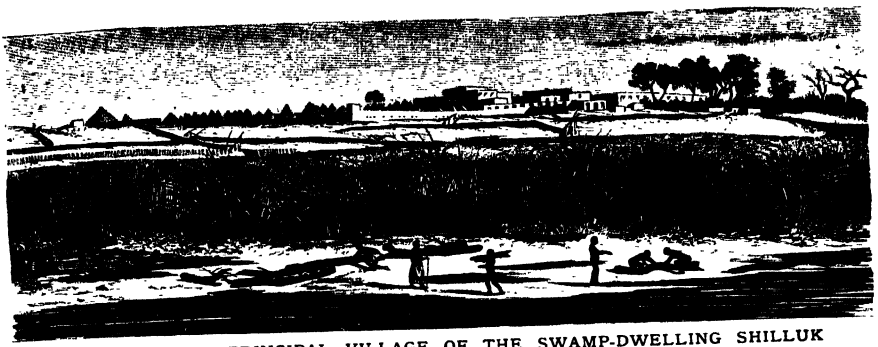
The existence of the most northerly race of negroes on the White Nile is proof of the fact that even this remote corner of the world is not entirely at rest. The Shilluk, who are settled on the left bank of the Nile from the mouth of the Sobat to nearly the twelfth degree of latitude north, and extended even further northward at an earlier period, are a typical swamp people, entirely conformed to the environment of the district they now inhabit; for this reason they must have been long settled in the damp lowlands. According to their own traditions, their first home was not upon the Nile itself, but on the Lower Sobat, where a remnant of the race is still to be found. They left their native swamps about 1700, retreating before the advance of the Galla races, and spread in different directions—possibly several successive migrations may have taken place. The main body settled in the district already mentioned upon the left bank of the Nile; another group, now known as Jur, pushed forward north of the Bongo to the Bahr el-Ghazal on the south; the Belanda were driven yet further southward between the territories of the Bongo and the Niam-Niam. Finally, tribes related to the Shilluk are now settled where the Nile issues from Lake Albert Nyanza, the Shilu in the Nile valley, and on the heights which come down to the east bank of the river; and the Lur, who have been strongly influenced by the Niam-Niam, have been settled perhaps for some centuries upon the north-west bank of Lake Albert.

The Swamp People's Migration

A second people, which has apparently inhabited the marshes from the remotest antiquity, are the Dinka, or Denka. Their numerous tribes occupy the whole of the Nile valley from the sixth to the twelfth degrees of latitude, with the exception of the parts inhabited by the Shilluk; they are also settled on the Bahr el-Ghazal and its tributaries as far as the highland frontiers. In spite of their large numbers, which must have always been an inducement to colonisation, they have no tradition of any active migratory movements, but only of losses which they have suffered at the hands of the Shilluk in the north and the Bari in the south. They are the real nucleus of the peoples in the Nile valley; the reason that their name is not mentioned by the ancients is to be found in the fact that their disruption into small tribes concealed their national unity. Until recent times many of their subdivisions, such as the Nuer, or Nuehr, Kitsh, Elyab, Bor, etc., have been considered as independent tribes, before their connection with the great Dinka family was discovered.

The Oldest Swamp Dwellers

South of the Dinka district the ethnographical conditions become more confused. Here the Nile flows through boundless swampy plains, and its banks do not afford so sure a refuge as further northward. The mountains become more prominent, and the immediate result of this local configuration is a confused mixture of races and racial influences. The Bari still hold a self-contained district between the Nile valley and the surrounding mountains from about the fourth to the sixth degree of latitude north. According to their own accounts they have been settled for only a few generations in this district; they came up from the south and took the land from the Berri, a Dinka race. As a matter of fact, their national type does not wholly correspond to the true Nilotic peoples, the Dinka



FASHODA, THE PRINCIPAL VILLAGE OF THE SWAMP-DWELLING SHILLUK

and Shilluk; but the resemblance is comparatively close, so that their migrations cannot have been very extensive.

Further south, and extending to Lake Albert, side by side with the Shilluk tribes dwell the Madi, a race apparently composed of a fusion of Nilotic negroes with the tan-skinned inhabitants of the frontier district. The fact of this fusion is all the information which we possess concerning their earlier history.

Speaking generally, it may be said that although the negro races have successfully maintained their position in the Nile valley, yet they must at one time have been settled further north. They retreated to the east of the Nile valley before the Hamites, or were absorbed by them.

East Africa displays in miniature the same characteristics as the great Sahara desert, with its civilised states upon its southern boundary oppressed and dominated by the inhabitants of the desert. The Wahuma district on the south corresponds to the kingdoms of Sokoto, Bornu, and Bagirmi; the Sahara is replaced by the extensive and arid district of the east cape, the dreaded Guardafui. At this point the fleets of the seafarers crossed over from early antiquity; here, in the land of incense, settlements were founded upon the barren shores, and trade routes led from the seaboard far into the interior of the continent. The deepest and most lasting influence proceeded from Arabia, which is but a



A VILLAGE OF HUMAN FLAMINGOES, THE SHILLUK OF THE UPPER NILE

The people of three of the tribes of the marshes of the Upper Nile, of whom the Shilluk are the most important, present the appearance of human flamingoes, being accustomed to stand motionless for hours on one leg.

few miles distant from the African coast. But upon this barren district no civilisation could strike its roots deep into the soil. The population was invariably restless and unsettled, "their hand against every man, and every man's hand against them." Nature herself pointed the direction for their migrations and their incursions. Eastward, the ocean thundered upon a harbourless coast; westward, the swamps of the Nile valley checked their advance. The Abyssinian highland tempted the eyes of the greedy nomads with its wealth; but the most promising land lay southward, in the district of the black races. Southward stretched away the boundless plains, with no obstacle to stay the passage of the nomads and their herds. The first bands to pass this way were followed by others, and often the conquerors of one age fell victims to their relatives who followed them in the next; only one of these wandering tribes, the Wahuma, was able to found permanent kingdoms, because they alone found an old civilisation in the lake district, and were protected from later invasions by the configuration of the country. Their development is more conveniently treated in our South African division.

Why the Negroes Went South



A VILLAGE OF THE NIAM-NIAM CANNIBALS

Among the races of the Upper Nile, the Niam-Niam are sharply distinguished by their fierce cannibalism. This view of one of their typical villages is from a drawing by George Schweinfurth, the first European who visited their country.

In Northern East Africa at the present day we can distinguish four great groups of Hamitic nomad peoples, more or less mixed with Semites and negroes, the Danakil — plural of Danakli — Galla, Somali, and Massai; none of these groups is a uniform whole, with the possible exception of the Danakil. Each of them includes remnants of peoples whose origin is in part doubtful.

The history of the Danakil, or Afar, is very simple. Hemmed in within their old territory in the corner between the Abyssinian highland and the east coast of Massowa up to the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb, the south was the only direction in which they had room to expand. But in this direction the northern Somali races checked them. Possibly the Somali are a mixed people, including a portion of the Danakil within themselves; at the moment little more can be said as to the relationship of the two races. At any rate the Danakil have exercised less influence upon their neighbours than any of the other North-east African Hamites, as far as their history can be traced. The Galla, or Oromo, appear in a very different character. They appear on the East African battle-ground with surprising suddenness and in overpowering strength. Their settlements extend over a wide area, and though they have in some cases become persecuted instead of persecutors, they remain a great and powerful people even to-day, though without political unity. Concerning their origin, many theories are extant. Many writers have erroneously connected them with the Masimba people, which begins to disappear from history just at the time when the Galla are first mentioned. Others place the early home of the Galla near the snow-topped mountains Kenia and Kilimanjaro, so that their first migrations would have been from south to north. More recently a contrary theory has found favour, that the east cape of Africa was the cradle of the Galla race, and that in pre-Mohammedan times they were situated to the south of the Gulf of Aden; their own wandering tendencies and the development of the Somali races then drove the Galla west and south from their early home. But in view of the fact that the Galla certainly have a strong infusion of

The Great and Powerful Galla People

negro blood in their veins, this theory does not seem wholly satisfactory, although it is undoubtedly true that negroes were once settled much further north than they are found to-day. Finally, they have been described as "a group of peoples, the central point of which once lay a great deal further north than it does now, probably to the north and perhaps to the west even of Abyssinia; their history, from a general point of view, is the process of their irresistible advance southward."

Inroads into Abyssinia

Part of the Galla under Mohammed Granj acquired a new home in the north at the expense of the Abyssinians in the years 1526–1543; a second wave of migration went south. The vanguard crossed the Tana and reached the Sabaki at its mouth, near Melinde. They seem to have been established in this district at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the mountainous country to the south of Lake Rudolf were settled races of Hamitic origin, perhaps Galla offshoots, which had been forced into these barren lands under pressure from without, while others retreated southward and attacked the negro peoples of East Africa. The Galla themselves have apparently expelled many negro tribes or taken their territory, as is shown by the existence of pariah tribes among them, which are certainly in part of Hamitic origin, and also by the strong infusion of negro blood which many Galla divisions display. Small tribes of the Bushman type may, perhaps, be referred to this mixture of races.



A DANAKLI OF NORTH-EAST AFRICA

The Danakil are the only people of the four great Hamitic groups of North-east Africa who are unmixed.

Historically, the Somali are even later than the Galla. However, it is certain that this people grew up in the east cape of Africa; they were apparently of Hamitic origin and were strongly modified by an influx of Arab blood and civilisation. The Hamitic stock seems to have been of Tir, which is often mentioned in Somali records. The people thus developed were prompt to seek new pastures and advance southward, in which process they certainly assimilated some Bantu negro tribes.

In North Somaliland Arab influence led to the growth of stronger political formations. At the outset of the sixteenth century the Portuguese under Cristoforo da Gama found the kingdom of Adal upon the north coast; it extended from Cape Guardafui to Tadjurra Bay, and was governed by Mohammedan princes, one of whom, Imam Ahmed, conquered Harar about the year 1500. The Somali advance soon led to war with the Galla. In Harar, at any rate, the Galla population appears to have repelled the Somali, which fact seems to point to a Galla migration from west to east; but in all other directions, and especially in the south, where the attractive pasture-land diminishes between the mountains and the sea, the Somali were victorious, and before them even the proud conquerors of the negro races fled like hunted animals. Those Hamites who had advanced furthest to the south, and whose most important offshoot was the shepherd tribe of the Massai, were a far greater terror to the agricultural negroes than the Galla and the Somali. Apparently the Massai were but one of those racial waves which

Storm and Terror of a Racial Wave

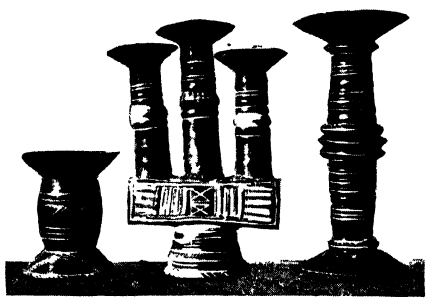
storm across the plains of East Africa, finally disappearing in mutual collision. Before their period we find a mixed Hamitic people on the east and south-east of Victoria Lake, especially the Wakwafi and Wataturu, who were overpowered by the invading Massai, shattered, and forced to fly in different directions. All these races

were largely mixed with the negroes, and apparently to a special degree with those of the Nile valley.

The central point of the Massai diffusion may be placed north-east of Lake Victoria in that district which is now inhabited by other mixtures of Hamites and Nile negroes—Wakikuyu, Burgenedji, Elmolo, Suk, Naudi, Kamassia, Turkana, Karamoyo, and Donyoro. Thence the lust of battle and migration drove them southward. A general picture of East Africa in modern times will show us three nearly parallel lines of movement from north to south followed by the Hamitic peoples—the Somali upon the coast, the Massai in the western undrained highlands, and the Galla between these two. The victims of this invasion were both pure Bantu negroes and older mixed races of Hamitic stock. Before the Massai advanced, a nearly related people, the Wakwafi, or, as they called themselves, the Mbarawui, had already established themselves in the Pare Mountains to the south-east of the Kilimanjaro, and were oppressing the surrounding peoples. Meanwhile the Massia seem to have pressed on to the west of Pare; they now attacked their kinsfolk. The Wakwafi were defeated and scattered. Some of them found refuge among the negro races, and devoted themselves to the pursuit of the agriculture which they had formerly detested; but the main body streamed back in a north-westerly direction to the Naivasha Lake, until they were again defeated and driven away from that district by the Massai. Once again, many joined the agricultural tribes of the highlands; the remainder escaped to Leikipia, east of the Baringo Lake and north-west of Mount Kenia, and there they at length found peace and security. These migrations are invariably instructive; the Massai pour into the south from the north and drive away their forerunners from the rich plunder; the latter then return to the old barren cradle of the race to recover their strength and again to start for the south.

The Hamitic shepherd race of the Wataturu, who were originally settled to the north of Lake Eiassi, were in like manner defeated and ejected; remnants of them now lead a miserable existence in the different districts bordering the riverless highland, and have also in part become tillers of the soil. The devastating effects of the Massai wars arose from the fact that their object was not the conquest of new lands, but cattle raiding and plunder. They even planned, though they did not carry out, attacks upon the coast settlements of Usambara. Districts of Usagara were wasted both by Zulus and Massai; the German station of Mpwapwa, founded by Wissmann in 1889 to protect the caravan route, marks the meeting-point of these marauding races.

The power and mobility of the dwellers upon the steppes are contingent upon the possession of cattle. The nomad of the steppes without cattle and sheep is a miserable creature, a wandering hunter, like the South African Bushman, presenting no terrors for his agricultural neighbours. Remnants of these earlier steppe dwellers are still to be found in East Africa; a people living with the Massai as a kind of pariah caste, the Wandorobbo, are a case in point. So long as this was the condition of all the desert races, no obstacle opposed the northward expansion of the black agricultural races. Hence we have in East Africa the same phenomenon as in the Sahara; traces of a negro distribution spreading far northward, then the growth of the steppe peoples and their predominance, and the consequent formation of a broad zone of mixed races, in which the negroes form the passive element.



CLAY LAMPS MADE IN NUPE, NIGERIA

At the present time the old conditions tend to recur. The outbreak of rinderpest, especially since 1891, has weakened the offensive powers of the nomads, and unless their herds recover from this plague, the consequence will be a fresh advance of the negroes into the forsaken districts. At the same time the despised hunting races are growing stronger and taking possession of the steppes unsuitable for cultivation; at present the Wandorobbo are stronger than the Massai.



THE EUROPEANS IN NORTH AFRICA

THE Portuguese, the circumnavigators of Africa, are the first Europeans to appear upon the scene. Although their voyages were undertaken in the hope of discovering the realm of Prester John, which was placed at one time in India and at another time in Abyssinia, yet they did not despise the work of planting settlements and trading factories from the outset, in order to derive what profit they could from the districts of Africa. Previous to the rounding of Cape Bojador—that is, before the year 1434—but little interest attached to the possession of the barren shores of the Sahara; but when a further advance southward discovered a land of increasing richness and attraction the Portuguese began to tap the resources of this almost unknown country. Gonzales Baldeza, the second mariner to pass Cape Bojador, returned home with a cargo of dogfish skins. After a second voyage, he was able to present the king with the first slaves from Africa and some quantity of gold-dust in the year 1442.

The First Slaves From Africa

The slaves were delivered up to Pope Martin V.; in return he granted a decree assigning to Portugal the right to all the African coast between Cape Bojador and the yet undiscovered Indies. For a time the Portuguese were able to extend and enjoy their African possessions in peace. Shortly afterward, trading companies were formed, in the first of which Prince Henry the Navigator seems to have taken a personal share.

It was not, however, until the year 1461 that Portugal began definitely to establish herself; the gulf of Arguin, the first comparatively secure point upon the coast, has invariably attracted the attention of later colonising powers, and at that period a fort was built there, which afforded a good base of operations for a further advance southward. There is no doubt that numerous settlements sprang up in Senegambia also, though historical information on this point is somewhat scanty. But we have clear evidence of the fact in the traces of a strong influence which must have extended far into the interior, and is even yet manifest in the existence of numerous half-breeds in certain parts of the coast. The district where the results of this influence are most apparent, the land about the Rio Grande, is in the hands of the Portuguese at the present day, as also are the Cape Verde Islands. When they ultimately reached the Gold Coast they hastened to assure their possession of this promising district by founding the stronghold of Elmina in 1481. They afterward entered into close relations with the Congo kingdom.

First Fort on the Gold Coast

The first nation to demand a share in the African trade, in spite of all the threats of Portugal, was England. Holland and France soon followed her example. Portugal gradually lost the larger part of her possessions in Guinea, which had, however, greatly decreased in importance after the discovery of India, and in their best period had never included the whole of the coast line. In the district of Senegal, the natives themselves seem to have thrown off the Portuguese yoke at a somewhat earlier date.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century the Dutch were the most dangerous enemies of Portugal in West Africa. Their rise begins in 1621, when the States General gave the "West Indian Company" the exclusive right to all territory that might be conquered between the Tropic of Cancer and the Cape of Good Hope. At that time Portugal was united to Spain and involuntarily involved in her fatal downfall. The Portuguese rule in Senegambia was practically abolished; the Gold Coast was attacked; in the year 1637 the strongest Portuguese fortress, Elmina, was besieged and stormed; and Portugal gradually lost all her possessions in West Africa. At length she secured her independence from Spain in 1640, and recovered some part of her colonies by a compact with the States General; but she had to accept conditions which greatly restricted her trade. The struggle between Holland and Portugal

Portugal Loses West Africa

was finally brought to an end by the conventions of 1662 and 1669. Portugal has retained to the present day nothing but the settlements south of the Gambia on the Rios Cacheo, Geba and Grande, the chief harbour of which is Bolama.

All Dutch Possessions in Africa Lost

The Dutch, the most energetic rivals of the Portuguese, have, strangely enough, lost every foot of land which they had ever possessed in Africa. It is certainly true that, with the exception of the Cape, they never made any wide or permanent settlements on that continent. Such coast stations as they took from the Portuguese remained in their possession for only a short period; it was upon the Gold Coast alone, the district which has attracted every seafaring nation, that Dutch forts and factories have remained during any great part of the last century. The first Dutch ships appeared off the African coast about 1595. In the seventeenth century the Dutch became more active, and not only occupied different stations upon the coast, such as Goree, on the Green Mountain range, but also proceeded to place all possible obstacles in the way of other trading peoples. These efforts were systematised by the foundation of the "West India Company" in 1621, the great object of which was the development of the slave trade. We have already indicated the result of the struggles which ensued. Holland remained in possession of her conquests on the Gold Coast and in Senegambia; but a long period was to elapse before the affairs of the district could be brought into order. The encroaching English were gradually repelled, but in the peace of 1667 retained Cape Coast Castle on the Gold Coast, and soon founded many new factories. Eventually the Dutch confined their attention solely to their commercial settlements on the Gold Coast, which exported slaves and gold to a large extent, and proved extremely profitable.

The Rise of Britain in West Africa

Gradually the trade declined, and the larger part of the factories were abandoned. Finally, in 1871–1872 Great Britain took over by convention the Dutch settlements of Tekundi, Axim, Tshama, Elmina, Anomabo, and Apang.

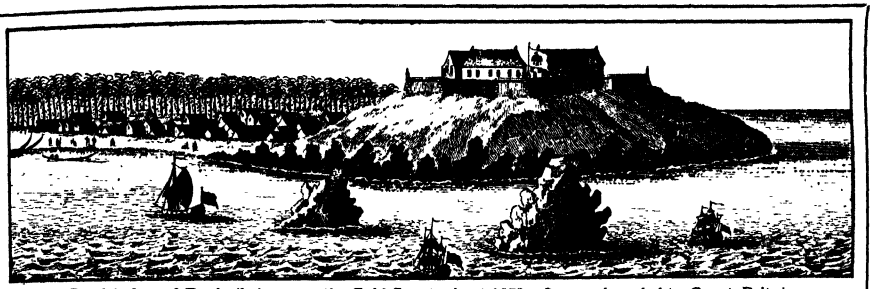
The condition of the Gold Coast is typical of the earlier methods of European colonisation. No commercial state settling there gains any real possession of the land. Nothing is done but to found trading stations, which are invariably protected by fortifications, and exercise a certain influence in the neighbourhood. The occupants, however, are obliged to purchase permission to trade from the local chiefs and to allow the tribes upon the coast to act as middlemen. The natives usually consider themselves the real owners of the forts and factories. Hence, upon the revival of English commerce, it was possible to found a large number of English settlements in the immediate neighbourhood of the Dutch, and indeed for the most different European peoples to place their settlements in motley array along the coast line.

The English appear about the middle of the sixteenth century in African waters. A great expedition was equipped in 1553 and purchased a quantity of gold upon the Gold Coast, but met with no great success in other directions. However, such voyages were constantly repeated from this time onward. In consequence the English soon came into conflict with the Portuguese, who considered all intruders into their commercial waters as pirates. The slave trade was vigorously pursued—

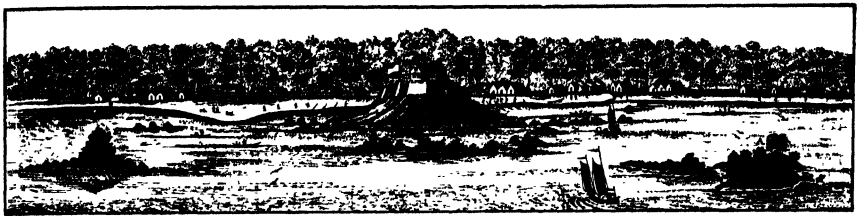
African Trading Companies

the famous John Hawkins was its pioneer—and finally privileges were granted to commercial companies, in 1585 to the Morocco or Berber Company, and in 1588 to the Guinea Company. These, like the Dutch, profited by the unfortunate position of Portugal. The attempts of the British to penetrate into the interior are worthy of note. They made efforts to reach Timbuktu, which was thought to be the source of the gold which reached the coast from the mouth of the Gambia. These attempts were energetically prosecuted by a company founded in 1618.

For a long time the English possessions in West Africa were of little importance, and their extension was further restricted by the opposition of the Dutch, as we have already observed. However, Britain successfully maintained her footing upon the Gold Coast and appreciably extended her influence. She made repeated attempts to settle in Senegambia, and when the close of the seventeenth century brought a period of peace, she possessed a factory on the Gambia, another on Sherboro Island, and perhaps a dozen on the Gold Coast. The first two of these settlements became the nuclei of the present colonies, the territory on the Gambia, with



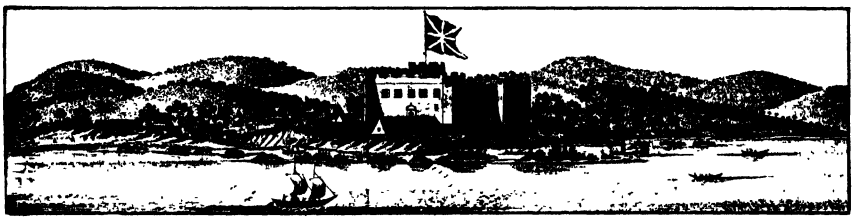
Danish fort of Frederiksborg, on the Gold Coast, about 1670, afterwards ceded to Great Britain.



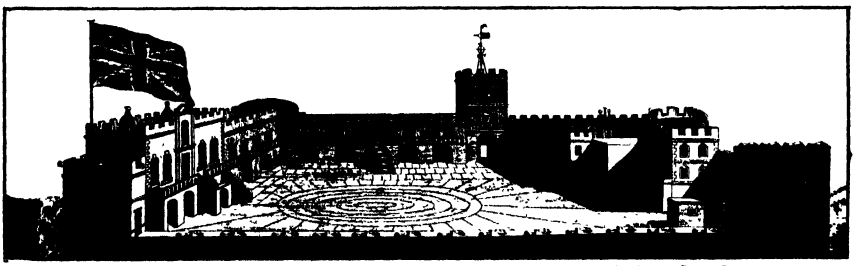
The Dutch fort of St. Anthony at Axim about 1670, a Gold Coast stronghold.



Elmina, the first settlement on the Gold Coast, founded by the Portuguese in 1841, afterwards a British fort.



An English castle in a Dutch settlement, Anomabo, in the seventeenth century.



The British fort at Cape Coast Castle about 1670, afterwards capital of the Gold Coast.

EUROPEAN SETTLEMENTS ON THE GOLD COAST IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Bathurst and the forts George and Yarbutenda, and the colony of Sierra Leone. At that time they were the property of the "Royal African Company of England," which carried on the slave trade with great energy, though in spite of this it became involved in serious financial difficulties in the course of the eighteenth century. Three hundred thousand negro slaves are said to have been exported during the years 1713–1733. The average increased when a new company was founded after the collapse of the old society in 1749, and the restrictions upon the slave trade removed. The trade was shattered by the secession of the United States in 1776, and the new company was obliged to go into liquidation; but the exportation of slaves continued as before.

Great Days of the Slave Trade

Meanwhile interest of a less selfish nature concerning this mysterious continent had been gradually increasing in Britain. On June 9th, 1788, the "Association for Promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa" was founded; and at the same time a strong antipathy to the slave trade and its horrors was growing up. These feelings were the prelude to a slow but fundamental revolution of the conditions of the African colonies. During the war between England and the seceding United States (1775–1783) a large number of negroes had contrived to escape from the yoke of their American masters and to enter the British service; at the close of the war Britain had to deal with the question of providing for these allies. Certain philanthropists persuaded the Government to take the negroes back to Africa, and to settle them on some suitable part of the coast under British protection. In 1787 the first expedition started for Sierra Leone with 400 blacks and about sixty European women of loose character, whom it was intended to get rid of in this way. The arrival of further contingents, and the foundation of an English company gradually raised to prosperity a colony which had made a somewhat unpromising start; and even the ravages caused by the descent of a French man-of-war were speedily repaired. In the year 1807, Sierra Leone became a Crown colony; the population was greatly increased by the liberated slaves brought in by the British and settled on the land, though the first contingent of negroes who had been brought over from America showed a tendency to despise the new arrivals. The country now became self-governing, and on the whole ran a favourable course of development. The British protectorate, though mild, prevented any gradual relapse into barbarism on the part of the negroes. The settlement of Freetown became the central point of the local civilisation; the rest of the district was inhabited chiefly by indigenous tribes and parts of it were practically unknown.

Rise of the Colony of Sierra Leone

Upon the Gold Coast, British influence increased, until it became predominant. The native tribes were not disposed to consider themselves as subject to the British, as is shown by the history of the Ashanti War in 1817, the result of which was that the tribute of four ounces of gold per month paid to the Fanti as a kind of rent for the use of the soil was henceforward paid to the Ashantis; the presence of the British was thus merely tolerated. The Ashanti war in the following decade opened disastrously, but was brought to a successful conclusion, a result which materially strengthened the British power, especially when the Ashantis, in 1831, renounced their supremacy over the allied chieftains of the coast. In the following years Britain exercised little more than a protectorate over the Gold Coast, the notoriously bad climate of which deterred Europeans from making settlements. Disturbances occurred after 1868, due to the fact that Great Britain and Holland had exchanged certain coast settlements with a view to the better delimitation of their territories. Subsequent events are: The short campaign of the year 1874, already narrated; the proclamation of the chief of Kumassi as King of Ashanti, in the year 1894; his degradation after a nearly bloodless war in 1895, which brought the Ashanti kingdom to a well-merited end and marks the beginning of the British protectorate; and a formidable revolt in 1900, during which Frederic Hodgson, the Governor, was besieged in Kumassi from March to June, and reduced to the greatest straits; it was not until July that the beleaguered garrison could be relieved.

British Tribute to Ashanti

Much later in date than the Gold Coast possessions, but belonging to the earlier period of colonisation, is the colony of

Lagos, which was founded in 1861, and has been autonomous since 1886; at first an important centre of the palm oil trade, it is now merged in the great British possessions on the Niger and Binue. Friendly relations with the immediate hinterland of Yoruba have been maintained from the outset.

In East Africa, the islands of Mauritius — a French possession from 1712–1810, as the "Ile de France" — and Rodriguez excepted, England had no colonies or forts for a long period. In 1884 certain places on the North Somali coast — British Somali Coast Protectorate, Zeila, Berbera, and others — were occupied from Aden, a base which has been in British hands since 1839; the important position of Harar was given up to Abyssinia under the convention of June 4th, 1897.

The French began their efforts to gain a share in African commerce at the same date as the English and Dutch. In 1541, four ships left the little harbour of La Bouille, near Rouen, to begin commercial relations with Guinea, and mention is made of the Cap à Trois Pointes in documents of 1543 and 1546. At the outset, the attention of French merchants was concentrated chiefly upon the district which has since become the real centre of France's great West African possessions — namely, Senegambia. Attempts have been repeatedly made to penetrate further into the interior from this point, which is one of the most easily accessible parts of the continent, but it is only comparatively lately that results of any great political importance were achieved. In 1626, St. Louis was founded on the lagoon at the mouth of the Senegal, and became the central point of the growing colony; the island of Goree is also deserving of mention as a second important settlement. By degrees numerous commercial settlements and forts were founded along the Senegal river, especially by André Brué about 1700. Senegambia received her first real impulse to development in the latter half of the nineteenth century (1852–1865) from Faidherbe.



TREATY-MAKING ON THE GOLD COAST IN 1672

The Gold Coast was first in the hands of the Portuguese and Dutch. In 1664, however, the English successfully attacked the Dutch defences, and four years later "the new five-pieces of gold, coined by the Guiny Company," were issued.

The province of "French Guinea," the coastland of Futa Djallon — hitherto known officially as "Rivières du Sud" — has been separated from Senegambia since 1890 by the Portuguese possessions. France has never exercised any great political influence in this district, but by founding numerous factories has assured her position upon the coast, which is valuable as a point of entrance to the interior of the Sudan.

The claims of the French to the Ivory Coast, which has been in their occupation since 1842, and was governed from the Gabun river before that date, were not seriously put forward before 1893; Abidjean-Adjame, now "Bingerville," has

taken the place of the unhealthy Grand Bassam, as the capital. Allada and Abomeh, the remnants upon the Slave Coast of the Dahomeh kingdom subjugated in 1892, have recently risen to importance owing to the increased trade of the harbours of Great-Popo, Weidah, and Kotonu. The first settlements on the Gabun river were made in 1830 and 1845; Libreville was founded in 1849. In 1862 and 1868 the district was extended southward to Cape Lopez and to the Ogowe, the claims to territory further northward remaining undecided. France had no possessions south of the Ogowe before the foundation of the Congo State.

Ivory and Slave Coasts

The four great names in the earlier history of African colonisation are Portugal, Holland, England, and France; side by side with these powers other rivals have come forward who have now almost entirely disappeared from the scene. Spain alone has retained something, or to speak more correctly, everything, for her African possessions were never of any great account; for when Pope Alexander VI. declared on appeal that all newly discovered lands were to be divided between the two Iberian colonial Powers, who were the only claimants with a show of legal right by discovery or acquisition, the Portuguese received the whole of Africa in undisputed possession. The claims of Spain were thus confined to the Canary Islands, which are not parts of negro Africa, to the islands of Fernando Po and Annobon in the Gulf of Guinea, and — since 1843 - to a small district between Kamerun and Gabun, namely, the strip of coast-line on the Rio Muni and the islands of Corisco, and Great and Little Eloby.

Fernando Po, the most valuable of the possessions on the south, was at first in the hands of the Portuguese, like the whole of West Africa, without rising to any great importance. The few settlements made by the Portuguese failed to prosper, and were entirely destroyed by the Dutch in 1637; it proved impossible to begin friendly relations with the Bube, a Bantu people, who had apparently migrated to the island before its discovery. In 1777–1778 Portugal ceded the islands of Fernando Po and Annobon (south-west of Saõ Thomé), in exchange for territory in South America; the Spaniards failed in their attempts at colonisation, and abandoned the island. In 1827 the British occupied the favourably situated island, founded Port Clarence—the present Santa Isabel—and settled a number of liberated negro slaves there, who still retain the English language; but all attempts to acquire the island by purchase or exchange were thwarted by the obstinacy of Spain. Since 1841 Spanish officials have been stationed in the island, and a governor was appointed in 1858; but nothing has been done to improve the economic condition of the settlement.

Spain's Failure in Africa

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, Africa attracted the attention of Sweden and Denmark. The efforts of the Swede, Carl Bernhard Wadström (1764–1799) to found an agricultural colony on the West Coast, resulted in total failure; more successful were the efforts of the Danes, who had been trading on the Gold Coast and founding factories at an earlier date. In the nineteenth century they possessed several strongholds in the eastern part of the Gold Coast, of which Christiansborg was the most important, but in 1851 they ceded the entire district to Britain. Ruined settlements are to be found on the Gold Coast over which the flag of a German Power once flew—the old colonies of Brandenburg. A station was procured by treaty on the Gold Coast in 1681, and another on the island of Arjuin in 1684. The king of Prussia, however, sold his possessions to the Dutch in 1717.

Germany's African Colonies

A new phase in the history of European colonisation appeared in the latter half of the nineteenth century. In the scramble for African territory German South-west Africa was established, and not long after the districts on the Slave Coast and at the mouth of the Kamerun river were placed under German protection. Hamburg and Bremen merchants, whose trade upon the yet unclaimed coast districts had been constantly disturbed, were anxious, if not to establish a formal protectorate, to send German men-of-war into those waters, and to conclude compacts with the negro chiefs. The events in South-west Africa, and the growing enthusiasm in Germany for colonisation, induced Prince Bismarck to accede to these desires. The Togo district on the Slave Coast, where the presence of a German warship had been found necessary a short time before, was

placed under German protection in 1884. This possession, though certainly the smallest of all Germany's African colonies, has, in comparison with others, developed most successfully. After an agreement with France had been arranged, the British frontier was defined in the Convention of Samoa of 1899, German Togoland thereby advancing to Sansanne Mangu. Hamburg firms had long been active in Kamerun, and trade was increasing. On July 14th, 1884, it was placed under the German flag. The area of the German protectorate on the coast was speedily settled by arrangement with France and Great Britain in 1885. The first occupation was followed by serious collisions with the natives; but subsequently matters have taken a more satisfactory course.

The new competition for the possession of African territory was raised to fever heat by the advance of Germany; but the first steps in this direction were made by France; she very cleverly employed the several coast stations which she had long possessed as bases for a bold advance into the interior, and advanced systematically towards the realisation of the dream of a great French empire in Africa. The first step was the further extension of the possessions in Senegambia. The British territory on the Gambia and that held by Portugal on the Rio Grande were soon so surrounded by districts under French protection that their further development was impossible; the left bank of the Senegal was entirely under French supremacy, and an advance to the Upper Niger was seriously determined. As early as 1854 the governor Faidherbe had succeeded in checking the advance of a dangerous Mohammedan army which had been collected by the marabout Hadji Omar. Faidherbe raised the siege of Medina in 1857, defeated Hadji Omar, who retired to his capital of Segu-Sikoro on the Niger, and subdued the larger part of Upper Senegambia. Colonisation on a large scale began considerably later, and is nearly contemporary with the events on the Congo, to be related subsequently. In the year 1878 Paul Soleillet made his way to the Upper Niger, and found a friendly reception; a year later the French Assembly voted funds for the building of a railroad from Medina to Bammako, which was to connect the Upper Senegal with the Niger and thus attract all the traffic of the Western Sudan to Senegambia. The work of construction was vigorously begun, labourers were imported from China and Morocco; but in 1884 only some forty miles had been completed, and this at a cost of 30,000,000 francs. The enterprise was thereupon abandoned for the time and has only recently been resumed. Meanwhile Joseph Simon Gallieni had advanced to the Niger in 1880, and had concluded a treaty with the sultan Ahmadu Lamine of Segu, the son of Hadji Omar, whereby the valley of the Upper Niger as far as Timbuktu was placed under French protection in 1881; Kita, an important point between the Senegal and the Niger was fortified. In the next year a second expedition defeated the bold guerrilla leader Almamy Samory, the son of a Mandingan merchant of Bankoro, who was born at Sanankoro in 1835; this action took place on the Upper Niger, and a fort was built on the river bank at Bammako. Several smaller movements kept open the communications with the Senegal and drove back Samory, until he eventually placed himself under the French protectorate in 1887. The resistance of Ahmadu, who declined to fulfil the obligations of the treaty which he had made, was not broken down until April 6th, 1890, when the town of Segu-Sikoro was captured. In the same year Louis Monteil started from Segu, and went eastward to Kuba in Bornu, making treaties at every point of his journey, and returning by Tripoli to his native land. The French also made a successful advance into the interior from the Ivory Coast. Dahomeh, which was subdued in 1892, was a further possible starting point for expeditions into the Sudan districts. Great Britain had previously agreed with France, on August 5th, 1890, that a line drawn from Say on the Niger to the north-west corner of Lake Chad should form the boundary line of their respective spheres of influence. In 1893, Samory, the ruler of Bissandugu, Kankan, and Sansando was forced to abandon his kingdom of Wassulu to the French, and to retire upon Kong, which lay to the south-east. In the middle of the year 1898 he was driven from this district and fled, accompanied as usual by a numerous body of dependents, to the hinterland of the Liberian republic.

French Dream of Empire

Railway Building in Senegal

Natives Ousted by France

There he was defeated on September 9th, 1898, and twenty days later was driven back upon the sources of the Cavally by the advance of Captain Gouraud, and taken prisoner; he died in captivity on June 2nd, 1900. From that date the supremacy of France in the west of the Sudan has gained in strength. The vast project of uniting the north coast and the Western Sudan into a great Franco-African empire has been overshadowed by the yet more comprehensive plan of extending French Congoland to the Central Sudan, and thus uniting into a compact whole all the French possessions in Africa, with the exception of Obok. From the time when Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza transformed the humble colony of Gabun into the huge "Congo Français," between the years 1878 and 1880, France has made unceasing attempts to extend her territory on the north and north-east. In this connection, the Fashoda incident has been referred to elsewhere. The German colony of Kamerun has, among others, been shut out from further expansion by the French movements. The destruction of Rabah, as previously recorded, has removed the chief obstacle to the main French designs, and so a great compact French colonial empire is practically formed.

French Supremacy in the Sudan

The British have made use of their position on the Lower Niger to advance into the interior, and have succeeded in bringing the Hausa states under their influence, with the exception of the greater part of Adamawa. Events have developed slowly, and, comparatively speaking, upon a sound basis, for the trader has preceded the politician—a process exactly reversed in most of the French colonies. The fact that Britain has been able thus opportunely to secure the monopoly of the Niger trade and of the products of the Hausa countries is due to the low estimation in which Africa was held by the European Powers until late in the nineteenth century. The Niger in particular, the only waterway to Central Africa navigable by ships of great draught, was practically unused until in 1832, 1854, and afterwards, the Scotchman Macgregor Laird made numerous journeys up stream while trading for ivory. However, it was not until 1870 that the first factories were built upon the river. One of the chief retarding causes was the conformation of the Niger delta, which offers many obstacles to navigation, and is inhabited by hostile tribes. Indeed, at an earlier period no one had supposed that these numerous arms were the estuary of a great river. For this reason, again, the first important settlement of the British in this part of Africa, the town of Lagos, was not made upon the delta, but upon the lagoons further to the west.

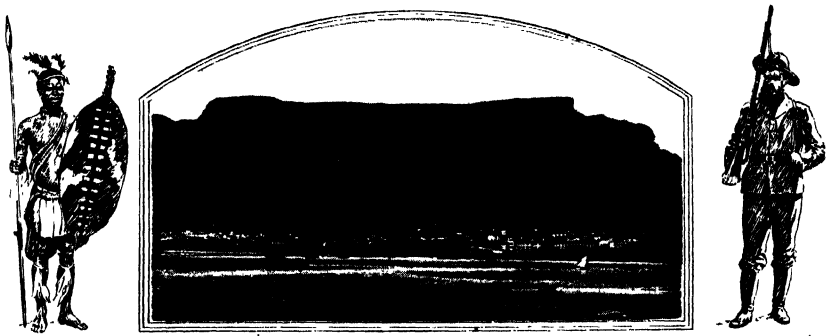
British Monopoly on the Niger

In the 'seventies a number of small companies were formed, each of which attempted to embitter the existence of the others, until in 1879 the general agent, MacIntosh, succeeded in incorporating almost the whole number into the United African Company. In 1882 this undertaking was renamed the "National African Company," and extended its operations; on July 10th, 1886, it received a charter from the British Government, and has since taken the title of the Royal Niger Company. Two French companies now turned their attention to the Niger, but succumbed in 1884 before the competition of the British traders, who now entirely monopolised the Niger trade. Britain strengthened her political influence, not so much by military operations as by dexterous handling of the native chiefs, who have been very ready to accept yearly subsidies.

The Royal Niger Company

Under the deed of transference, executed on June 30th, 1899, which became operative on January 1st, 1900, from the territories of the Royal Niger Company, together with the Niger Coast Protectorate, two new protectorates were formed—Northern and Southern Nigeria. The frontiers were determined as follows: Southern Nigeria extends to the Niger coast of Ogbo to the Cross mouth, is bounded on the west by Lagos, on the north by the sister protectorate, on the east by Kamerun. The chief commissioner has his residence in Old Calabar. The other chief towns are Benin and Akassa. Northern Nigeria is a much larger district, and is bounded on the West by French Dahomeh, on the north by the French Sudan, on the east by the hinterland of the German Kamerun; thus it embraces the old Fulbe and Hausa States—Sokoto, Nupe, Ilorin, Saria, Bautshi, and Muri—parts of Borgu and Gando, and also of Bornu, as far as Lake Chad.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ



SOUTH AFRICA

THE NATIVE RACES AND STATES

BY DR. HEINRICH SCHURTZ

THE YELLOW RACES OF THE SOUTH-WEST

THROUGHOUT the south-western part of Africa the negro is not the aboriginal inhabitant. Where he has established himself, he has done so by conquest, expelling or in part absorbing his predecessors. Of these earlier yellow-skinned peoples two racial groups can be distinguished: the nomadic Hottentots, and the Bushmen, who are wandering hunters. The Hottentot is of medium stature, the Bushman dwarfish. Their languages appear at first to be related, but display many points of difference, as also do their respective attainments in civilisation. However, their relationship can be confidently asserted upon anthropological grounds. It can be seen in the formation of the head, in the fair colour and rugosity of the skin, and in other points of physical similarity, and in the number of clicks used in their respective languages.

In modern times, light-skinned dwarf races, forming a third group, have been discovered at numerous points of Central Africa, usually dwelling in the seclusion of the primeval forests, and, like the Bushmen, belonging to such primitive types as "garbage-eaters," "hunters of small game," or "unsettled peoples." In respect of language, most of them have adopted the Bantu speech of the neighbours round them; but their anthropological characteristics, to which may be added, in the case of the Akka, who have been more carefully examined than any others, the rugosity of the skin, leave no room for doubt that we have here also relations of the Bushmen and Hottentots, and that consequently the fair South African races and the dwarf peoples belong to a common race.

Primitive Races of Pygmies

In order to understand the course of the early history of the Hottentots and dwarf peoples, we must briefly examine their settlements and mode of life, as they appeared when European inquiry first shed light upon them.

Discovery of the Hottentots

At the time of their discovery the Hottentots, or Koi-koin as they called themselves, inhabited most of the modern Cape territory. Upon the east, fronting the Kaffir territory, the Kei River formed their boundary. Further northward the Hottentot district extended in an easterly direction to the western part of the Orange River Colony. Even at that period scattered tribes lived north of the Orange River in German South-west Africa, so that no definite northern boundary of the race can be fixed. The people that dwelt in these districts were shepherds by profession, rich in cattle, sheep, and goats, knowing nothing of agriculture or pottery-making, though well acquainted with the art of smelting and forging iron.

It was quite otherwise with the Bushmen, or San. Their districts partly corresponded with those of the Hottentots, for little bands of nomad Bushmen wandered about almost everywhere among the Hottentot settlements, in some cases carrying

on the profession of cattle-breeding, though they were more generally hated and persecuted as robbers and cattle-stealers. Similarly upon the east of the steppe district to the bordering mountain ranges, San tribes mingled with the South African negroes, especially with the Bechuanas. The Kalahari desert as far as Lake Ngami is pure Bushman territory.

The Cattle-stealing Bushmen

The Bushmen are an unsettled people, collecting the poor possessions of their homes by constant wanderings, hunting the game upon the plains, and also spoiling the herds of the shepherd tribes, and in later times of the European settlers; low in the scale of civilisation, but extremely hardy and simple in their wants.

Races similar to the Bushmen are also found further north. Such are the Mucassequere, a light-coloured race of hunters, living in the woods in the interior of Benguela, near the negro Ambuella, though they do not approach or mingle with this agricultural people. As regards their mode of life, physical characteristics, and civilisation, they are very similar to the real Bushmen.

The dwarf peoples in the narrow sense of the term inhabit a broad zone stretching obliquely through Central Africa, which corresponds very nearly with the area of the dense forest, and is interrupted only where the forest is replaced by the more open savannah land. In East Africa there is one remarkable exception in the tribes of the Wanege and Wassandani, first discovered and described by Oscar Baumann. The Wanege are a hunting people of diminutive stature, wandering over the plains to the south of the Eyassi Lake; but the Wassandani, a name which perhaps echoes the national title of San, are a branch of the race which has settled in one spot. Both tribes speak a special language of their own, full of clicks, and utterly unlike the Bantu—the negroes of South Africa belong to the Bantu races—

The Dwarfs of Darkest Africa

dialects; but in other respects, especially in their form of civilisation, they have been greatly influenced by their environment. Yet in such matters as their burial customs they strongly remind us of the customs in use among the Hottentots.

At the same time, it has been shown that there are in Equatorial Africa tribes of the Bushman type who hunt in the plains and are not entirely confined to the forests; the dwarf peoples have also been found in the lake district. But the larger portion of the dwarf race appears to cling to the forest, and has entirely conformed to this environment. In some cases they are in subjection to their agricultural neighbours, or to a certain extent upon common terms with them. Here and there a complete fusion has taken place, the traces of which are still visible. But in no case do the dwarfs form tribal communities by themselves, for their character does not incline them to this course, and still less does their mode of life. They draw their sustenance from the resources of wide poverty-stricken districts, and thus tend invariably towards isolation.

Of these dwarf peoples the first group is that on the north-east, the Akka. They live about the sources of the Welle, or Ubangi, and, spreading southward, form a junction with the dwarf inhabitants of primeval forest on the Aruwimi, where Stanley first discovered them; in fact, dwarf population of unusual density appears to inhabit the country from the Upper Aruwimi to the western lakes at the source of the Nile, while scattered colonies only are found further south as far as Tanganyika. A second great group is that of the Watwa, or Batwa, in the southern part of the Congo basin, especially in the district of the Baluba. A third group inhabits the rainy forests which cover the rising ground from the coast to the West African tablelands—that is to say, the Kamerun and Gabun interior. People of extraordinarily small stature have been found inhabiting the primeval forest district behind the Batanga coast, not living in settlements as village communities, but existing in the woods by hunting.

The Pygmies Discovered by Stanley

Apparently there is another dwarf people, the Doko, living in the forest district south of Kaffa—that is, north of Lake Rudolf, in East Africa. Although their existence, or at any rate their relationship with the Akka and Batwa has not as yet been definitely proved, there is no reason to doubt the veracity of the native accounts of them. At the present time the Doko seem to be the most northerly outpost of the African pygmies. Our knowledge of the racial movements up to the period of present-day discovery clearly shows us that the fair-skinned

races of South Africa as a whole, together with the dwarf of the forests, are on the downward grade, or at best are merely holding their own.

In the seventeenth century the Hottentots retreated to the Fish River before the Kaffir or Bantu invasion, and the remnants of Hottentot races left in Natal showed how large a district had even previously been taken from them by the energetic Kaffir race. The dwarf peoples found their territory greatly diminished by the advance of agricultural tribes who penetrated into the primeval forests. Many of them were absorbed by intermarriage with their numerous negro neighbours. Thus, in a general sense at least, the problem of the disruption of this racial group is solved; their early unity was broken by the advance of other peoples; they are the remnants of a population, at one time of wide distribution, which inhabited Central and Southern Africa.



A PYGMY WOMAN

A woman of the Akka tribe of dwarfs, a tribe discovered by H. M. Stanley in the dense forests of Central Africa.

Their migratory character, however, inevitable in a nomadic hunter race, forbids us to infer, from their presence in a given district, that they, and not negroes, were its primeval inhabitants. We must be content to presume that the South African steppes developed a special race in the dwarfs, who have simply accommodated themselves to the conditions of their new home, the tropical forests, whither they were driven when the negroes became an agricultural people and occupied all the ground available for cultivation; with such resources the negroes naturally multiplied far more rapidly than the dwarfs, who had to rely upon Nature's bounty.

The process of expulsion was not carried out without a struggle. It has even been suggested that the wars between the pygmies and the cranes mentioned by Homer refer to a contest between the dwarfs and the swamp-dwellers of the Upper Nile, the Shilluk, Nuer, and Dinka.

Now, as compared with the Bushmen, the Hottentots show sundry affinities with the negro races. Their clothing and that of the Bantu peoples of South Africa, especially their chief garment, the kaross, is entirely similar. The wooden vessels of the Hottentots, in the manufacture of which they show great dexterity, resemble those of the Kaffirs so closely in shape and ornamentation as to be easily confused with them. The same remark applies to their musical instruments. Both races breed the same animals and upon very similar principles. Both understand the art of forging iron. The civil constitution of the Hottentot races corresponds to that of the neighbouring negroes in its main details.

As all these implements and institutions are nowhere to be found among the Bushmen, we may reasonably conclude that the higher civilisation of the Hottentots has been derived from the neighbouring negro races, especially the Kaffirs. If this transference of civilisation followed upon an infusion of negro blood, we have a complete explanation of the anthropological difference between Hottentot and Bushman, and, in particular, of the greater stature of the Hottentot. Moreover, in East Africa a small admixture of Semitic blood may not be wholly inconceivable. At the same time, the Hottentots have not merely taken what the Kaffirs have to give; they also exerted an influence in their turn. Certain figures of Kaffir mythology are undoubtedly derived from Hottentot legends, as is proved by the phonetic changes of words; the custom of mutilating the fingers for superstitious reasons arose in this way, for, generally, when two races come into contact, the weaker is considered as possessing greater magical powers, and thus influences the intellectual life of the stronger.

On the other hand, the point which differentiates the Hottentots from the

cattle-breeding negro races is not any one characteristic, a repetition of which may be sought in far North Africa and West Asia; it is a point of primal and original difference, common to Hottentot and Bushman. Above all, the Hottentot is not a cultivator, like the Kaffir; he procures his scanty vegetable diet as the Bushman does, by grubbing up edible roots with a stone-weighted stick. Again, he has lost none of his passion for the chase, by which he often procured his chief food-supply, as, like most nomads, he could rarely bring himself to slaughter one of his cattle. His weapons combine the arsenal of the Bushman and the Kaffir. The great intellectual characteristic of the race, a fatal and yet invincible carelessness, makes the final link of the chain uniting Hottentot and Bushman, and has been handed down to him from his unsettled and uncultured ancestors, who abandoned their destinies to the sport of chance and accident.

Fatal Carelessness of the Hottentot

The transformation of the Hottentots to a shepherd people probably took place in East Africa; perhaps the relatively better physical development of the race may be explained by their stay in this more fruitful district. The Bantu peoples, who first instructed them, soon drove them out. Even within historical times, remnants of the Hottentots were to be found in Natal, though the larger part of the race were then living beyond the Kei River, and were soon forced back as far as the Great Fish River. The Hottentots retreated in some cases northward across the Orange River, while others invaded the western part of the Cape; this district, previous to these migrations, had been in the possession of the Bushmen, who even at the time of European colonisation were wandering about the country in numerous bands, and were constantly involved in bloody wars with the Hottentots. Such were the respective conditions of the Hottentots and Bushmen when, in 1602, the first Dutch colonists set foot upon South African soil. These formidable European adversaries now appeared upon their western flanks, while in the east the Kaffirs continued their advance, inflexibly, though for the most part in peaceful fashion.

First Europeans in South Africa

Before the year 1652, when Jan van Riebeek founded a Dutch settlement in Table Bay, the Hottentots had come into only temporary and generally hostile contact with Europeans. The first Portuguese viceroy of the Portuguese Indies, Don Francesco d'Almeida, had paid with his life for a landing on the Cape at Saldanha on March 1st, 1510. Misunderstandings also took place with the new Boer settlers, which speedily resulted in open war in 1659. Gradually the Dutch succeeded in driving back their opponents. The fickleness of the Hottentots and the hostility of the separate tribes proved the best allies of the Dutch; thus in the year 1680 a war broke out between the Namaqua and the Griqua, in which the latter were defeated and sought the protection of the colonists.

The history of the war between the Hottentots and the Dutch settlers is not rich in striking events; the Hottentots were not destroyed at one blow; we see them gradually retreating and dwindling in a manner more suggestive of fusion and absorption than of extermination. But as the Hottentots retired, and the settlers with their flocks advanced, a new enemy appeared, who considered the Dutch cattle quite as well worth plundering as those of the native shepherd tribes; the Bushmen did not vanish as rapidly as the Hottentots, in whose territories they had lived as predatory, hated enemies, but maintained their ground. They soon brought upon themselves the hatred of the colonists. The Dutch had their dealings with the Hottentots, and lived on peaceful terms with them from time to time; but a ruthless war of extermination was waged against the Bushmen. Thus in a comparatively short time the fate of these related peoples was decided in the Cape itself; the Hottentots were reduced to poverty, their unity was broken, and they intermingled more and more with the settlers, whereas the Bushmen were exterminated or driven northward across the Orange River.

Early Wars of the Dutch

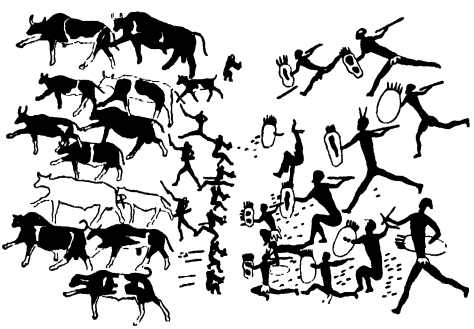
Relations between the Hottentots and the Kaffirs on the east at that period seem to have been friendly, and produced a mixed race of Kaffirs and Hottentots, the Gonaqua, upon the frontier line. About 1780, their chieftain Ruyter succeeded in collecting a following upon the Fish River and resisting all attacks for some time; similarly the brothers Stuurman maintained their independence for a considerable period about 1793.

The names of these leaders seem to indicate that these were not movements of pure-blooded Hottentots. Soon after, the Dutch supremacy collapsed, and in 1795 Great Britain first seized the Cape of Good Hope on the absorption of Holland by France, an occupation to become permanent by 1806. After this the Cape Hottentots have no further historical importance, though they performed useful service in the employment of the Government during the different Kaffir wars; the Bushmen had been almost exterminated. The Hottentots who still survived in the Cape were mainly concentrated in the different reservations; the largest of these, in Fort Beaufort district, was originally founded as an outwork against the Kaffir invasions.



AN ABORIGINAL TYPE: THE BUSHMAN
The Bushmen are an unsettled people, extremely hardy, living by cattle breeding and stealing

But in the north a portion of the race remained independent for nearly a century, an age of long and not inglorious struggle. Here, to the north of Cape Colony, lived the Namaqua; the greater part of the race was settled south of the Orange River, although, even at the time of the discovery, they extended as far north-west as the heights of Angra Pequena. Whether they were then attempting to extend their area, or were remaining quietly within their territory, is not known. The southern part of the race had come into contact with the Dutch as early as 1661, had quickly lost their language and distinctive character, and had received a considerable infusion of European blood; the northern group, on the contrary, were hardly affected by these influences. This nation was constantly molested by the Dutch upon the south, and became vigorously aggressive, finding an energetic leader in the chieftain Christian Jager. Christian made attacks and marauding expeditions both north and south; when the Korana Hottentots moved down the Orange River in the last decade of the eighteenth century, and entered the territory of his race, he drove them back with great slaughter. The weakest resistance which he experienced was that offered on the north, where the Bantu shepherd tribe of the Herero was situated; they were now plundered and reduced to slavery by the Hottentots. The marauding expeditions of the Namaqua extended to Ovamboland and beyond the Cunene; the tribe had been gradually transformed into a mobile nation of riders.



THE WONDERFUL ART OF THE BUSHMEN
No race in South Africa has shown such profound artistic skill as is seen in the drawings of the Bushmen, a fine example of which, representing a raid on Kaffir cattle, is reproduced here.

The rule of Jonker Afrikaner, a son of Christian (1836–1862), is marked by continuous warfare and plundering; he completely subjugated the Herero, and at Windhoek and Okahandja he ruled over Nama, Damara, and (from 1861) Ondonga-Ovambo. Under his successor, Christian, this dominion almost entirely collapsed. The Herero were incited to take up arms by the Swedish traveller, Karl Johan Andersson, whose leg was broken in 1864 in one of these "battles"; Christian was killed in the course of this struggle. But the Hottentot supremacy received its severest blow under Christian's brother, Jan Jonker Afrikaner, when the most powerful of the Herero chiefs, Kamaharero, the son of Ka-Tjamuaha, procured supplies of arms and ammunition and fought

against the Namaqua with general success. Under the influence of German missionaries hostilities were suspended; but when a new war broke out Jan Jonker was so utterly beaten that his power was completely broken.

Wars of the Boers and Herero

It was now plain that only the interference of a stronger power could put a stop to these continual wars. Hardly had Jan Jonker disappeared from the scene, when a new enemy to the Herero appeared in the person of Moses Witbooi, who again troubled the land for another series of years. He was no more successful than his predecessor in thoroughly subduing the Herero; on the contrary, he suffered several serious defeats, and lost the position of leader to the forces of the race, his place being taken by his son, Hendrik Witbooi, who was an even more restless personality.

In the year 1884 Hendrik Witbooi undertook an expedition into the district of the Herero, just at the time when the Germans were making their first attempts at colonisation upon the coast; when he returned, in 1885, he suffered a heavy defeat at the hands of the Herero, and at the same time Kamaharero placed himself under German protection. A troublesome period of confusion and weakness then ensued, and after the death of Kamaharero, in 1890, Witbooi's invasions were pressed with greater ferocity; he made his fortress of Hornkranz the base for these operations, until, in the usual manner of European intervention, the Germans advanced in force, stormed Hornkranz on April 12th, 1893, and at length forced Hendrik Witbooi to surrender unconditionally on September 9th, 1894. Beside the Namaqua, two other Hottentot races are worthy of mention, the Korana and the Griqua, who settled in the north of the Cape and north of the Orange River. The Korana, who originally dwelt in the interior, did not come into contact with Europeans until a late period. The advance of the colonists threw them back upon their old settlements on each side of the Middle and Upper Orange River, where they were more closely confined as time went on; they made an attempt to extend their territory down stream, but were defeated with great slaughter by the Namaqua. Since that time the people has been broken up into numerous small tribes and is in a state of hopeless disruption.

Colonists Displace the Hottentots

As the Namaqua had migrated northward, so the Griqua, a race with a strong infusion of European blood, retreated northward to avoid the pressure of the advancing colonists. The main body, under the leadership of their chieftain Adam Kok, a liberated negro slave from the coast of Mozambique, crossed the Orange River in 1810 a little below its junction with the Vaal, and founded a "Free State." In the year 1820 the Griqua were living in three races under the two Koks and Berend, in a district extending from Daniel's Kuyl to the Riet River. When Nicholas Waterboer was elected in Griquatown in 1822, many of the Griqua withdrew and joined other races; a second exodus under Buys moved toward the mountains on the frontier of Cape Colony, and produced the Bergenaers. In 1826, Adam Kok's Griqua went to the Bushman colony of Philippolis, which had been devastated by the Kaffirs. From 1834 the Griqua chiefs were in receipt of British subsidies, and in 1848-1853 the people were under British suzerainty. After the recognition of the Orange Free State in 1854, the government of that republic pressed yet harder upon the eastern Griqua, who emigrated in 1862 beyond the Drakensberg to "No Man's Land" in Kaffraria. About this time, 1861, the Pondo chieftain Faku, who was threatened by the Kaffirs, resigned his rights in favour of Great Britain, who divided a portion of the territory among the Griqua, Basutos, and Fingos of Adam Kok. This district was united, in 1876, with Cape Colony, as "East Griqualand." Meanwhile, the western Griqua, who were divided from their brethren by the Lower Vaal, had also suffered under the continual advance of the Cape Boers. Finally, on October 27th, 1871, Britain succeeded in persuading Waterboer, the chief, to cede his territory to her, including the newly discovered diamond-fields. Everywhere, by slow degrees and diplomatic skill, a peaceful modus vivendi was attained for Hottentots and European settlers alike. But the yellow races of South Africa must eventually disappear from history. Such hybrid races seem doomed to wear out rapidly, unless saved by strong infusion of new blood.

Doom of the Yellow Races

THE KAFFIR PEOPLES OF THE SOUTH-EAST

THROUGHOUT Southern and Central Africa the negro races speak Bantu dialects. The tribes of the south-east—that is, south of the Zambesi and east of the Hottentots—are generally included under the title of Kaffir, a term of Arab origin, meaning "unbelievers."

It appears that the Kaffirs migrated from the north southward, and, starting from Abyssinian territory, finally arrived at South-east Africa. The extent of these migrations is probably exaggerated. In the tenth century a kingdom of the Zingi, or Sendsh, existed in the interior of Sofala; the king could place 3,000 warriors in the field, who were mounted upon oxen. The kingdom exported a large amount of slaves, gold, iron, and ivory. Races related to the Sendsh seem to have lived some distance away upon the coast; others who were less civilised lived in the interior and appear from descriptions to have been the ancestors of the Jagga and Masimba. The later kingdom of Monomotapa, or more correctly of *the* Monomotapa—the word means "sons of the mines," and is undoubtedly applied to the ruling family—is probably identical with the older state of the Sendsh. The gold of the country, which was also worked by the Kaffirs, gave a splendour to the kingdom of the Monomotapa, which was widely exaggerated by the ancient chroniclers; hence the kingdom was finally represented upon European maps as of fabulous extent.

In modern times two races of the Kaffir people of South Africa can be distinguished: an older race, which dates back to the original conquest of the district in antiquity, and a younger, warlike race, which, migrating back again from the south, presses upon its peaceful northern relations as well as upon other peoples. The people of Monomotapa belong to the older group, and their descendants now inhabit Mashonaland; for the modern Mashona call themselves Makalanga, evidently the same name as that of the inhabitants of Monomotapa, who were called Mocaranga. The Portuguese chroniclers tell us that, about 1600, Monomotapa was divided into three states, separate provinces which had made themselves independent—Sakumbe, Manu, and Chicova.

After this disruption of the wealthy Monomotapa no other great political organisation came into being, and a conquering race would have found itself confronted by a very feeble opposition. In process of time such a race arose among the south-eastern Kaffirs. Our information concerning their internal history is extremely scanty previous to their first collisions with the European settlers; but this is not a serious loss, inasmuch as their great campaigns of conquest, which convulsed Africa as far as the great lakes, were begun at a much later period. Most of the Kaffir races agree in the tradition that they migrated to their territory from the north-east, and the legend is confirmed by the Arab chronicles; these migrations were not simultaneously undertaken, but were slowly and gradually completed. In the seventeenth century the race of the Kosa Kaffirs were living furthest to the south, and had slowly penetrated into the Hottentot district. The northern group of the south-east Kaffirs were collectively



A ZULU WARRIOR

known as "Zulu" and originally inhabited Natal and its northern coastline; the Swazi, who lived in the district which bears their name, were closely related to them in language.

Before the appearance of Europeans movements seem to have been going on within the Zulu group, resulting in the absorption of smaller tribes and the formation of stronger racial confederacies. Meanwhile the Kosa had to reckon with the advance of white colonists.

The first victims of the merciless war which afterward began fell in the year 1736, when a hunting party which had entered the Kaffir territory was murdered. Small skirmishes continued, especially after 1754, without stopping the advance of the colonists, until, in the year, 1778, the Governor of Cape Colony, Von Plettenburg, laid down the boundary line of the Great Fish River. The Kaffirs, however, paid not the smallest attention to this delimitation; consequently, in the year 1780, the first Kaffir war broke out, when a small band of ninety-two colonists and forty Hottentots successfully drove the Kaffirs across the Great Fish River. Internal dissension had broken out among the Kaffirs themselves, and the races which fled across the boundary river had already been defeated and weakened, and were now forced to give way once more. In the following year the disturbances continued; in the years 1795–1796 the chief Ndlambe had a desperate struggle with his nephew, Gaika, for the supremacy in the Kosa territory.

In 1797 Gaika was proclaimed king of all the tribes to the west of the Kei by John Barrow, private secretary to Lord Macartney; he remained peaceful during the struggles of the British with the chief Kungwa, who died in 1811, on Algoa Bay, and with Ndlambe on the Great Fish River. In the year 1818 he was driven westward after his defeat on the Amalinde plain on the Chumie River by Ndlambe's party under a man of low rank, the prophet and magician Makanna; but shortly afterwards — in 1819 — before Grahamstown on the Cowie river, Makanna fell into the hands of the colonists he had attacked. The further details of the struggle are closely connected with the development of Cape Colony, and are reserved until we reach that subject.

Meanwhile, undisturbed by European attacks, a warrior state had arisen among the Zulus, for which few parallels are to be found in the whole course of the world's history. The Zulus, whose name is now generally extended to include the whole race, were originally nothing more than a small wandering tribe of little importance; but about the beginning of the



THE BIRTH OF THE COLONY OF NATAL

Lieut. Farewell treating with the chiefs under Chaka, the Zulu king, in 1824.

nineteenth century the immense energy and ruthless tyranny of their chief Chaka gave them undisputed pre-eminence. Chaka's mother had sent him for safety to Dingiswayo, chief of the neighbouring and more powerful tribe of he Tetwa, where he was brought up; then about the year 1818 he returned, at the age of thirty, took up the reins of government, and quickly succeeded in incorporating the Tetwas with the Zulus.

The whole state was now remodelled with a view to war and conquest, and the subject members were organised and systematically trained for this purpose. The smaller racial confederacies disappeared one after the other, and family life within the tribe itself was almost entirely broken up. The nation was henceforward divided into army corps, each under its own warrior chief, or induna; the women, who were also subjected to this military system, were nothing more than concubines, and were often not permitted to rear their own children. The army was constantly rejuvenated by enlisting the youthful members of conquered races; the obvious result of this system was that constant wars were a vital necessity for the Zulu kingdom, and that its influence upon its neighbours was invariably destructive. When these neighbours were not destroyed, they fell upon other races in their hasty retreat before the advancing Zulus, until at length a considerable part of South Africa was in a state of ferment and commotion. Thus the Mantati, who had been thrust aside by the Zulus, threatened the Cape itself, after crushing some of the weaker races to the north of the Orange River; however, in 1823, they were defeated by the Griqua Hottentots, and gradually relapsed into quiescence. Remnants of other races, partly Fingoes from the Tugela, partly Zulus who had shared in revolts against Chaka's cruelty, streamed toward the south-west and finally joined the Fingo tribe; from 1835, after the war, some 16,000 of them were settled by the British to the east of the Great Fish River.



ZULU WITCH-DOCTOR MAKING WARRIORS INVULNERABLE

When about to practise their arts these wizards smear their faces with some white pigment. Round their heads they wear fish-bladders. Their bodies are swathed in a dress of bullock's hair. The doctor works himself into a frenzy and dances wildly round the circle of warriors, dashing his switch in their faces and occasionally thrusting a lump of clay and dirt into their mouths.

In the year 1828 Chaka fell a victim to a conspiracy of his two brothers, one of whom, Dingan, seized the power after a hard struggle with his fellow conspirator. He surpassed even Chaka in cruelty and ferocious energy, and completed the organisation of the army. But the enemies were already approaching who were finally to break the Zulu power.

British colonists had settled on the coasts of Natal; in 1837 Boers crossed the mountains and asked permission of Dingan to settle. The Kaffir chief enticed the leader of the Boers, Pieter Retief, with sixty-six of his men, into his encampment, and for their confidence murdered them on February 5th, 1838; then begins a new page in South African history, one of the many which have been written in blood.



WIFE OF A KAFFIR CHIEF

For Dingan the cowardly deed brought fatal consequences. The Boers gathered a strong force, marched into Natal under command of Andries Pretorius, and inflicted a bloody defeat on Dingan when he attacked their laager with 12,000 men on December 16th, 1838. Dingan fled to the Swazi Kaffirs, and met his death among them shortly afterward, about 1840. His successor, Panda, "Prince of the Zulus," who came to power on February 4th, 1840, was obliged to abandon Natal to the Boers, who were shortly afterwards forcibly incorporated with the British colonial empire. Thus an impassable barrier was set up on the south against the warlike tendencies of the Zulus; their attacks upon the north became all the more frequent.

Panda's reign was a period of peace with the British. This state of affairs continued until Panda's son Ketchwayo, or Cetewayo, in 1857, succeeded in defeating his brother Umbelasi in a bloody battle upon the Tugela River, and ousting his father, who had not interfered in the quarrel. In Cetewayo, the typical warrior Zulu prince again came to light, and upon the death of Panda, in 1872, it became plain that the peace between the Zulus and the British Government would be of no long duration. Marauding expeditions upon the frontier increased in frequency, and were further incited by refugees from both parties. Cetewayo, who saw what was coming, had raised his army to the number of 40,000 men. The British insisted that this dangerous force should be disbanded, and declared war upon the refusal of the Zulu ruler. There could be no doubt about the final issue. A British force was, indeed, destroyed by the spears and clubs of the Zulu regiments at Isandlhwana, or Isandula, on January 22nd, 1879, and the base camp at Rorke's Drift, held by 120 men, fiercely attacked by 4,000 Zulus; but as Dingan was ultimately beaten by the Boers, so was Cetewayo by the British on July 4th, at Ulundi; the Kaffir king was forced to surrender unconditionally, in the forest of Ngome on the Black Umvolosi, on August 28th, 1879. The further advance of the British and their gradual occupation of the country are events which belong to European African history.



THE BURDEN-BEARERS: ZULU WOMEN

The crater of this racial war had thus been violently stopped; but bands of warriors were spreading devastation over a wide area. At the time when Chaka rose to be head of the Zulu races a part of his people fled away

from his iron rule. Under the leadership of the chief Moselikatse, the band started north-west in 1818, and first came into collision with the race of the Makololo, who were settled in the eastern part of the modern Orange River Colony. The Makololo retired before their attack, marched northward in 1824 under their chief Sebituane, and crossed the Central Zambesi.

Meanwhile, the Matabele, as the people of Moselikatse called themselves after a Zulu tribe that had long been settled in the Transvaal, met with other opponents between the Orange and Vaal rivers—namely, a part of the Korana Hottentots, and also the Basuto people, who were of the Bechuana race. These latter are said to have migrated to their territory at the outset of the seventeenth century, and to have grown considerably in power by absorbing the remnants of other races. The most important of the Basuto chiefs, Moshesh—from about 1820 to 1868—repelled the Matabele attack in 1831, acquiring thereby both reputation and influence. The Matabele were unable to advance further south, and gradually got possession of the modern Transvaal. However, on one side the Boers, trekking across the Vaal River, defeated Moselikatse in 1837, and drove him north of the Limpopo. The Matabele then turned upon Mashonaland, the old Monomotapa. Here the tribes could offer no effective resistance. Plundering and slaughter was carried on in true Zulu fashion; the wives of the conquered race followed their new masters as prisoners, while the young men were enlisted in the army. As all the attempts of the Matabele to cross the Zambesi were fruitless, the main body of the race remained in Mashonaland, a standing cause of annoyance to their neighbours. After the death of Moselikatse, Lobengula became chief in 1870. About the beginning of the 'eighties there was a constant influx of whites into his kingdom, attracted by its wealth of gold; at the beginning of 1889 and 1894 his territory was taken over by the British South Africa Company. The power of the Matabele was utterly broken by the defeat of Lobengula on November 1st, 1893, on the Bembesi River, to the north-east of his capital of Buluwayo.

Less known to us than the history of the Matabele is that of the other Zulu peoples, whose devastating raids extended eastward and far beyond the Zambesi. In their case we have to proceed more

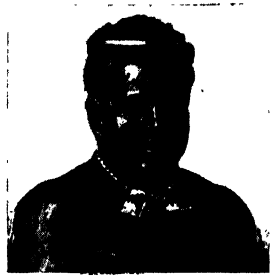


THE ZULU WAR OF 1879: FUGITIVES FROM ISANDLHWANA
The Zulu state was remodelled with a view to war and conquest about 1820, and the resulting state of ferment in South Africa was brought to a head when Cetewayo destroyed a British force at Isandlhwana, near the Buffalo River, in 1879

cautiously. In the first place it appears that Kaffirs of an older stock, closely resembling the Zulus in their customs, had been settled in the Zambesi district and the East African highland for centuries —that is, probably since the time of the great migration from the north; the Wayao, who vigorously attacked the Makua on the Rovuma about a decade ago, were probably one of these tribes. But, in the next place, whole races, the so-called Zulu apes, have adopted the manners and military customs of the Zulus, and have consequently helped to confuse the boundaries of the true area of Zulu distribution, overspread by the "later invasion." Now, this same northern group of Kaffirs seems to have been vigorously active several centuries ago, and perhaps played the same part as the Zulus did in our own times; such at least seems to be the true significance of the Jagg and Masimba expeditions, which are worthy of a closer examination.



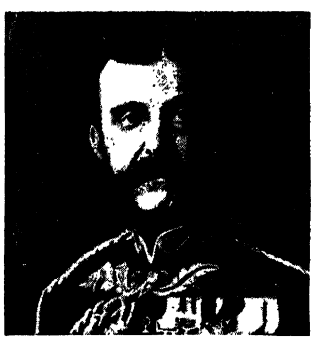
CETEWAYO



LOBENGULA

Two of the most famous native chiefs: Cetewayo, the typical warrior Zulu prince, and Lobengula, the last independent Matabele chief.

The Matabele campaign which convulsed Central South Africa up to the Zambesi, and indirectly beyond it, were in point of influence even surpassed by the warfare and devastation spread by other Zulu bands upon the east coast and upon either side of the Lower Zambesi. The chief Mani-kus is said to have led the first army northward after Chaka's death. Gasaland, the district between the mouth of the Zambesi and Zululand, was first overrun and devastated; the inhabitants, who had previously been a happy and industrious people, were scattered or reduced to slavery, and they now bred dogs for their supply of meat in place of their beloved cattle, which fell into the hands of the Zulus. A similar fate befell the races on the Lower Zambesi. The regular export of gold had maintained a certain connection between this district and more advanced races, and the inhabitants had made considerable progress in civilisation. Artistic iron and gold smiths exchanged the products of their industry not only with their fellows, but even with Arabs and Portuguese, and the manufacture of woollen fabrics had spread from the Zambesi far into the interior. The population was composed of very different elements, for slavery had here been a flourishing institution from an early period and its usual results, the dissolution and fusion of races, were plainly manifest.



LORD CHELMSFORD

Whose force was cut to pieces at Isandlhwana in the Zulu War of 1879.

The warlike Zulus, under Songondawe, Mpesen, Suru and Mbonan, Mputa and Kidiaonga, attacked this mixture of races with shattering energy. But in this case they no longer appear under their own name; perhaps they had in part emigrated northward to escape Chaka's tyranny at a time when this people was being consolidated under his iron rule, and had not entirely imposed the name of its own little tribe upon the general whole. We find such Zulu offshoots as "Landin" on the Zambesi, as "Wangoni" to the west of the Nyassa, as "Masiti" or "Masitu" between the Nyassa and the east coast of the continent, as "Watuta" to the south of Unyamwesi. All these exercised a terribly destructive influence; their example induced peaceful agricultural tribes to assume the dress and arms of the conquerors (the stabbing spear and the shield covered with oxhide), and in like manner to invade and devastate the territory of their neighbours. Among these "Zulu-apes" may also be included, in a certain sense, the Wahehe, who, as a whole, are closely related to the



THE HEROIC DEFENCE OF RORKE'S DRIFT: 120 MEN AGAINST 4,000 ZULUS

In the beginning of the Zulu War of 1879, Chelmsford's main force advanced to Isandlhwana, leaving a small band to guard communications at Rorke's Drift. The Zulus evaded him, and burst on the camp, and, but for its heroic defence by 120 whites against 4,000 Zulus, would have invaded Natal. From Lady Butler's picture by the artist's permission.

Wasagara. About 1860, and especially from about 1870, they founded several kingdoms upon true Zulu principles under their chiefs Nyugumba, Matshinga, and Mambambe, which were ultimately subdued in 1896 by the advance of German colonisation. Phenomena precisely similar in kind to these modern aggressive military Kaffir communities had presented themselves three centuries before. When the second Portuguese embassy was staying in the year 1490–1491 with Mani-Congo, the king of the Lower Congo, whose court was at Ambasse, news arrived from the interior that the people of the Mundequete, on the lakes at the sources of the Congo, were preparing for war. The Congo king immediately had himself baptised, like Clovis of old, and successfully beat the enemy. This first movement seems to have been the prelude to further struggles and the invasion of the Jagga. Under their king, Simbo, these "Giacas" advanced toward the west coast, defeated the Congo troops, whose king had great difficulty in maintaining his position even with Portuguese help, and subdued part of the Portuguese district of Angola.

They renewed their attack from 1542–1546, and, after bringing Congo to the verge of destruction, were finally defeated; the remainder of them then settled in the district of Kassandje. Their original habitation is said to have been about the sources of the Zambesi and of the Congo; so they may very well have been a Kaffir race. Moreover, the military organisation of the Jagga apparently corresponds in its main features with that of the Zulus. The Jagga also increased their strength by incorporating with their troops the youth of the peoples whom they defeated and generally slaughtered. Of their attainments in civilisation, or of their customs, we know but little; the name Jagga is certainly a Kaffir word, and means "troops," "soldiers," or "bodies of young men."



Elliott & Fry

THE DEFENDERS OF RORKE'S DRIFT

Lieutenants Chard and Bromhead, whose six score men held the camp against 4,000 Zulus, saving Natal from Cetewayo.



THE ARAB SETTLEMENTS ON THE EAST

ALMOST throughout Eastern Africa, evidences are to be found of the presence of an early civilisation of which it may be confidently affirmed that it was not indigenous. From Somaliland as far southward as Mozambique ruined stone buildings are to be found upon the coast. Many of these doubtless belong to the period of Portuguese and Arabic supremacy; the origin of others, however, is yet unexplained. This chain of ruins is terminated at Mozambique. But further south, beyond the Zambesi, in the interior of Sofala is a large district—Mashonaland—containing a number of extensive ruins, including the famous Simbabwe, the unusual size and solidity of which vividly impress the imagination.

The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland

These were stone buildings, all of very similar character; in their simplest form they consist of a circular wall, built of hewn stones without mortar, and often displaying some simple ornamentation of straight lines running round their circumference. Usually a second wall surrounds this first circle, and the intervening space is divided into small rooms by partitions. The entrance is guarded by special fortifications; their whole character indicates that the inhabitants lived in a hostile district in a state of continual war. Strong massive towers, the object of which it is difficult to explain, rose here and there. The ruins are exceptionally poor in objects of civilisation. We may mention a few figures of birds and pots of soapstone, iron implements which perhaps belonged to later inhabitants of the ruins, some porcelain, which may have been brought into the interior by Arab merchants; and this is practically all. In old accounts, especially in those of the Arabs, we hear of strange inscriptions on the gates, which were unintelligible to the visitors; such inscriptions have been discovered in modern times, and appear to be of Semitic origin.

Fortresses of Ancient Gold-diggers

But the reason why those stone castles were built is clear. Everywhere in the neighbourhood of the buildings we find smelting furnaces, dross, pieces of ore, and remnants of crucibles, and in many of these fragments are still to be found traces of gold; there can be no doubt that these old fortresses were built to protect the gold-diggers.

In the next place it is clear from the utter lack of artistic work that the builders were not Indians, Egyptians, or Greeks. In effect, we must attribute the buildings to a Semitic people, with an overwhelming presumption in favour of the Arabs. We are irresistibly led to identify Mashonaland with the Ophir of the Bible.

When and why the district was abandoned it is impossible to say; but the condition of the buildings seems to point to their almost simultaneous destruction by hostile forces. As regards the question of the Arab settlements of Roman times, we have information from writers who belong to European civilisation—namely, the so-called "Periplus of the Erythræan Sea," and the Geography of Ptolemy. From these sources it appears that in the second century A.D. there were a large number of trading stations upon the east coast of Africa, with which the Arabs maintained a vigorous and profitable trade. It was just at that period that the Arabs began to monopolise the trade by forcing the Egyptian ships to transfer their cargoes to Arab vessels at the exit of the Strait of Bab el-Mandeb. It can hardly be doubted that the settlements had been in existence long before that period. The most southerly point known to Ptolemy was the promontory of Prasum, which he places in 16° 25′ latitude south. This would nearly correspond to the latitude of the modern Mozambique. He also mentions Rhapta, which is to be found upon the coast of Zanzibar, corresponding possibly with the modern Pangani, which lies upon the river Rufu as the old town did upon the Rhaptus; or it is to be identified with Kilwa. Further north lay Tonike, Essina, and other trading stations. Our informants

The Real Land of Ophir

know nothing of any unusually great export of gold or of the gold-mines and towns of Mashonaland. They lay more stress upon the export of resin from Northern East Africa. Possibly the Arabs were careful to hide the source of their gold supply; that their domination in Mashonaland may have already come to ruin is supported by an observation in the Arabic chronicle of Kilwa, stating that it was not before the year 1000 A.D. that the people of Makdishu—that is, Somaliland—rediscovered the gold-mines of Sofala.

According to Arab accounts of later centuries, trade appears to have continued in a flourishing condition, and to have been shared by Indian and at times by Chinese ships. About 908 A.D. Makdishu and Borawa, or Brava, on the Somali coast were founded by Arabs from El-Chasa on the Persian Gulf, as also was Kilwa about 975. The islands of Zanzibar and Pemba had been in the hands of the Arabs long before, and even mixed races of Arabs and negroes were to be found on the coast. In the twelfth century we have mention of Malindi, or Melinde, and also of Momba; but Kilwa seems to have been predominant for a long period—probably because it had the monopoly of gold export—while Makdishu was of chief importance on the north. Islam was early transplanted to Africa and helped to consolidate the Arab settlements. So when the Portuguese finally raised the veil which shrouded these districts, there were a number of flourishing sultanates and rich towns upon the coast, which were in the hands of the Arabs from Sofala as far north as Malindi, while a vigorous communication was kept up by sea between the coasts of East Africa and India. The appearance of the Portuguese was promptly followed by collisions with these Arab settlements. In the south, the Arabs were successfully driven back; but the northern towns, especially Mombasa, though more or less subjugated, were at best a doubtful and expensive acquisition, even during the flourishing period of Portuguese predominance. When Portugal's power declined the strongest and most maritime of the Arab states naturally entered into her inheritance.



RUINS OF FORTS OF THE GOLD-DIGGERS OF OPHIR
Throughout Mashonaland are impressive ruins, probably forts of ancient gold-diggers, the district being identified with the Ophir of the Bible. Those of Simbabwe, shown above, are most famous. A model of the ruins is shown in the top right-hand corner; one of the massive tower fortifications at the bottom, the other objects being sculptures found in the ruins.

This Arab state was Oman, which was situated on the eastern point of the Arabian peninsula, a district facing India and Persia; at an early date its geographical situation gave it a dominant position, and the power of the state was increased by the formation of a special Mohammedan sect, the chief of which was the reigning sultan of the land, with the title of Imam of Maskat. Oman was

torn by internal dissensions for a long period; but in 1624 the Jarebite Nasser ben Murdjid made himself sole ruler. He was forthwith obliged to embark upon a war with the Portuguese, who had several coast towns belonging to Oman in their possession; but it was his cousin and successor, Sultan ben Sef (1649–1668), who first succeeded in taking the last Portuguese stronghold, Maskat, in 1650. During the course of this war Oman had become a formidable maritime power. Sultan ben Sef harassed the Portuguese in India and East Africa, and about 1660 temporarily seized the town of Mombasa. In 1698, his son and successor, Sef ben Sultan, succeeded in capturing Mombasa, stirring up the entire population of the coast against the Portuguese, and thus subduing East Africa as far as Cape Delgado.

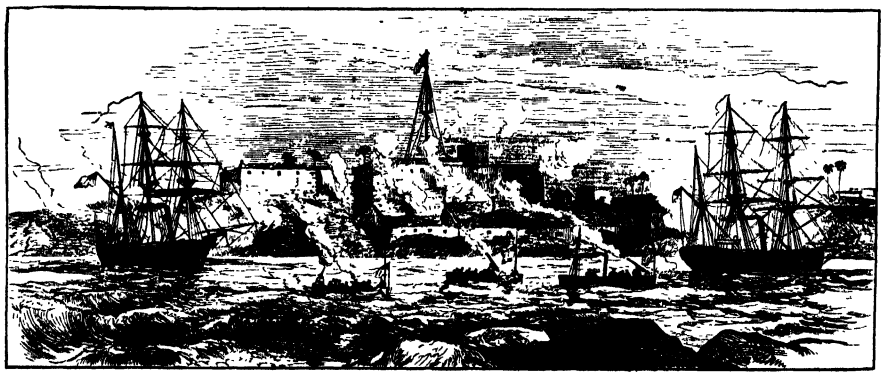
Rise of the Arab State of Oman

Meanwhile it began to appear that the little state of Oman had undertaken a task beyond its powers. If the coast towns—Kilwa, Zanzibar, Melindi, Patta, Fasa—took advantage of the weakness of Oman to declare themselves independent petty states the Arab dominion would be overthrown. This was precisely what occurred. In 1728 Portugal availed herself of the resulting confusion to make a second attack; Patta fell into her hands again, and on March 16th Mombasa, the last Arab stronghold on the coast, was obliged to open its gates. This was the expiring effort of the Portuguese power. As soon as the inhabitants of the coast again united their forces against the foreigners, the towns were lost in rapid succession—Zanzibar, Masia, Pemba, and on November 26th, 1729, Mombasa.

In Maskat the Jarebite dynasty was replaced by the Abu Saidi family, which rules in Oman and Zanzibar now. The founder of this dynasty was the commander-in-chief Sohar Ahmed ben Said, who ascended the throne in 1744. The change of dynasty led to a second change in the relations between Oman and the African coast towns. Marka, Zanzibar, and Kilwa alone acknowledged the new supremacy; the remaining towns, headed by the ever restless Mombasa, under the brothers Mohammed and Ali ben Osman, declared their independence and found themselves immediately at war with Ahmed ben Said in consequence. At the same time, internal struggles were raging in the several towns, especially in Patta. Ultimately, in 1785, an ingenious manœuvre restored to Maskat the whole coast line, which for a long time bore the mild yoke of the rulers without complaint.

It was not until the governor of Mombasa, Abdallah ben Ahmed (1814–1823) attempted to make himself independent, that the reigning monarch of Maskat, Seyyid Said, was roused to greater energy. After long hesitation, he sent a fleet to East Africa in 1822, and with the assistance of Mohammed ben Nasser, the governor of Zanzibar, who had remained faithful to him, he speedily reduced Mombasa to a desperate condition. As a last resource Seliman ben Ali placed himself under the protection of the Englishman Owen in 1824. But the British Government did not confirm the

Struggles of the Arab States



MOMBASA IN THE DAYS OF THE SLAVE TRADE: BOMBARDMENT BY BRITISH WARSHIPS

Mombasa, the ever restless Arab state on the east coast of Africa, founded before the Portuguese occupation in the fifteenth century, is now the capital of the British East African Protectorate. It was a centre of the slave trade.

convention, and the town was forced to surrender to Seyyid Said, who appeared in 1828 with a fleet of eleven ships of war. Shortly afterwards, however, Mombasa was again in full revolt, until 1837, when Seyyid Said succeeded in recovering possession of the town by treachery and completely expelling the ruling family of the Msara, to which he had previously entrusted some powers of government. In 1840 the victorious sultan determined to transfer his residence permanently to Africa, and chose Zanzibar for this purpose. The connection between Oman and Zanzibar was dissolved by the death of Seyyid Said in 1856, one of his sons, Seyyid Madjid, taking the African dominions, while Seyyid Sueni received the Arabian territory. Great Britain, whose position as dominant Power in the Indian Ocean was now assured, adjusted certain points of variance between the two rulers in 1859, by inducing the sultan of Zanzibar to pay his brother in Maskat a yearly subsidy of 40,000 dollars. She also supported the sultan against one of his younger brothers who attempted to revolt, the later sultan Seyyid Bargash. During the closing years of Seyyid Madjid's life Great Britain paid the yearly compensation due from the sultan to Maskat out of her own resources. After Seyyid Madjid's death, in 1870, the power passed to his brother Seyyid Bargash, who died on April 25th, 1888. Under his government those changes began which have effected a fundamental revolution in African affairs.



THE END OF SLAVERY IN ZANZIBAR

With the introduction of the clove-tree and the growth of plantations, the old Arab slave trade of Zanzibar revived, and rose to enormous proportions, until the British intervened. This picture shows the destruction of the last of the slavers' stockades.

The wealth of the Arabs dwelling on the coast and the islands was chiefly derived from their landed property. Mombasa, for instance, was strong enough to offer a long resistance chiefly by reason of its possession of the island of Pemba, with its rich plantations. Since 1818 the clove-tree had been cultivated there with brilliantly successful results. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the commerce of Zanzibar was very unimportant; the export of ivory was comparatively small; the slave trade was carried on in a very modest way, and the traders, chiefly Indians, were few in number. The introduction of the clove-tree produced a great change. Large plantations now sprang up, requiring many hands to work them; slave-hunting and the slave trade revived. The wealth thus acquired enabled enterprising Arabs not only to get slaves from the coast tribes by barter,

but also to fit out strong, well-armed expeditions for the purpose of breaking down the numerous obstacles to trade, and of buying or kidnapping slaves in the interior. Ivory and cheap slaves now came down to the coast in abundance, and the extraordinary profits which were made at the outset were a stimulus to more extensive raids and trading expeditions. Thus Arab influence spread further into the interior, though the idea was never entertained of establishing any permanent political supremacy on the continent, apart from that already existing in the settlements upon the coast. The Zanzibar government certainly claimed the allegiance of the several Arab contractors who made their way into the interior on their own account; but it could not and would not exercise any control, and generally did not attempt to assert its rights until the return of the caravans.

The increase of the slave trade, and the devastation which it created, compelled the intervention of the British. As early as 1847 they had prohibited the slave trade north of Brava; in 1873, Sir Bartle Frere was sent out to add his persuasions, which were of a forcible character, to those of the Consul-General, Sir John Kirk, and to impose upon the sultan a treaty whereby the slave trade was officially abolished. The result was inevitably disastrous for the Arab plantation owners, who, deprived of the labour necessary to their work, were reduced to poverty and inspired with fierce hatred of every European. The only course open to these ruined men was to try their fortunes at trading on the continent, to collect ivory and kidnap slaves, which were secretly brought over to Zanzibar. Thus the unfortunate districts of East Africa were sacrificed to marauders of the worst class, and the Arabs became the curse of the country. About the different centres of Arab influence oases of higher culture certainly arose amid the general devastation, which exercised some beneficial influence upon the natives; but such benefits were far outweighed by the attendant misery. The Arabs began to make plantations at these centres also, a fresh demand for slaves arose, and the raids continued incessantly. The earliest and most important base of operations was Tabora in Unyamwesi, which may be said to mark the first and shortest stage of the Arab advance. Further inland is Ujiji, the harbour of Tanganyika, and also the notorious Nyangwe, on the Upper Congo, whence the Eastern Congo valley was cruelly devastated. Many tribes, such as the Manyema became the ready helpers of the Arabs, and took to raiding on their own initiative.

Within the few years ensuing, British influence was strengthened by the appointment of several British officials. But other Powers were now alert to appropriate "spheres of influence" in the Dark Continent. Treaty-making began to be actively carried on in the interior, and presently it became imperative that Great Britain and Germany should come to a definite understanding as to their respective areas of ascendency. The matter was finally settled by the Anglo-German Convention of 1890, accompanied by an Anglo-French agreement, which virtually turned the northern half of the Zanzibar sultanate into a British protectorate, Zanzibar and Pemba being included therein.



A VIEW OF ZANZIBAR, ONCE THE CENTRE OF THE SLAVE TRADE

Zanzibar, the capital of the sultanate, on the island of Zanzibar, is the principal port on the east coast of Africa, and is under British protection. It was the centre of the East African slave trade in the days of its greatest prosperity.



TRIBES OF NORTH AND CENTRAL EAST AFRICA

AT the present time in Central East Africa it is possible to distinguish with tolerable clearness several zones of civilisation which display the results of long-continued foreign influence. The coast towns and the larger portion of the sea-board are inhabited by the Suaheli, a mixed people with a certain infusion of Arab and also of Portuguese blood, united by a common language and a uniform civilisation. In the fruitful mountainous country behind the coast-line and in the plain districts further in the interior dwell small races often in a very low stage of civilisation. When we penetrate the highlands between the Victoria Nyanza, Tanganyika, and Nyassa, we reach a district too far from the coast to be demoralised by the influence of the foreigners settled there, and yet sufficiently near to receive all kinds of stimulus. Thus, in this district has arisen a people, the Wanyamwesi, civilised—at least in the African sense of the word—admirably distinguished by manufacturing industry and by an inclination for trade, and likely to be highly important in the future of the continent.

Civilised People of Moonland

This people has apparently maintained a peaceful intercourse with the coast from a very early period. The word Unyamwesi means "Moonland," and originated among the coast population, who may have heard, like the Arabs, their teachers, of the legendary Mountains of the Moon of the ancients: the name was naturally attached to the most important district of the interior, the goal of all trading expeditions. The natural advantages of the locality, and especially the protection afforded by the plains and lakes against attacks from without, contributed to advance the prosperity of Unyamwesi; so too did the caravan trade and the higher civilisation thereby introduced, which helped to consolidate the different races of the district to a closer political unity. The highest prosperity of this state certainly came to pass at a time concerning which we have no direct information; but its importance can easily be inferred even in its present condition of decay.

The central point of Unyamwesi is Unyanyembe; even after the disruption of the kingdom, the date of which is unknown, communication with the coast was maintained here, and certain traditions of no great antiquity were preserved. We are probably correct in placing the founder of the present dynasty, Swetu I., at the end of the eighteenth century. Under this ruler the caravan trade, which had probably ceased, must have been reopened—a movement apparently begun by two elephant hunters, Mparangome and Ngogombe, who made their way nearly to the coast and then acted as guides to the caravans of their countrymen about 1825–1830. The Arabs soon availed themselves of the newly opened trade route, and founded Tabora in 1846 as their centre of operations. At this point begins the great modern Arab incursion into Central Africa, with the great revolutions and struggles to which it led.

Beginning of Arab Invasions

Other foreign elements were also to be found in Unyamwesi. An offshoot of the Hamitic Wahuma immigrations from the north appears at an early period but did not attain to any political influence in the country. On the other hand, the Zulu raids brought detachments of this warlike race into the district; their influence upon the destinies of Unyamwesi was to become important in later times, when these additions were known as Watuta or Wangoni. About 1850 the Watuta separated from the Masitu, the Zulus upon Lakes Schirwa and Nyassa, and, advancing from the northwest end of Lake Nyassa, attacked the Warori, being attracted by their wealth of cattle; finding them too strong, they passed by Urori and advanced to Udjidji in 1858, the Arab inhabitants taking refuge on the island of Bangwe. The Watuta then attacked Uhha, on Lake Tanganyika, and Urundi, with its capital,

Zulu Raids in Moonland

Muwukeye, without success, marched through Uvinsa, entered Unyamwesi, and arrived by way of Usindja at the Ukerewe Lake. Here they remained some years, and then returned to Sudussukuma, the chief of which prudently became the son-in-law of the Watuta leader and received his land back as dowry. However, part of the Watuta went farther south, and became the most reliable contingent in the service of the powerful Mirambo, the "Napoleon of East Africa." Under him they were gradually transformed from a fierce tribe of wanderers to a state which became highly prosperous in the well-watered pasture lands of Ugomba and Ngalla.

East Africa's Napoleon

Mirambo himself, born about 1830, was of the race of the Wanyamwesi, probably the son of a petty village chieftain; he was a caravan porter, and, being badly treated by an Arab, escaped into the wilderness and collected a band of robbers about him, which was soon as great a terror to the natives as were the Arabs themselves. Upon the death of the chief of Uyoweh, a small district belonging to Unyamwesi, he seized this territory and terrorised the whole of south-west Unyamwesi by his devastating raids. Conflict with the Arabs was inevitable. Stanley, who was travelling through the country just at that period, 1871, took part in the expedition which the Arabs made against Mirambo; their victorious advance was speedily terminated by a crushing defeat. In the same year Mirambo stormed and burned the town of Tabora. He was then, between 1870 and 1880, at the height of his power.

But the system of conquest which he had adopted from the Zulus was not the method by which permanent empires are formed. Unyamwesi, which had been formerly so powerful, did not rise to new prosperity under Mirambo. His power was wasted, as it had grown, by continual war. After his death, in 1886, Unyamwesi was more than ever torn by faction, and before a path out of this state of disruption to further development could be found Tabora was garrisoned by the Germans in 1890. This event, together with the defeat of Sikki, chief of Unyanyembe, announced the beginning of a new era for these districts. The clutch of Europe had closed upon the savage region.

The Clutch of Europe in Moonland

Very little is known of the history of the Bantu-speaking peoples settled to the eastward between Unyamwesi and the coast. It is clear that their numbers were once greater and their situation more favourable than now. On the other hand, the state of the Bushman races in the unwatered territory is an argument against assigning the whole of Central East Africa to the Bantu. Here also there was undoubtedly constant migration and fusion of races at an early epoch.

The inhabitants of Usagara, Useguha, Usambara, Ukami and Chutu appear to form a connected group, which, like the Wanyamwesi, has been settled in its territory from an early period. Contrasted with these are those Bantu who have come under Hamitic influence, of whom the chief representatives are the Wagogo, beside numerous smaller tribes further northward, such as the independent Wadchagga at the Kilimanjaro, the tributary Wapokomo on the Tana, etc. The northern races of the Wanyamwesi are originally related to the Wagogo, and the latter have linguistic affinities to the Bantu people of the Wahuma states, so that a general connection can be made among them, enabling us to draw several conclusions as to their early history. In more recent times Usambara and the district on the Kilimanjaro have been of special historical importance. About halfway through the nineteenth century Usambara was in a comparatively well-ordered condition, under a king named Kmeri. He resided in Wuga, and was the fourth of his dynasty, possessing for the moment only a part of Usambara, until Bondei and also a piece of Wadigo-land, inland from Mombasa, were added by conquest. Useguha, the coast dwellers of which were provided with guns, broke away. His family appear to have been of Arab origin, or at least to have received a large infusion of Arab blood; legend speaks of their immigration from Nguru, or Dshagga. After Kmeri's death, in 1867, the power of the little state declined very rapidly. Simbodja, Kmeri's successor, who resided in Wasinda and ultimately became involved in a quarrel with the Germans, even lost Bondei, where another chief of the Wakilindi family, Kibanga, made himself independent. The historical importance of Usambara may be easily explained by the natural

Bantu Peoples of the East

characteristics of the country. A fruitful mountainous district gives protection and security to a strong government until its influence is automatically extended over the surrounding plains, and a state arises with tolerably strong powers of resistance. In this way the power of the races about Kilimanjaro, and especially that of the Wadchagga in the surrounding districts, became noticeable. But the scanty numbers and the disunion of these mountain tribes have invariably hindered the formation of a greater kingdom.

Every district in North-east Africa, inhabited by Bantu tribes, with the possible exception of the little states about Kilimanjaro, has been subjected to the disintegrating and destructive influence of Hamitic races, who advanced from the north. Unyamwesi was one of those East African districts which are so far distant from the coast that the influences of trade exercised a beneficent rather than a disturbing influence. The same is true to a far greater extent of the lake district, which is surpassed by few parts of the continent in the advantages of its situation. Protected by the lakes, rivers, and steep mountain ranges, without being utterly cut off from communication with the outer world, the several states were here in possession of a fruitful and well-watered soil, and could develop a true negro civilisation. Africa can show but few parallels to the firmness of their structure and external power. Bantu peoples founded these kingdoms in antiquity, and still form the main stock of the population, though they have certainly been greatly changed by intermarriage with other negro races. They have been the real founders of the local civilisation; not only do they till the soil, but they also manufacture those tasteful objects which have been praised by all European visitors to the country. The civilisation of the coast has touched more lightly upon the lake district than upon Unyamwesi, where cotton is planted and woven. In the Wahuma states, as they are generally called collectively, the older art of making cloth from the bark of trees has been brought to unusual perfection.



THE DEATH OF BISHOP HANNINGTON IN UGANDA

After the appearance of Europeans and Arabs in Uganda, the conflict of foreign ideas provoked great confusion, and both Christians and Mohammedans were persecuted, King Mwanga even ordering the murder of Bishop Hannington.

We know nothing of the political condition of the lake district in that earlier period when the Bantu were at the same time the rulers and the owners of the land; but it is highly probable that there was a settled constitution even then. This constitution did not take its present form until immigrants of Hamitic blood came into the land from the north-east. These immigrants are the Wahuma. The rulers of Uganda were probably not of Wahuma race, but were in any case of Hamitic origin, and must therefore have entered the country from the north-east, as the eastern

side is protected by the Victoria Nyanza. The date of the invasion is very uncertain; but on the whole the probabilities are that it took place about the fifteenth century. The Wahuma not only spread over the lake district, they also penetrated into Unyamwesi on the north, where they led a nomadic life in separate groups under the name of Watussi. Their fair complexion and the tradition of their origin mark their connection with the Galla and the other Hamitic peoples of North-east Africa. In Unyoro Emin Pasha heard the following story: Unyoro, together with Uganda, Ussoga, Udda, and Karagwe once formed a large territory, inhabited by the Witshwesi, a black agricultural race. Then many fair people came out of the north who were cannibals. When they crossed the Nile, the Witshwesi fled westward. At Matjum, south-east of Mruli, the invaders, the Wawitu—people of Witu, the "land of the princes" lying in the east—divided into two groups, one of which advanced to Uganda, the other to Unyoro. The remnant of the Witshwesi, who named their oppressors Wahuma, literally Northmen—in Uganda they were also known as Walindi, in Karagwe as Wahinda—went about the country as minstrels or magicians, or were reduced to slavery. From that time the name Witshwesi has been synonymous for serf in Unyoro. The Wahuma now intermarried closely with the Bantu peoples, as is related in their own extraordinary tradition communicated to Speke by King Kamrasi: "Formerly our race was half white and half black, with straight hair on one side and curly on the other." Whether the word Wawitu is to be referred to the country of Witu or to the old name for Mombasa, Omwita, is extremely doubtful. Philological arguments will not help us here, as the Wahuma have adopted the language of the subject Bantu in nearly every case. The Wahuma seem to have founded a kingdom which was at first more or less self-contained, the kingdom of Kitara; it extended southward to the Kagera, its centre of gravity lying in the later Unyoro. Internal dissensions led to the despatch southward of further expeditions, and to the foundation of new states. Of these Ihangiro seems to have been the first; afterwards, twenty generations ago, a Wahuma chief Ruhinda is said to have fled to the country of Wanyambo, situated to the south of Kagera; there he won over the favour of the King, Nono, treacherously murdered him and seized the power.

Invasion of the Fair Peoples

Half White and Half Black

Such was the origin of the kingdom of Karagwe, which was more or less dependent upon Uganda in later times. Later, however, we find princes of the Ruhinda family in Ihangiro and Ussuwi, or Ussui; for a time the whole group of states formed one kingdom under the name of Ukanga, Ushirombo being also included. Uha was also a powerful and extensive state for some time, and formed the southernmost outpost of the Wahuma power on the north-east coast of Lake Tanganyika. Upon the disruption of this kingdom the power of the Wahuma collapsed utterly in the south, though it was maintained in Karagwe and Ihangiro. When the first Europeans, Speke and Grant, arrived at Karagwe at the beginning of the 'sixties, the benevolent Rumanika was in power. After his death there were disputes about the succession. The country is now within the sphere of German interests. The history of the south-western Wahuma state Ruanda is uncertain. It cannot be determined whether it originally belonged to Kitara or whether it was connected with Ukanga; the only certain fact is that the supremacy of the Wahuma, who were here known as Wasamboni, was established over the Wavira, and that the power of the kingdom in course of time has rather increased than diminished. The population of Kissakka is dependent upon Ruanda.

Speke and Grant in Wahuma

The seat of the highest Wahuma civilisation is in the north; here are situated the districts of Uganda and Unyoro, which developed into independent, closely organised states from the earlier kingdom of Kitara.

The early history of Uganda is wholly legendary. Kintu, the first king, marched from the north into the uninhabited lake district, peopled it with his descendants and the produce of the cattle which he had brought with him, and ruled as patriarch over the land. When his people plunged into all kinds of depravity he mysteriously disappeared, and was succeeded by his son, Tchwa. Of the

following kings the fourth, Kimera, stands out more clearly in the mist of legend. He is depicted as a man of superhuman size and strength, and passionately devoted to hunting; but we are also told that it was he who emigrated from Unyoro and founded an independent kingdom in Uganda, after subjugating the native Wiru or Waddu. Kitara appears to have collapsed about that period.

Several kings followed Kimera, of whom legend has but little to relate. Nakivingi, the tenth king, is the first personality of any importance; he is said to have conquered and subjugated Unyoro, so that the northern province of the old Kitara kingdom was again unified for a short period. The legendary winged warrior Kibaga is said to have been very useful to him during this struggle. Of a long succession of rulers who followed we know practically nothing. Then followed the conquest of Usoga, under the twenty-seventh king Tchabagu, whose reign dates back probably not more than a century. After two more unimportant rulers, Djundju Yunya and Wasedje, Kamanya ascended the throne, the grandfather of Mtesa, the first king visited by Europeans. We have the most divergent accounts of his struggles with the Wakidi in Usoga. These Wakidi are related to the Galla, and are therefore a Hamitic people; the manner of their attacks shows that they had the same wandering tendencies as the Wahuma formerly displayed. The king seems to have repelled the incursions of this race, and to have finally reduced them to subjection.



THE YOUNG KING OF UGANDA
Daudi Chwa, who came to the throne in 1903.

Under Sunna II., the successor to Kamanya, new influences were brought to bear upon the country by the Arab traders who made their way from the coast to Uganda. Sunna was born abut 1820, came to the throne in 1836, and died in 1860. He was a typical example of the despotic Uganda prince, careless of human life, ever ready to make war and inclined to cruelty, but benevolent and hospitable to strangers. Under his rule the power of the kingdom greatly increased. Ihangiro was conquered, the ruler of Unyoro was humbled, and the ruler of Ruanda beaten. A powerful fleet terrorised Victoria Lake, and even the warlike population of the island of Uvuma was forced to submit. The most formidable sea-fight took place when Usoga revolted and Sunna advanced to reconquer the country with 500 large ships, after the Wasoga had retired before his land forces to one of the islands of the lake and had mustered a fleet of equal strength. The rebels were blockaded in their island, were ultimately forced to surrender, and were partly massacred in the most ruthless manner. Many marauding expeditions were also made by the chiefs of the frontier provinces, who were constantly seeking to aggrandise themselves at the expense of their neighbours.

Sunna had named the prince Kadjumba as his successor; however, after his death, the chiefs elected Mtesa, who appeared to be of milder character than his tyrannical brother. They soon discovered that they had made a terrible mistake. There were certain elements of greatness in Mtesa's character, but many more repulsive features, which became very apparent in the first years of the government to which he had been elected with too little consideration. After a great victory over the Wasoga, he named himself Mkavya (he who causes weeping). He was capricious and cruel; at times he seemed inspired with the lust for slaughter, though at the same time he was by no means incapable of appreciating the higher civilisation of Arabs and Europeans. Shortly after his accession the first Europeans, Speke and

Grant, entered his capital of Banda—afterwards Rubaga and Nebula-galla were Mtesa's residences—which had already been visited by Arab merchants; they obtained an excellent reception. The different ideas of these foreign visitors soon came into conflict, and wrought endless confusion in Uganda. At first Arab influence was predominant: as early as 1862 Mtesa adopted the Arab costume instead of the native Mbugu, began to read the Koran, and allowed some part of his people to embrace the Mohammedan faith. Then Christian missionaries came into the country, at first Protestants in 1877, followed by the Catholics in 1879. Both persuasions found ready acceptance, in spite of the capricious cruelty of Mtesa, who at one time executed a number of Mohammedans, and at another instituted a regular persecution of the Christians (1881 and 1883), without himself deciding in favour of either of the new beliefs.

Religious Confusion in Uganda

Mtesa died in October, 1884. His son Mwanga, who succeeded him, at first showed no special favour to either of the new religions, and followed the example of his father's capricious and bloodthirsty behaviour. Under his persecutions Christians and Mohammedans suffered alike, and he even ordered the murder of a European, Bishop Hannington, in October, 1885. At length Mwanga formed the wild project of massacring his bodyguard, which was composed of Christians and Mohammedans; a general insurrection then broke out, and he was forced to flee to the south. This movement was, however, only the prelude to further disturbance. The adherents of the Bible and the Koran divided the land peacefully between themselves, and elected Mwanga's brother Kiwewa as king. A war then broke out, which ended in the victory of Islam; some of the Christian chiefs were slain, others fled with the missionaries to the frontier lands in the south. As the king Kiwewa had not shown sufficient consideration toward the Arabs, he was replaced by Karema, another of Mwanga's brothers, who now made public profession of Islam. Meanwhile Mwanga, who had been in exile at Bukumbi, had been won over to Christianity by the French missionaries, who had given him a hospitable reception. With the help of the Christian party he succeeded in establishing himself on the island of Shassa, and after several failures at length defeated Karema in a decisive battle. On October 11th, 1889, he re-entered his capital of Mengo, most of the Arabs taking refuge in Unyoro.

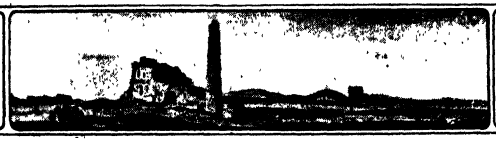
Murder of Bishop Hannington

But even now the land was not at peace. The points of dispute existing between the Protestants and Catholics resulted in an open breach, and the exasperation was increased by British attempts to gain a footing in Uganda. Eventually the country was divided among the adherents of the several religions, the Protestants receiving four-sixths, and the Catholics and Mohammedans one-sixth each. Since 1890 the much devastated and depopulated Uganda has been entirely under British influence.

There is but little to be said of the history of Unyoro, except in so far as it comes into connection with the other Wahuma states. Unyoro was undoubtedly the earliest home of the Wahuma and the centre from which they afterward spread; but it was not the centre of the civilisation of the states in the lake district, for the original civilisation of that region belonged to the earlier Bantu inhabitants and not to the Wahuma. The marauding armies of the country are the curse of the surrounding districts. The unusual force of these nomadic instincts may be partially explained by the fact that Unyoro received a later immigration from the north-east at a comparatively late period; at any rate, according to Emin Pasha, the Wawitu, who are now in possession, did not enter the country before 1800; they have readily coalesced with the cognate Wahuma or Wahinda probably the original name of the people.

Marauders of Unyoro

South of Unyoro, and east and south-east of Lake Albert Edward lie two other smaller Wahuma states, Nkole, or Ankore, of which the capital is Katwe, and Mpororo, which have only recently been discovered. Here also we meet with the tradition that Wahuma, or Wassamwo, invaded the country from the north and subjugated the original inhabitants. In Nkole the predecessor of Ntali, the present ruler, was called Mutambuka. Under the king Rokay, Mpororo had risen to considerable power, but has decayed greatly under his daughter and successor Nyawingi, and is now hard pressed by the inhabitants of Nkole.



THE TRIBES OF THE CENTRE AND WEST

IN the Upper Zambesi region the most important race is that of the Barotse, who display many characteristics denoting their close relationship to those peoples who founded states in the south of the Congo basin and on the West Coast, which borders that district. The Barotse, extending along both banks of the Zambesi inhabit the central part of the kingdom; they suffered some temporary humiliation at the hands of the Makololo, but soon regained their position as the dominant race among the other inhabitants of the kingdom. The smaller tribes were considered by the Barotse as their slaves. But in 1870-1890, when Holub and Selous visited them, the Barotse were themselves living under an absolutely despotic government. This state of affairs cannot have been of long duration; the existence of a small and of a great council shows that the institutions characteristic of Africa have been handed down from antiquity in this case also—institutions which are powerless against a strong ruler, but speedily grow beyond the control of a weak monarch. The very different manner in which the civilisation of the several tribes has developed induces the conjecture that the kingdom did not always cover the area which it now occupies.

Barotse Councils of State

Much more strongly marked in the states of Central South Africa than in the other kingdoms of the Dark Continent is the peculiar fact that they are surrounded by boundary zones and not by sharply defined frontier lines. The power of the state is at its strongest in the centre and declines in proportion as the frontiers are approached. The tribes living nearest to the dominant race may be nothing more than slaves, while those at a greater distance merely pay tribute and are generally inclined to shake off the yoke upon any signs of weakness in the supreme power. Hence it is impossible to say how far the influence of the old Barotse kingdom extended previous to its temporary conquest by the Makololo Kaffirs.

The Makololo belong to the western group of Kaffirs, the east Bechuanas, the remnants of which now bear the general name "Basuto." Until the year 1820 they lived in the eastern part of what is now the Orange River Colony. It was about this time that Moselikatse came upon the scene with his Matabele.

The Basuto Kaffirs

This event, and a defeat which they suffered in 1823, together with the Mantati—a branch of the Batlokua who belonged to the north-eastern Bechuanas—near Lithaku, at the hands of the Griqua under Andries Waterboer, forced the Makololo to abandon their old settlements in 1824 and to migrate northward. The Bangwaketse, whose chief village was Makabe, first of all made a fruitless attempt at opposition; then the Makololo found an opportunity of interfering in the internal dissensions of the Bakwena, one of the most powerful of the Bechuana races; they raised to the rulership of the people, Setshele, the son of a chief who had been overthrown by his subjects.

The Makololo chief at this period was Sebituane, a born leader of men, and one of the strongest and most attractive personalities of whom we hear in the whole history of Africa. According to Livingstone he was accustomed to lead his troops into battle in person, unlike Moselikatse, Dingan, and other generals. Setshele's support enabled the Makololo to settle in the neighbourhood of the Bakwena. But a quarrel with the Boers obliged them to retreat northward. The history of Sebituane's advance into Northern Bechuanaland is an Odyssey of battles, privations, and sudden changes of fortune. Harassed by the advancing Matabele, he turned westward to the district of the Herero, and then again eastward to the Zambesi. Menaced by the treachery of the island Batoka, he nevertheless succeeded in crossing the river and defeated his enemies in the neighbourhood of the Victoria Falls;

A South African Odyssey

the capture of countless herds of cattle enabled his people to resume their pastoral life in the rich pastures of the district. Sebituane was then able to turn his attention to the organisation and extension of the kingdom, which he ruled in his " capitals " of Sesheke on the Zambesi and Linyanti on the Chobe, the north-east point of the modern German South-west Africa. Sebituane died in 1851. He was succeeded by his daughter Mamotshisane and his son Seketetu, who reigned until about 1856. Upon the extinction of the Makololo the Barotse people again became predominant in the kingdom, while at the same time the Mambunda people became an influential power. At this period a new native family gained possession of the throne, which prided itself upon the pure Makololo blood in its veins, although it was founded by Letshulatebe, the conqueror of the last of the Makololo. He had originally resided at Lesotsilebe, east of Lake Ngami. Of these princes Sepopo, who removed his capital from the Barotse towards the Masupia district, became notorious for his cruelty. He succeeded in placing himself upon the throne of the Mambunda kingdom, which was governed by a dynasty related to his own and reverted to one of his daughters upon the death of the last queen. He thus completely unified the Barotse-Mambunda kingdom. He was murdered in 1876, and his kingdom fell into confusion.

Death of Africa's Finest Ruler

His successor, Nwana-Wana, destroyed such slight independence as had been left to the kingdom of Mambunda by forcing the queen to resign the throne in her own name and that of her descendants. However, he speedily fell from his position, owing to the discovery of a plan which he had conceived for the murder of the most important chiefs. In his stead Leboshe was elected king, much against his own desire. However, the struggle with Nwana-Wana ended in the defeat and death of the latter. The peace policy which Leboshe inaugurated was not to the liking of his people, who had been demoralised by revolts and battles. After the murder of Leboshe, about 1880, Lewanika waged war in the north-east, in 1882, against the Mashikulumbwe, from whom he took 40,000 cattle, though his subjugation of this people was not really complete. In the year 1884 disturbances again broke out; the king was driven into exile with his more vigorous sister and co-regent, and Waga-Funa temporarily ascended the throne. In 1886 Lewanika made a successful return, but stained his victory by ingratitude and cruelty. He afterwards maintained his position upon the throne in spite of neighbouring British, Portuguese, and Belgian influences.

Barotse Under Lewanika

To the north-west of the Barotse kingdom, from which it is divided by a stretch of independent territory, lies the second great political state of Central Africa, the kingdom of Lunda, more generally known as the kingdom of the Muata Yamwo. Here, again, there are no permanent or sharply defined boundaries. The central part of the kingdom lies on the Upper Kassai and the rivers flowing parallel to it in a northerly direction. On the west the influence of the king extends nearly to the Kwango, on the south to the watershed between the Congo and the Zambesi; on the north and east the boundary lines vary even during the short period over which our accurate knowledge of the Lunda kingdom extends. The Kalunda are the dominant race, a pure negro people speaking a Bantu language. Their civilisation is certainly poorer than that of the Barotse-Mambunda kingdom. It is very remarkable that neither the palm-fibre cloth of the true Congo valley nor the cotton fabrics of the Zambesi district are produced here; nor has the art of iron-working attained any high development. Agriculture is assiduously practised, while cattle-breeding is somewhat neglected.

Character of the Kingdom of Lunda

The political institutions of the country are of the highest importance for its history. In Lunda we also find the king, here known as Muata Yamwo, at the head of the state, with absolutely unlimited powers, surrounded by a body of councillors whose influence varies according to the character of the ruler. Moreover, we find the country separated into a number of small districts, which are divided among individual chieftains, who govern them quite after the manner of the feudal system. These chieftains enjoy complete independence as regards the internal administration of their districts so long as the monarch chooses to refrain

from interference, but are obliged to pay tribute and provide contingents of troops for the army. Naturally, most of these small districts have not been made by a process of arbitrary division, but are of historical origin, and thus have an additional stimulus to cling to their independence; the result being that, as in the Barotse kingdom, the outlying portions are kept to their allegiance solely by the exertions of the ruler for the time being, while the extent and power of the kingdom is continually changing.

A very remarkable feature in the constitution of the state, and one that doubtless goes back to some older type, is the queen-consort, the Lukokesha. This female ruler is not the king's wife, but is a member of the royal house, possessing her own court and her own income, and the power of deciding the election of a new Muata Yamwo. She is allowed to marry, but her husbands are officially known as "wives," and, generally speaking, have no influence. Thus in the Lunda kingdom the government has two heads in existence, which are neither mutually exclusive nor in mutual hostility.



LEWANIKA
The King of the Barotse, who retained his independence in spite of neighbouring European influences.

Such a state of affairs cannot but be the outcome of previous historical development. In this case we probably have before us the remnant of a matriarchal system of government. At a certain stage of tribal development kinship is recognised through the females, not through the males; and consequently the mother, not the father, becomes of primary authority. Hence arises a female sovereignty. In spite of its inevitable replacement in course of time by a male sovereignty, similar instances remain of its formal survival. In the case of Lunda, tradition declares that the present system had its origin when a Lunda princess married an immigrant prince, and associated him with herself in the rulership. The existence of the Lunda kingdom was known upon the coast as early as the end of the sixteenth century, from the slaves who brought descriptions of it from the interior. Very little, however is known of the internal history of the country, although Portuguese traders must have penetrated to Lunda at an early period.

Governed by Women

The extent of the kingdom varied under different rulers, as also did the position of the capital, Mussumba (great encampment). Its site was altered with every change in the succession, though it was never removed beyond the fruitful plain lying between the Kalangi and Luisa, tributaries of the Lulua. A short time ago (1896–1897) it was situated on the left bank of the Luele. The burial-place of the royal dynasty is Nsai, on the Kallanji.

An Ever-changing Capital

Although, generally speaking, the Lunda kingdom is but little troubled by foreign enemies, this advantage is somewhat discounted by the slow growth of an element of danger within the state, which will produce a complete revolution of affairs unless disturbed by European interference. To the south-west of the Lunda kingdom is the race of the Kioko, which has lived in a forest district from an early period, and forms a contrast to the plain-dwelling people of the Kalunda. The Kioko show a preference for settlements in the forest, are excellent hunters, collect indiarubber, keep bees, but also understand the art of agriculture and have strongly marked inclinations for trade; this latter tendency has been the reason of their slow but continuous migration northward. The true home of the Kioko is tributary to the Muata Yamwo, and is divided into numerous departments. But for a long period this restless people has been advancing upon its original habitat in two main streams, one on the Kuillu and Loange, the other northward on the Luatshim; everywhere they are outstripping the Kalunda by their industry. About 1860 they had not passed beyond the tenth degree of latitude south; in 1880 they were found upon the seventh degree. The Kalunda eyed them suspiciously, and hinted boastfully of a war to wipe out the unwelcome intruders; but the Kioko had even then become necessary to them for their trading habits and their industrious pursuit of agriculture and metal-work. Moreover, manners and customs were so rapidly exchanged at every point of contact between the two races that any sharp lines of demarcation disappeared rapidly. In the event of war between the Kioko and the Kalunda, the

former would probably become the dominant race; at any rate, a new independent state would be formed in the west of the Lunda kingdom, which is even now upon the point of severance.

Kingdom of Kasembe

In addition to the land of the Kioko, the Muata Yamwo possess a number of districts, some of which are loosely connected with Lunda, and at times break away from it entirely. By far the most important of these is the kingdom of the Kasembe, the capital of which lies between the Lakes Mweru and Bangweolo and changes its situation almost as frequently as the capital of the Lunda kingdom. In other respects also the country is a counterpart of Lunda, except that it is not governed by a Lukokesha. There is no permanent connection between the kingdom of the Muata Yamwo and that of Kasembe; the power of the latter has diminished greatly within recent times, and the connection between the two states appears to have been maintained not so much by fear of the military power of Lunda as by other influences, perhaps of a superstitious nature. At any rate, when Kasembe resumed the payment of tribute—copper, slaves, and salt—to Lunda in the year 1875, this action is said to have been taken upon the advice of the court magician, who referred several unfortunate occurrences to the interruption of this traditional homage. The Muata Yamwo were considered by many of their neighbours as endowed with special magical powers which made them invincible.

The Kasembe power dwindled more rapidly after the immigration of Msiri; his tribe came from Unyamwesi, and rose to supreme power in Katanga, or properly Garenganja, of which the capital is Mukurru, Bunkea, or Kimpatu, a district further to the west between the Luapula on the east and the Lualaba in the west on the Lusira. About the middle of the year 1880 Msiri possessed from two to three thousand warriors armed with flint-lock guns, and perhaps three times as many archers; but they paid tribute to the magical Muata Yamwo. Msiri's trading caravans went as far as Benguela, and at the same time he maintained commercial relations with the east coast. In December, 1891, he was shot in an affair with the Belgian captain Bodson.

Tribute to the Magician

The kingdom of Kasongo in Urua is tributary to the Muata Yamwo. Here again the ruler demands and receives a superstitious veneration. The founder of the kingdom, Kungwe a Banza, is considered as the most powerful deity and invariably receives a sister of the ruling chieftain to wife. Further, the Kasongo, in their own opinion, are related to the Muata Yamwo. But in the last decade of the nineteenth century this district has shown clear evidence of the wide disruption caused by the collapse of the once flourishing negro states of Central Africa, a disaster due to the far-reaching operation of the Belgian Congo State.

When we leave the kingdom of the Muata Yamwo and turn northward to the mighty valley of the Congo, we reach the most mysterious and unexplored district of Central Africa. Even from an ethnographical point of view it has a uniformity and a character of its own, though nowhere does any sharp line of demarcation separate it from the outer world. It belongs wholly to the district of the Bantu languages, and possesses a population purely negro, with the exception of the dwarf peoples in the forest depths. In the Congo valley the right-angled type of hut with ridged roof takes the place of the round beehive shape and its varieties. The huts are not placed in a circle or in disorderly confusion, but in long, straight streets. But this style of building is also found on the negro west coast, which belongs only in part to the Bantu-speaking region. Moreover, a remarkable similarity exists between many of the examples of ironwork produced in the two districts. The work of the Congo valley has a fairly uniform style of its own. Knives, spearheads, etc., are broad, stumpy, and severely symmetrical. Many knives from the west coast show the same style of workmanship.

Most Mysterious District

On the other hand, the west coast has no knowledge of the Congo valley palm fibre and grass fabrics which are to be found in scattered districts of East Africa and especially in Malay Madagascar. Possibly we have here the traces of an advance from east to west of a civilisation of which the most deeply rooted remnants must be sought in Indonesia.

Cannibalism is found prevailing under the most varied forms in the Central Congo valley. Endocannibalism and

exocannibalism are alike practised—that is, some races eat their own dead, others their defeated enemies. Some eat both.

The Congo valley is connected with West Africa not only by the practice of cannibalism, but also by the custom of skull worship. The whole group of ideas attaching to this subject is not nearly so developed in Africa as in Indonesia, where head-hunting is an "authorised peculiarity" among many island races, and is pursued with true fanatical enthusiasm. None the less, many survivals of the custom are to be found in Congoland. On the west coast it has greatly developed in certain places, and recalls the typical Malay usage.

Many isolated features thus show the Congo valley as the most untrodden and secluded part of Africa—as being, in a sense, a world apart. Yet this isolation has not prevented the general distribution of the American garden plants—maize, manioc, and tobacco, which were introduced by Europeans—and also of the Indian hemp, a narcotic well known in the most central part of the Congo valley.

The Untrodden Congo

The knowledge of iron smelting and forging may have been carried over the continent in a similar manner at some earlier period, and certain domestic animals may have found a new home among the races of the interior. The extent to which the land had been opened up by trade in earlier centuries is indicated by the ancient European glass beads in the possession of many Congo tribes, who are now unable to give any account of the source whence these treasures came. Still more notable is the information given by the curious swords of Congoland. Their cutting edge lies upon the inner curve, and in their broad, flat points they conform to the laws of style observed in the ironwork of the Congo. But on a closer examination of the type it appears already strangely familiar; it is in fact the same crooked weapon which we find in Arabia, India, and Abyssinia, but has been altered and modified upon its inclusion within the armoury of the Congo races. Its shape even to-day is evidence of that stream of civilisation which brought it from the north-east coast into the interior.

Another piece of early African history is revealed to us by an examination of the distribution of the throwing knife. This remarkable weapon is found among the heathen races of the Central Sudan in a characteristic and fairly simple form, and was most probably at one time in use throughout this district. In Bornu at the present time those troops which are armed with the throwing knife form a contingent enjoying special privileges; in Darfur the sultan possesses a number of these weapons, which his people no longer use. The Teda in the Sahara show a preference for them to the present day. The weapon is a product of pure Sudanese civilisation anterior to the Mohammedan period; it has passed southward, changing its shape in the most marvellously varied manner. During earlier and later times we can trace its movements, which are partly confirmed by other evidence, and which show us that the southern portion of the Central Sudan has been a point of departure for many important racial movements. The Fan carried the throwing knife westward to the Gabun coast. On the east the Niam-Niam brought it to the neighbourhood of the Upper Nile valley. An isolated example on the Upper Blue Nile shows the probability of earlier and even more extensive migrations. Finally, in the Sudan it was brought to the Ubangi, downward as far as the Congo, and was further distributed along the banks of this great river. Here, then, we have traces of a migration into the Congo valley from the north. On the other hand, there is a tradition among the Bateke on Stanley Pool that the ancient home of their race was in the north-west, in the highlands of the Ogowe. This, together with many other indications, points to the fact that the pressure exerted by the negro advance from the Sudan brought about migration into the Congo valley from Adamawa also.

History of the Throwing Knife

Beside the immigration from the north there is a very remarkable movement from the south-east, and of this the Bashilange at least have preserved a trustworthy tradition. This people dwells on the Lower Lulua between the Central Kassai and Sankuru—that is to say, on the northern frontier of the Lunda kingdom. In reality they are a mixed people composed of an earlier peaceful settled race and the warlike Baluba, who came in from the south-east. Whether this migration was connected with the great racial movements in Africa during the sixteenth and

Remarkable Baluba Migration

seventeenth centuries must remain an undecided question in default of any trustworthy evidence. It is probable that there was some connection between Kalunda and Baluba; one of the leaders of the Baluba migration, Kapuku-Muluba —the other two were called Katana and Kanyoka—was, according to the legend, a son of that chief Kasongo who lived in the east, and from whom the tribe of the Muata Yamwo is descended. Their possession of the characteristic Kaffir shield and many other special features invited the conjecture that the Baluba and also the Babunda were a mixed Kaffir race, or, at any rate, under Kaffir influence. East of the Bashilange district as far as Lake Tanganyika are situated pure, unmixed Baluba, differing in many respects from the Bashilange.

Religion of Hemp Worship

Intellectually the Bashilange are better developed than the average negro type; they are readier to learn and are less inclined to blind superstition, though singularly imitative. Among them there has been developed a very peculiar religion, of most inexplicable origin.

The central point of this new religion is hemp worship, and its beginning therefore probably goes back to the time when the custom of hemp-smoking spread from the east coast to the interior of the Congo valley. The adoration and veneration of a narcotic or stupefying drug, and the growth of a conventional worship round such a centre, is a peculiarity by no means exclusively confined to the Bashilange. In the Soma offerings of the Indian Aryans, in the reverence with which tobacco is regarded by many Indian tribes, we have a similar class of phenomena. At first small groups and societies of hemp-smokers appear to have been formed, who not only formed a close bond of friendship with one another but enlisted new members with passionate zeal, until they attained a preponderating power. In this way friendly relations within the state were maintained and strengthened. The hemp-smokers promulgated decrees of a mildness wholly exceptional in Africa. Their manifestations of friendship were not confined to the members of their society, but were also extended to foreigners —not always to their own advantage. The keen, industrious Kioko took advantage of the inexperience of the Bashilange to plunder them in every possible way. They sold into slavery whole trading caravans which had entered the Kioko territory in unsuspicious confidence. They themselves brought powder and guns to the Bashilange, and thus enabled individual chieftains to increase their influence. When Pogge and Wissmann, the first Europeans to visit the land of the hemp-smokers, entered the country, they found two rival chieftains in predominance, Kalamba and Tshingenge. Meta, a sister of Kalamba, occupied a position analogous to that of the Lukokesha in the Lunda kingdom.

A State of Hemp Smokers

In recent times the raids of the Arabs and their native allies, especially the notorious chieftain Zefu bin Mohammed, or Zappu-Zapp, the son of Hammed ben Mohammed, or Tippu-Tibb, have thrown the Eastern Congo valley into total confusion, depopulated entire districts, and shattered the civilisation of the interior. There were, however, migratory movements in constant progress at an earlier period. The inhabitants of Uregga on the south still preserve a definite tradition of their immigration from the north to their present settlements towards the end of the eighteenth century. In the Arab wars the tribe of the Manyema adopted the profession of raiders, and not only provided the Arabs with their most valuable auxiliary troops, but entered the business of slave-catching on their own account. Consequently, other races, such as the Bassonge, to the east of the Bashilange, were broken up and partly destroyed. At the expense of the civilisation and culture of wide districts, those Arab settlements have been formed which on a cursory glance appear to be the starting-points of a new and higher manner of life. European interference betokens all the introduction of further change, and change, let us hope, of a more beneficial nature.

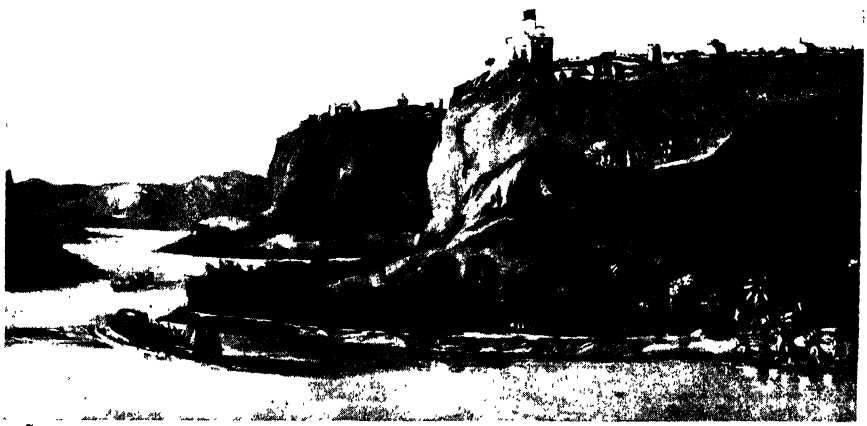
East Congo Civilisation Shattered

In the central part of the Congo valley the peoples settle most thickly upon the river, which exercises a power of attraction like that of the ocean. It affords an abundant supply of fish, easy communication between the settlements, and, in case of hostile attacks, a secure refuge in the thickets on its banks, in the islands, and the opposite shores. The same remarks apply on a smaller scale to the navigable tributaries of the Congo, which in some cases have set a limit to the marauders'

raids, and are consequently thickly populated on one bank, the other being barren and deserted. The tendency to advance towards the stream, the shocks of great racial movements transmitted from the outer world, are impulses felt even by the inhabitants of the most central part of Africa. But there is no general connection in these migrations; none of those huge and rapidly constructed states could be formed here as they were in other parts of Africa. The boundless forests, the numerous broad streams, are so many obstacles in the way of any impetuous advance; on the river itself, intercommunication, the first great incentive to the peaceful formation of states, never attained any high stage of development.

Yearning for the Sea

now become the trade language for the district above the falls. European influence early made itself felt in the lower part of the Central Congo, with the result that the river banks in this district became in a measure a zone of attraction for unsettled tribes. The yearning for the sea seems to have been equally prevalent among the races about the lower falls. The kings of Loango were in constant warfare with the Anzig; the coincidence of sound in the names Anzig and Banyansi is probably wholly fortuitous, for the latter are more properly called Babangi, and gained the name by which they are now known, which means "fleas," from the parasitic manner in which they gained their livelihood



SÃO SALVADOR, THE CAPITAL OF THE NATIVE KINGDOM OF CONGO, ABOUT 1670
In the 16th century the Portuguese entered the great kingdom of the Congo and induced the rulers to embrace Christianity, Portuguese customs also being adopted and the name of the capital being changed to São Salvador.

Stanley alone was able with the help of European weapons to fight his way through the fierce cannibal tribes. To the natives the inviting waterway is a closed path beyond the boundaries of their own tribes.

These conditions have certainly undergone a fundamental change since the arrival of Europeans. In particular, the small fishing tribes who lived on the islands and banks of the river have extended their journeys, and in some cases have become enterprising traders, founding colonies among other tribes. In the lower reaches of the river beginnings had been made in this direction at an earlier period. The Bayansi especially have become a typical trading people. Their dialect has

Opening the Congo to Traffic

In the forest districts, and especially among the negro races who have inhabited their settlements for a long period, an important ethnical transposition has been brought to pass. These negroes could not fail to come into contact with the dwarf peoples, and, finally, perhaps after long struggles, they arrived at a common modus vivendi which was bound to have its effect upon each race. Such a community of existence must have resulted in course of time in a more or less extensive fusion of races which led here and there to the formation of actual mixed tribes. We have already mentioned the Bashilange, who had probably received a strong infusion of pygmy blood; but the most numerous settlements of this mixed race

are to be found in the forests of the Upper Aruwimi—that is, near the smaller lakes at the sources of the Nile, where the ancients laid the scene of the war between the pygmies and the cranes. From a purely philological point of view, the west coast tribes form a special group of Bantus. Physically, they give the impression of a very mixed race, united only by the tie of language.

State of Loango

A large number of petty states originally existed upon the coast of Loango, until a prince belonging to Zerri in Kacongo subjugated the larger portion of these states and made Loango his capital. The town is said to have had a population of 15,000. In the south, Kacongo, or Malimba, and Ngoyo, or Kabinda, maintained their independence in certain respects; but the other parts of the country were in no very close connection with their suzerain. The power of the rulers varied with the prestige which they were able to maintain, and a strongly centralised organisation was rather the exception than the rule. At some period in the last part of the sixteenth century, at any rate before 1648, the date of the arrival of the Portuguese, Loango is said to have been a province of Congo, though we have no certain information as to the nature of the relationship. The influence of the Portuguese and of Christianity did not make itself felt until a comparatively late period. The king of Loango was certainly converted about the middle of the seventeenth century by a zealous missionary; but as both missionary and convert died shortly afterward, no permanent result was effected. It was not until the year 1766 that missionaries again entered the country. On this occasion they were a French party, and settled in Kacongo.



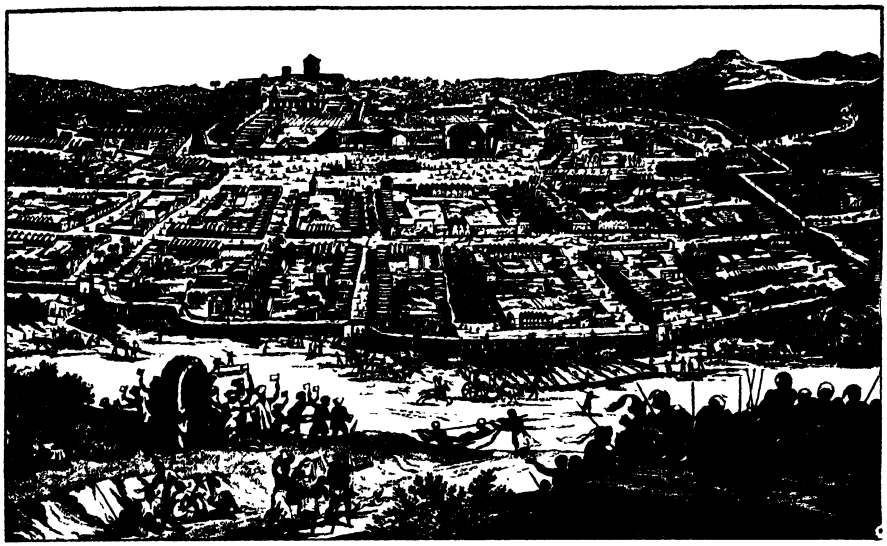
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NATIVE CARVINGS OF LOANGO

Beautiful ivory carvings showing traces of the influence of the Portuguese who entered Loango in the 17th century.

Meanwhile, the kingdom of Loango was entirely overshadowed by its powerful and prosperous neighbour, Congo. For a time, indeed, it appeared as if Congo was to be a Christian state, and to become the starting-point whence Christianity and European civilisation were not so much to conquer as to overspread the Dark Continent. But it became apparent only too quickly that the seed which had so rapidly sprung up could bring forth no fruit; it was in turn choked and destroyed by the growth of native weeds.

When Diego Cao, with Martin Behaim, anchored in the mouth of the Congo in 1484, he found the country south of the river to a point nearly reaching Angola under the supremacy of one prince, the Mani-Congo, whose capital was at Ambasse, in the interior of the coastland. The Portuguese at once perceived that if they could gain over this ruler to their side, and succeed in converting him to Christianity, they would be able rapidly to extend their influence over a considerable part of the country. They took some of the Congo inhabitants back to Lisbon, and in 1490 sent a formal embassy to Ambasse, obtaining permission to build a Christian church. Certain special causes made the success of the embassy even more brilliant, and led to the complete conversion of the king and of his people. One of these causes was to be found in the state of political affairs within the Congo kingdom. It was a kingdom characterised by a lack of solidarity. Beside the central portion, whence it took its name, there were other provinces governed according to the invariable negro custom by their own semi-independent princes. Any temporary weakness on the part of the overlord enabled the provinces to acquire a further measure



BANZA LOVANGIRI, THE CAPITAL OF THE KINGDOM OF LOANGO, ABOUT 1670

About the beginning of the 16th century, a native prince subjugated a large number of the petty states on the coast of Loango, making Loango his capital. In the upper part of this engraving are seen the royal buildings and market-place.

of independence. Complete defection occasionally resulted, when the solidarity of the kingdom had to be maintained by force of arms. Of the provinces in this relation to the kingdom, the most important was Songo, a district immediately south of the mouth of the Congo; after its chieftain had come into contact with the Portuguese, he was accustomed to call himself "count," and later "great prince." The count of Songo was always an untrustworthy vassal, especially during the period when the Congo power began to decline. In 1631 the count succeeded in conquering Kacongo and Ngoyo, whereupon he felt himself strong enough to throw off his allegiance to Congo.

At the same time the Congo king had attempted to hand over Songo to the Portuguese as a reward for services rendered by them. On two occasions, in 1636 and 1641, the king of Congo was utterly defeated. Even at the time when the Portuguese were beginning their missionary labours, a certain jealousy existed between Songo and Congo, in consequence of which the Songo prince, who was the weaker of the two, entered into close relations with the dreaded foreign arrivals, and embraced Christianity in the year 1491. At the very time when the Portuguese were laying the foundations of their church in Ambasse those great migratory movements began of which the attack of the Mundequete upon Congo may be considered as the prelude. Portuguese narratives would make it appear that the Mundequete were settled on the great lakes in the far interior and had "revolted" against Congo, thus giving an incredible area of extension to the Congo kingdom. The truth is that we meet in this case with one more instance of those constant migrations to the coast, probably occasioned by the beginning of upheavals elsewhere, which were to devastate districts in Africa far remote from any visited by the warrior Mundequete.

Counts of Songo and Congo

The Magic of the Portuguese

However this may be, the unexpected incursion of their outnumbering foes placed the king of Congo in a most embarrassing situation. His glance fell involuntarily upon the Portuguese. They, with their crosses, their rose wreaths and bells, their admonitions and preachings, seemed to be proclaiming a new magic which would assure victory; and they may very well have promised the king more practical assistance in the last extremity. The defection of the ruler of Songo was not without its influence; the king had himself baptised his whole court under the name of Dom Joao da Silva, and countless numbers of his

subjects hastened to follow his example. The army, sprinkled with holy water and protected by the banners of the Cross, utterly routed the Mundequete in a fierce battle, and the victory of Christianity was thereby assured. Numerous churches arose, priests and monks found a wide field open for their efforts, and in 1534 a bishop was consecrated for the newly acquired province. Congo itself was more powerful than ever; its influence must have extended far into the interior, and, under the protection of the Portuguese king, is said at that time to have reached even the great lakes.

Influence of Christianity on the Congo

This state of affairs was rudely interrupted by the invasion of an even more formidable enemy, the Jagga. In the year 1542 this cannibal tribe of warriors first appeared on the borders of the Congo kingdom, spreading terror and panic before them as they came. The Congo army was utterly defeated; the capital, which had been called São Salvador since the conversion of the people, was stormed and burnt to the ground with its cathedral and chapels; the ancient civilisation of Congoland was almost destroyed, together with the carefully ingrafted European culture which it supported. The king, Dom Alvaro I., whose palace had come to ape the style and manners of the court at Lisbon, deserted its capital, and fled to an island of the Congo, where he passed several miserable years. After four years of war, the utmost efforts of his people and the valuable assistance of Portuguese troops drove the Jagga out of the land in 1546. The country recovered its prosperity, and its connection with Portugal was naturally even closer than before.

Loango suffered from the incursions of the Anzig, with their little bows bound with lizard-skin, even as Congo had been troubled by the Jagga; but these two peoples seem to have been of different origin. For a long time the Jagga were the terror of all the land about the Congo estuary. Angola was devastated; the town of Loanda is said to have been in their possession for seven years. Between 1590 and 1600 Benguela was the object of their marauding raids; Battel, who visited their encampment at that period, estimates their fighting strength at 16,000. Eventually they abandoned the pursuit of war and settled in the district of Kassanje near the Upper Kwango, where remnants of them are said to have survived up to the present day.

Cannibals Devastate the Congo

The weakness of the civilisation founded in the Congo kingdom and the superficial character of its conversion to Christianity were soon to become apparent. In the year 1636 began the unfortunate struggle with Songo already mentioned, which weakened the kingdom to a considerable extent. These internal weaknesses finally led to an open breach; the king, Antonio I., threw off his allegiance, and drove the clergy out of the country, obliging the transference of the bishop's see to São Paolo de Loanda, which had been founded in 1574. A Portuguese army made a successful invasion of the Congo kingdom, but it was henceforward left entirely to itself. Further struggles with Songo in 1667, and with Bamba, which also declared its independence in 1687, brought about the final collapse of the Congo kingdom. Angola now became the centre of the Portuguese power. It had originally been a province of Congo with its "capital" Mapungo, under the name of Dongo, or Ambonde, had been raised by Portuguese interest to a considerable height of importance, and, after a revolt in 1578, had become partly dependent upon Portugal. The power of Congo, on the other hand, rapidly declined. It was not until 1882 that the missionaries again entered the country and made some 2,000 converts. But the once powerful ruler of Congo remains, and has remained throughout the nineteenth century, the helpless chieftain of the fallen town of São Salvador. Christianity, which was apparently deeply rooted in Congo, also disappeared entirely in course of time.

Congo Kingdom Collapses

It was only by slow degress that the Portuguese gained possession of the whole of Angola. The rising of 1578, or 1580, cost the lives of many Portuguese, and was followed by many lesser struggles, in which the advantage generally remained with the whites. Most tedious of all were the wars with the queen Ginga Bandi; after poisoning her brother she received baptism, but then continued for thirty years in hostility to Portugal. Eventually, in 1648, the Portuguese firmly established their supremacy. HEINRICH SCHURTZ



BRITISH & DUTCH IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY ARTHUR D. INNES, M.A.

CAPE COLONY AND ITS EXPANSION

THE story of European colonisation in South Africa before the last quarter of the nineteenth century was, with one exception, a story of coastal settlements, never extending an organised government into the interior. None of these has been established on a basis such that an autonomous state could be constructed thereon : none of them have been colonies in the full British sense of the term, any more than Madras and Calcutta and Bombay were colonies.

But there has been one exception. In the extreme south a European group established itself at the Cape, and formed itself into an agricultural as well as a trading community. For more than a hundred and eighty years expansion was slow enough. Then, not eighty years ago, began a great movement northwards and eastwards, extending past the Orange River, past the Vaal River, on to the Limpopo: always to the east of the junction of the Orange and the Vaal. Then the expansion spread from its old starting point in the south to the north, till it reached the Zambesi and passed beyond it into Central Africa.

Beginnings of Dutch Expansion

In this movement, wholly distinct from other colonial movements in Africa—though not, in its last stages, uninfluenced by them—two peoples were concerned, Dutch and British. On the harmonious fusion of those two peoples in the future depends the successful development of a great African state analogous to the Canadian Dominion in another continent ; a Dominion where also the harmonious fusion of the British with another race has been the condition of success.

It was the Portuguese who first discovered the Cape of Storms, re-christened the Cape of Good Hope. But for more than a century and a half no practical attempt was made by any European power to treat the place as anything more than a port of call for the East India trade. At last, in 1652, the Dutch East India Company took possession, and planted a station at Table Bay under the command of Van Riebeek. Although for the next twenty-five years England and Holland were intermittently at war, and some years elapsed before France ceased to be a rival to these two Powers in the contest for the empire of the seas, the Dutch position at the Cape was unchallenged. France was satisfied with the Mauritius, and England with St. Helena, which she took from the Dutch. In France, England or Holland no one as yet was thinking of establishing an African dominion.

First Dutch Station

For nearly another hundred and fifty years, then—from 1652 to 1795—the Dutch were left to themselves. Emigrants did not flock from Holland ; but the settlers made their homes in the new country and imported Dutch wives. In 1685 the whole Dutch population was under 1,000. But in that year Louis XIV. revoked the Edict of Nantes ; the Huguenots were driven from France, and some hundreds of them found a refuge at the Cape, where they amalgamated with and materially modified the Dutch stock. This was the easier because in matters of religion both Dutch and Huguenots were rigid Calvinists.

Huguenots at the Cape

The white population increased and multiplied ; by 1770 it numbered some 10,000. There were the inevitable occasional collisions with the Hottentots, who were more or less in occupation of the country ; as yet the Bantu negroes had

not approached near enough to bring on conflicts. The system of negro slavery was established, but these negroes were imported, as also were Malays. It was not till 1778 that the gradual expansion of the Dutch colony brought it into touch with a Bantu tribe. Then the attempt to open friendly relations was promptly accepted as a sign of conscious weakness, and was followed by a Bantu raid. At this time, the Great Fish River was fixed as the eastern boundary of the Dutch colony. Settlers had moved inland, northwards, but were only just reaching as far as Graaf Reinet. The colony was administered in a highly arbitrary manner by the Dutch company; and the idea that citizens of a colony have the same rights and privileges as citizens of the mother country had not dawned in Holland any more than it was then accepted at Westminster. The hunter and farmer "Boer" population had remained untouched by the intellectual movement of the eighteenth century in Europe, while intercourse with the Hottentots and the practice of slavery tended on the one hand to lower moral standards, and on the other to intensify the peculiar Old Testament religiosity which has been a common characteristic of Calvinistic puritanism—and incidentally an extraordinary source of strength and confidence to puritan armies.

Cape Ruled from Holland

But the régime of the Dutch company was coming to an end. The French Revolution sent the French Monarchy toppling and then the Republic challenged all the monarchies of Europe in the name of Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity. Presently the French overran the Netherlands. The hereditary Stadtholder, William of Orange, took ship to England, to which Power, in 1795, he transferred the colony, in order to preserve it from falling into the hands of France, which proceeded to convert Holland into the "Batavian Republic." Accordingly, in June of that year a British squadron arrived at the Cape. The authorities there, uncertain as to their allegiance, disputed the occupation, but after some show of resistance capitulated to superior force. A subsequent attempt of the Batavian Republic to recover possession was frustrated without difficulty, and the Cape remained under the British administration till the Peace of Amiens in 1802. It was then restored to the Dutch Republic, which took over the administration, and conducted it on new and excellent lines for nearly three years. But the exigencies of the renewed war produced a fresh British expedition to secure a point of such importance to naval strategy; the authorities were again unable to offer more than a nominal resistance, and on January 18th, 1806, they capitulated. With the downfall of Napoleon, in 1814, the European monarchies were restored and William formally ceded the colony to Great Britain, receiving £6,000,000 as compensation. The Cape had already changed hands by right of conquest; that was now permanently confirmed by right of purchase. Holland's direct interest in it was at an end.

Cape Transferred to Britain

It is the business of the historian not merely to narrate events, but to investigate problems of causation; the last hundred years of South African history afford him a peculiarly interesting subject. Great Britain takes over the administration of a large territory, in which a population numbering perhaps 25,000 of Low German stock, with an admixture of French Huguenot blood, dominate an immensely larger servile or semi-servile native population. Pressing on their borders are hordes of militant negro tribes, quite distinct from those under their rule: not the indigenous inhabitants, but no less emphatically invading conquerors than the Europeans themselves.

Problems of Empire

The Briton entering upon the task of ruling a new dependency must always be satisfied that he is possessed of an indefeasible legal title, for his conscience will not endure illegality. He enters upon it with a firm and justifiable conviction that English ideas about government are the best in the world, and that English officials as a class are the most disinterested, the most incorruptible, the most fair-minded in the world. He has a conscientious determination to "keep troth," to "be just and fear not." Hence, no subject-populations in the world have enjoyed such security of person and property, such immunity from extortion and positive oppression as the subject-populations of the British Empire.

But the rectitude of which he is somewhat aggressively conscious is not always so obvious to others; to them, the legal

indefeasibility of his title to rule may not be equally convincing. They mistrust professions of disinterestedness which issue in territorial annexations. They are not equally assured that English methods of government are superior to those for which they have a traditional predilection. They do not see any benefit to themselves in the absorption of all higher official posts by Englishmen. And when Englishmen set about ruling over races which are near akin to them, this spirit of antagonism becomes intensified. It completely wrecked their attempts to dominate Scotland. It has made the government of Ireland an eternal struggle. It lost them the American colonies. It has played a disastrous part in South Africa. Nevertheless, this spirit of antagonism has habitually presented itself to the English mind as preposterous and unreasonable.



THE FIRST EUROPEAN STRONGHOLD IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Portuguese were the first to discover the Cape of Storms, re-christened the Cape of Good Hope; but it was not until 1652 that the first Dutch fort was built, a picture of which, as it was in 1687, is given here.

In the matter of race, even the Scot is—or was a hundred years ago—hardly nearer akin than the Hollander to the Englishman. The Huguenot admixture in the South African Boer rather increases the similarity than otherwise; but his Puritanism is of the Scottish rather than the English type, and, broadly speaking, the antagonism of the Boer to the Englishman—whom he is apt to differentiate from the Scot—is closely analogous to the ancient antagonism of the Scot to the Englishman. At length, however, Englishman and Scot realised that amalgamation was better than antagonism. The time has at last come when we may hope that Briton and Boer are realising the same truth in South Africa; but in the nineteenth century it had not come.

Title by right of conquest pure and simple is always liable to be challenged if the conquered become strong enough to rebel. Between 1806 and 1814, that was the nature of the British rights at the Cape. After 1814, the title was no longer open to any such challenge, the cession having been made by a friendly Government for adequate consideration. That question at least did not arise till another score of years had elapsed. Moreover, at the outset, the actual British population was very small, while the character of the government was such as the circumstances obviously demanded. The governors were practically absolute; but they did not materially interfere with the established system of local government, the established customs of the population, or the established relations between Boers and natives within the colony. Boers and natives were probably quite as well content as they would have been as a Dutch colony under the Dutch system. Nevertheless, a primary source of friction soon made itself felt in the disposition of the Government to intervene between Boer and Hottentot, generaliy in favour of the Hottentot. About 1820 an important change was inaugurated. The governor, Lord Charles Somerset, obtained the support of the Home Government in obtaining a supply of British immigrants, who were planted in the eastern portion of the colony, hitherto unoccupied. Hence it came about that a substantial British element was added to the Boer population, and predominated in the eastern section, much as, after the American War of Independence, Lower Canada remained French while Upper Canada became British.

Absolute British Governors

The First Boer Grievances

In this decade the racial grievance began to develop; the Government, adopting a series of Anglicising measures, which, if they had been cheerfully accepted by the burghers, would have tended to the early fusion of the races, and would have improved the system generally. But, unhappily, they were not so accepted.

The Dutch, who formed five-sixths of the white population, objected to having English imposed as the official language, and to the abolition of the traditional system of local government in favour of English methods. They objected also to an ordinance which placed Hottentots and whites on the same legal footing, and they found no consolation in the appointment of a small advisory council which was supposed to be a check on the absolute power of the Governor.

Freedom for the Slaves

Then came a measure, excellent in itself, which entirely exasperated the old inhabitants. Already, in 1807, Great Britain had declared against the slave trade; now, in 1833, she resolved on the total abolition of slavery in all British territory, the people in the British Isles voting the huge sum of £20,000,000 to compensate the slave owners. But of that sum only about £1,250,000 was allotted to South Africa, where the official valuation of the slaves amounted to £3,000,000. Moreover, it was impossible immediately to replace the slave labour by free labour. The pastoral employments of the great bulk of the Dutch population were worked by slave labour, and to immense numbers of them emancipation meant something like ruin. It was not yet known that the compensation would be so inadequate, and exasperation had not yet reached its height when Sir Benjamin Durban arrived as governor in 1834, to find himself confronted with the additional problem of dealing with the Bantu Kaffirs on the borders.

For fifty years past there had been periodical collisions with the Kaffir tribes beyond the Fish River; two of these Kaffir wars had taken place since the establishment of British rule. Practically the whole population, official and other, held a single view with regard to the Kaffirs; with the exception of one element —the missionaries. In the view of these the Kaffir was a peaceable and simple person, who became troublesome only when goaded by the whites. In the view of the rest the Kaffir was a born marauder, who abstained from robbery and murder only so long as he feared superior force. At this time, the Zulu Tamerlane, Chaka, and the kindred armies of the Matabele, had for many years been devastating and slaughtering on the east and north; the Kaffir closer at hand had been feeling the pressure. Whatever might be thought in England, where the missionaries had the ear of the public, to men in Africa it was obvious that the Kaffir tribes were a serious menace.

Missionary View of the Kaffirs

The Governor then sent the principal representative of the missionary societies as a commissioner to obtain from the chiefs assurances of their peaceful intentions. They gave the assurances, but took the fact that they had been invited as an indication of fear, and therefore of weakness. While Sir Benjamin Durban was giving an official Christmas entertainment news came to him that the Kaffirs were across the Fish River, raiding, robbing, and slaughtering. Thus a new Kaffir war opened. The operations were ably conducted by Sir Henry Smith—who became Governor some years later—but nearly a year passed before the Kaffirs fairly submitted. Sir Benjamin then planted in the belt of territory across the Fish River a number of tribesmen whose hostility to the group, with whom the war had been going on, would prevent a dangerous coalition, so that, in fact, these would serve as a buffer. The territory beyond these was to be under British military control, though the chiefs were to retain much of their powers. The whole scheme was regarded as generally wise and satisfactory. But it had to be submitted to the home authorities.

Early Kaffir Wars

The home authorities listened to the missionary societies, and to no one else. The theory of the missionaries was that the Kaffirs were a harmless and persecuted people, who should be left independent under their own chiefs, wherever the chiefs were well disposed to missionaries. Consequently, an astonishing despatch reversed Durban's arrangement, and signified that the missionary theory was to be carried out. The dwellers in the eastern districts, exposed to the Kaffir attacks, saw no possible prospect before them but anarchy and chaos. The Governor protested, and was thereupon recalled.

This was precisely at the moment when the colony was realising the full extent of the losses entailed by the abolition of slavery. Deprived of the labour by which their farms had been run, and faced by the fact that the wisest and most moderate of governors was unable to provide against

the Black peril so long as the missionary societies remained all-powerful in London, great numbers of the Boers resolved to shake off their feet the dust of the British colony, and to seek new pastures beyond its borders. There was nothing to prevent them from doing so; the law-officers of the Crown declared that there was no power to prevent British subjects from emigrating out of British territory. Thus began the Great Trek. The emigrants were only later to realise that the Crown declined to admit that, in passing out of British territory, they ceased to be British subjects. Whither should the stalwarts make their pilgrimage? Virtually, the limits of the colony were the Orange River on the north, and the Fish River on the east. To trek into the Kaffir country between the mountains and the sea, beyond the Fish River, would obviously be worse than useless. The warrior Matabele had crossed the mountains; they had raided and depopulated most of the country between the Orange and Vaal rivers; but for the most part they had settled beyond the Vaal. Here, then, between the Vaal and the Orange, the emigrants had the best chance of making a new home.

But the first adventurous caravans were determined to betake themselves as far as might be from British territory. These passed the Vaal; far northward, the bulk of them were trapped and slaughtered by the Matabele. A remnant struggled through to the Portuguese at Delagoa Bay.

The next group, a larger body, stopped short of the Vaal, and made friends with a local chief who was living in fear of Moselikatse and his Matabele. A few members of the party, including their "commandant," Hendrik Potgieter, went exploring across the Vaal, and almost to the Limpopo. They returned to find that the Matabele had already cut off and massacred a party of twenty-five, and, having been repulsed by others, were likely to return in force. Potgieter chose his ground, drew his whole company—forty guns, and their women and children—into laager—that is, constructed a fortified position with the waggons—and awaited the attack. The Boer fire proved too much for the Matabele, whose rushes were repeatedly broken by the hail of bullets. The laager was not entered, but the cattle were carried off. The party was extricated from its dangerous position by a third band under Gert Maritz, who had arrived at Thaba Nchu, and sent up cattle to draw the waggons, in place of those which the Matabele had carried off.

Maritz and Potgieter having joined forces, were nowise daunted by these experiences. On the contrary,



THE BIRTH OF CAPE COLONY

When the French overran the Netherlands in 1795, William of Orange transferred the colony at the Cape to Great Britain; a British squadron was sent there, and the British flag hoisted, to preserve it from the hands of France.

they took the offensive, marched, 150 strong — including some half-breeds — to smite the Philistines, surprised a kraal, or military village, routed the "regiment" which occupied it with considerable slaughter, drove home a mighty herd of cattle, and fortified themselves at Winberg —so named in memory of the victory.

Boer Wars on the Matabele

There they were reinforced by a number of fresh emigrant families; and there, in June, 1837, they drew up for themselves a republican constitution, naming Pieter Retief, one of the recent arrivals, their "commandant-general."

The next step was a second attack on Moselikatse; 135 Boers marched into the heart of the Matabele country, found the chief at the head of a force outnumbering their own by not much less than a hundred to one, fought him for nine days, and wrought such immense havoc that the Matabele threw up the struggle, fled north across the Limpopo, and turned their attention to the peaceful Mashonas. The entire country from the Orange to the Limpopo having been thus evacuated by the Matabele, who had succeeded in very nearly wiping out the previous inhabitants, the new republic proceeded to proclaim itself lord of the whole—which corresponds approximately to what afterwards became the Orange Free State and the South African or Transvaal Republic.

While Potgieter had been occupied in the expulsion of the Matabele, Retief and others were investigating the possibility of crossing the mountains and effecting a settlement nearer the sea—in what is now Natal, and was then dominated by Dingan, the successor of Chaka, the ruler of the Zulu military state. By grace of Dingan there were a few British residing at Port Natal, but the Cape Government exercised no sovereignty in that region. The natives, up to the Tugela, regarded these Britons as their chiefs, while recognising perforce the supremacy of the Zulu king. Retief and his comrades, with the approval of the English at Port Natal, sought and were granted an interview with Dingan, in order to treat with him for a grant of land. Dingan received them hospitably, promised them the land, then suddenly, at the moment of parting, turned on them and slaughtered every man of them. Then he despatched a host against the most advanced of the Boer camps, and massacred its occupants—men, women and children, whites and Hottentot servants—to the number of over 400. One youth alone had time to spring on horseback, ride for his life, and give the alarm at other camps. At each one, the waggons were promptly laagered, and when the Zulu hosts appeared they were met with so fierce a resistance that they failed to carry a single one. Next day the scattered camps were able to concentrate. The resolve was promptly taken not to budge, but to exact vengeance for the massacre.

First Settlement in Natal

The commandos from over the mountains came down to join their comrades; the British at Port Natal made common cause with them. But they could not unite under any one leader. British and Dutch advanced against Dingan in two separate columns. The Dutch were drawn into an ambush, from which they fought their way out with difficulty. The British column—seventeen whites and some 1,500 natives—was trapped by a Zulu force of five times its strength, and was cut to pieces after a terrific struggle, only a third of the whole number escaping (April, 1838). For a time further offensive action was paralysed.

Zulus Defeat Dutch and British

The arrival of Andries Pretorius in November provided a new and capable leader. Leaving a garrison in the camp, Pretorius, with a force 460 strong, marched against the Zulus, scouting constantly and forming laager at every halt. Through captured Zulus, messages were sent offering to treat for peace. Dingan sent not envoys, but an army. On December 16th, "Dingan's Day," they fell upon the Boer laager, to meet with an overwhelming defeat. Four of the Boers were killed; 3,000 Zulu corpses were left dead on the field; the stream that flows hard by has been known from that day as the Blood River; Dingan's Day has been celebrated annually ever since.

Though Dingan had to flee from his chief kraal for the time, he was not yet crushed; hence, instead of scattering over the district, the Boers concentrated at Pietermaritzburg. It was not till Panda, a half-brother of Dingan, rebelled and allied himself to the white men that Dingan's power was finally broken. It was Panda's force that actually inflicted

the decisive defeat in January, 1840, on the king, who was shortly afterwards assassinated. Panda was established in his place, as a vassal of the new republic, which proclaimed its dominion over Natal—a dominion which it might fairly claim to have acquired by right of conquest in a war whose justification was quite indisputable.

The new Government, however, was inexperienced in administration; moreover, it made arbitrary regulations concerning its Bantu subjects, and it attacked a native chief in the territory which lay between Natal and the Cape Colony. British sentiment, still guided by the missionaries, demanded protection for the natives, and the demand cannot be regarded as unreasonable. There was an agitation to compel the emigrant Boers to return to the colony. The Dutch volksraad continued its arbitrary course, and presently the British Governor ordered Port Natal to be occupied.

British War With the Boers

The military operations took the regular course. British troops were marched on Port Natal, a party of them was met in arms by the Boers, was defeated, and was driven into the camp, where the force was besieged. There the British held out behind their entrenchments till a relieving force arrived. The Boers then withdrew their resistance. The assertion of British supremacy was accepted as an accomplished fact, the British action being warranted mainly by the theory that the Boer conquerors were British subjects, who could not on their own responsibility set up a dominion free from the British allegiance. The bulk of the emigrants withdrew westwards across the Drakensberg Mountains to the lands where as yet the British made no claim to extend control. Three years later a British government was definitely established in Natal.

British Supremacy Asserted



THE SECOND OCCUPATION OF THE CAPE: BRITISH TROOPS IN CAPE TOWN IN 1814
After the Peace of Amiens, of 1802, the Cape was restored to the Dutch, but was re-conquered by the British in 1806, and formally and permanently ceded for £6,000,000 to Great Britain in 1814.

The experiment was now tried of establishing border states under British influence and protection between the British colony and the interior—not without some expectation that the Boers would thus find themselves cut off, and would be compelled to return to British territory. To this end, the Basuto chief Moshesh was recognised as ruler over a great part of the upper Orange River basin; and west of Moshesh a Griqua state was recognised under Adam Kok. But in both these

regions there were now a considerable number of the emigrants planted, who had no mind to submit to the sovereignty either of a Basuto or a Griqua. Under these conditions it was natural that troubles should soon break out in the treaty-states, where Adam Kok, assured of British support, asserted the authority which the Boer settlers repudiated. British intervention had as its only practical result the withdrawal of most of the farmers to a more remote district. A general conference of the various parties interested brought about a new arrangement: a portion of Adam Kok's territory was allotted to the emigrants under a British Governor, who were to pay a sort of tribute to the Griqua chief.

Basuto and Griqua States

Meanwhile, affairs on the Kaffir frontier were in an unsatisfactory condition; Kaffir raids were not duly checked by the chief, and presently the friction developed into a new Kaffir war—counted as the seventh. The operations, though costly, demand no special record. But the war itself had at last the effect of inducing the Ministers in England to recognise the folly of governing the Cape according to a priori theories affected in London instead of in accordance with the judgment of the men who really knew the conditions. Hence Sir Harry Smith was sent out as Governor.

Sir Harry at once took up the policy in which Durban had been checked. The belt of Kaffir territory on the near side of the Kei River was made a British province, Kaffraria, the chiefs in general retaining much of their authority. The nominal authority of the Griqua Adam Kok over the settled district was abolished, the chief receiving practical compensation. The Boers made no demur at first to the proclamation of the "Orange River Sovereignty" as a province under British administration. Presently, when the farmers to the northward, headed by Andries Pretorius, rose in arms to resist, they were defeated in the field at Boomplaats, and withdrew beyond the Vaal. Then, in 1850, the Kaffirs again revolted. This eighth Kaffir war was long and bloody. After two years it was concluded, practically by the exhaustion of the tribes.

Eighth Kaffir War

The Orange River Sovereignty found itself in difficulties—primarily because Moshesh was dissatisfied with the existing arrangements. He permitted or encouraged disturbances among the minor chiefs. Sir Harry Smith instructed the Governor, Major Warden, to intervene by force when expostulation failed. Moshesh at once dropped the pretence of submission. The section of colonists who continued disaffected to British rule made a compact of neutrality with him, and then invited the intervention of Pretorius and the Boers across the Vaal. Pretorius, technically a rebel against the British, but now residing beyond their formal jurisdiction, informed Major Warden that he would not intervene if the independence of the Transvaal territory were guaranteed; otherwise he would. Major Warden could not deal with so strong a combination as that which threatened: Sir Harry Smith could not reinforce him in the thick of the Kaffir war. The Governor of the Cape, seeing no alternative, arranged a conference between the Transvaal leaders and British commissioners; and the result was the Sand River Convention in January, 1852, guaranteeing to the Transvaal—thereafter acknowledged as the South African Republic—the independent control of its own affairs. About this time, Sir Harry Smith was replaced by Sir George Cathcart, who before long was able to employ troops released from the Kaffir contest to restore order. Moshesh made prompt submission before it was too late, while his prestige was at its height. The submission was accepted, Cathcart withdrew, and immediately afterwards the Home Government made up its mind to retire from the Orange River Sovereignty altogether. By a convention signed at Bloemfontein in February, 1854, the Orange River Sovereignty was transformed into the Orange Free State, with a guarantee of independence.

Independence of the Transvaal

Nearly twelve months earlier the Cape Colony had been granted a new constitution. The first ineffective limitation on the Governor's arbitrary powers had been made a little, but not much, more effective by the appointment of a nominated Council in 1834. In 1853, the Cape Colony was given two elected Assemblies, which had practically complete control of legislation. Full responsible government did not arrive until eighteen years later. Natal, as well as Kaffraria, continued to be governed in connection with Cape Colony, but Natal was separated in 1856, when it received more restricted representative institutions.

BRITISH AND DUTCH IN SOUTH AFRICA II



BY ARTHUR D. INNES

RISE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN STATES

A GENERATION OF DEVELOPMENT

AT this time it was the prevalent conviction among politicians of all parties in England that colonies inevitably separate from the mother country as soon as may be after they are strong enough to stand by themselves. The old notion that they are to be treated as mere dependencies existing for the convenience of the parent state, to whom they must remain subservient, had been virtually destroyed in the British mind by the American War of Independence. The modern conception of colonies as forming a group of states whose common interest it is to stand fast together on terms of practical equality, under a single flag, had hardly come into existence. The outcome of the intermediate attitude was that the mother country was generally anxious to avoid responsibilities herself, and willing to leave the colonies to manage their own affairs—provided that they did not irritate humanitarian sentiment, or entail expenditure at home.

Cutting Loose the Colonies

Thus the recognition of the South African Republic and of the Orange Free State appeared to be a convenient method of creating responsibilities on the north of the Orange River. The recognition was so nearly unconditional as to make any subsequent attempt to assert British authority exceedingly difficult in fact, and questionable in law. In other words, the way in which the thing was done very gravely complicated the South African problem for those whose larger imagination pictured the ideal of a homogeneous South African state or federation.

The problem, as we have already noted, bore a strong analogy to that which, before the eighteenth century, confronted those statesmen in England and Scotland, from the days of Edward I., who realised the immense advantage which unification would bring to both countries, subject always to the conditions that there should be no subordination of the one to the other, and that the union should be accepted with goodwill by the bulk of both populations. In Africa, indeed, there was no danger of the subjection which the Scots had feared, but rather of absorption. Unification could come only under the British flag, as in Canada, unless Great Britain altogether lost her place among the nations.

The South African States in 1854

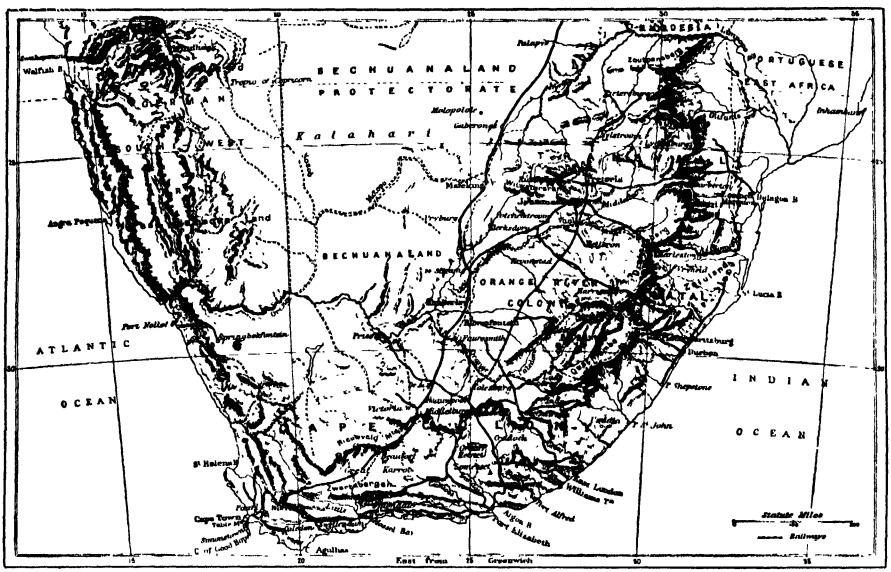
Primarily, what Ministers in London effected was to establish one state half Dutch and half British south of the Orange River; a second British state in Natal, with the subject native territory of Kaffraria intervening; a practically independent native state in Zululand beyond the Tugela; another in Basutoland, flanking the new Orange Free State; and between the Orange and the Limpopo, with the Drakensberg for their eastern boundary, the Boer Orange Free State, which rapidly developed an excellent organisation; and the Boer South African Republic, which was hardly organised at all. Each of these developed on its own lines, until the complication of their mutual relations attained a degree of entanglement for which politicians could find no solution save the arbitrament of war.

A Governor of Large Imagination

The Governor who was placed at the head of Cape Colony in 1854 was Sir George Grey, who had already won high distinction as an administrator in Australasia, and notably in New Zealand. Had Sir George been given a perfectly free hand the history of South Africa during the last fifty years would have been less disturbed, for he was possessed of the large imagination which looks far into the future, and also of the resolution, the tact, and the sympathy, without which it is not possible to carry out a policy wherein the opposing interests of rival races have to be reconciled. He recognised in Africa the necessity, repeatedly demonstrated in British-Indian history, of exercising a constant influence over native communities through the presence of British Residents and Agents. He saw also the need of fusion

between the two white races—of unification as opposed to the political disintegration consequent upon the breaking up of South Africa into a number of independent states. But he was debarred from giving his policy effect in any high degree. The existence of the Boer republics checked, though it did not altogether prevent, the amalgamation of the Cape Dutch and British. The principle of non-intervention was maintained, with the result that, as in India, intervention was ultimately forced on the Government at the cost of bloody wars.

Union With Dutch Checked



GREAT BRITAIN IN SOUTH AFRICA: MAP OF THE BRITISH STATES AND PROTECTORATES
Beginning with the half British and half Dutch State of Cape Colony, British influence in South Africa has expanded, through the anti-colonial period, when the Boer and native states were established, until the whole of South Africa south of the Limpopo river, with the exception of German South-west Africa, has come under British rule or protection.

Internally, the premier colony progressed. The same may be said of Natal and of the Orange Free State. But the Cape had its troubles with the native dependency of Kaffraria, as the Free State had in its turn with the Basuto power, and Natal with Bantus within her own borders, and ultimately with the Zulu state on the north-east.

British Kaffraria did not form a part of Cape Colony. It was administered on different lines, the population being practically entirely black; but it was under the Governor of the Cape in his capacity as High Commissioner. During Sir George Grey's time Kaffraria became the scene of a gigantic tragedy, a psychological phenomenon of a very remarkable character. Grey introduced excellent schemes calculated to civilise the natives; but the benefits therefrom were not immediately apparent—much as, almost contemporaneously, Dalhousie's measures for the advancement of the natives of India were viewed by them with the most grotesque suspicion—and it is clear that in Africa there was a great undercurrent of hostility to the white man's rule. As skilful agitators in India played upon the superstitious terrors or the religious prejudices of the uneducated classes and of the sepoys, so in Africa superstition was the lever by which conspirators or fanatics sought to let loose a black avalanche upon the alien which should destroy him. The bulk of the population of Kaffraria belonged to the Kosa tribes, against whom the series of Kaffir wars had been waged. Suddenly among them, beyond the British border, there came a prophet, Umhlakaze, who claimed that he and his niece Nongkause, were mediums, mouthpieces, through whom the spirits of departed Kosa heroes spoke their bidding.

A Gigantic Kaffir Tragedy

Umhlakaze had seen them in the flesh, spoken with them, heard their message. In due time, the white men were to be wiped out utterly; but there was to be a time of preparation. When the great day arrived, the heroes would come back to earth, and lead the faithful to victory; crops, in plenty unheard of, would spring from the soil in a day; cattle would cover the pastures. Meanwhile, the faithful were bidden to slaughter cattle and destroy crops—in effect, to clear the land of all means of obtaining a food supply. The principal Kosa chiefs took up the cause with enthusiasm; the European observer more than suspects that what was really hoped for was that when the population suddenly found themselves utterly destitute they would hurl themselves upon the white man and the white man's lands in sheer desperation. Certainly, nothing but a frenzy of superstition could have made the masses deliberately destroy all they had to live on.



HENDRIK BRAND
President of the Orange Free State during the litigation as to the ownership of the diamond fields.

The Cape Government, through the early months of 1857, when it had appreciated the nature of the hideous illusion which had taken possession of the Kosas, made every preparation to resist the anticipated onslaught, and to accumulate stores to alleviate the terrible destitution, which was daily becoming more inevitable as the Kaffirs continued to slay cattle and to destroy grain. It must be supposed that among the leaders many had veritably persuaded themselves of the prophet's truth. At any rate, nothing else, it would seem, can explain the fact that no measures were taken to gather the fighting men in arms, so that when the day arrived they might be launched at once against their foe, or upon their prey. The day came. The grain was gone; the cattle were gone; the warriors were not assembled. And the fresh grain did not sprout nor the divine cattle appear; nor did the dead return to lead the living. Proclamation went forth that the "day of resurrection" was—postponed. But it was vain to attempt to organise war after the process of starvation had begun, when the illusion of superstition was already shattered to fragments. There was no war, other than where starving Kaffirs fought each other for scraps of anything edible that could be found. Driven by famine, they poured in streams over the border, crying for food. But the destitution was more overwhelming than the available resources could cope with; 25,000 at least perished, possibly even double that number. At the end of 1857 the Kaffir population was but one-third of what it had been when the year opened. On the deserted lands settlers were planted from the Cape, from home, from Germany. The white immigration changed the character of the district, and seven years later—in 1865—Kaffraria was formally incorporated with Cape Colony.

Meanwhile, the Orange Free State was organising itself on lines which showed the marked political capacity of its citizens.



Edwards

THE CAPITAL OF ORANGE RIVER COLONY: THE MARKET SQUARE, BLOEMFONTEIN

The chief authority lay in the Volksraad, elected by all full citizens and naturalised citizens with a property qualification. The executive functions were vested in an elected president and an executive council. Coloured inhabitants might be accorded the vote by a resolution of the Volksraad. A high standard of efficiency was attained in administration, but the conditions under which the Republic had been established made it inevitable that there should be difficulties with the Basuto Moshesh, who aspired to recover for the Basuto kingdom



KIMBERLEY, THE DIAMOND TOWN

the widest area of ascendency which it had held in the past—an area which included a portion of what the Free State claimed as its own territory, and quite accurately regarded as essential to its existence. In 1858, disagreement reached a head, and the Boers invaded Basutoland with little success. With an uncertain prospect of the Free State being joined by the South African or Transvaal Republic, the President invited, and Moshesh accepted, the mediation of Sir George Grey, whose award was in the main favourable to the Basuto. On the other hand, the Griqua sold their territory to the Free State, and removed themselves to Griqualand East, on the south of Natal.

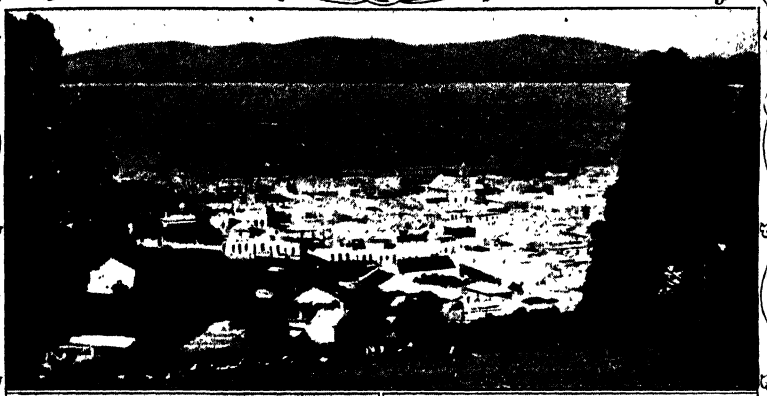
Moshesh, however, made it evident that he meant to grasp even more than had been conceded by the Grey award. The friction again went on until, in 1865, Hendrik Brand succeeded Martin Pretorius as President. He renewed the appeal for arbitration to the Governor of the Cape, Sir Philip Wodehouse. Wodehouse, after careful and impartial examination, restored the old line of demarcation claimed by the Free State. The Basutos refused to withdraw from the territory they had occupied, and the second Basuto war began with savage raids on the part of the Basutos, from whom, on the other hand, the burghers captured several positions. Moshesh, who wanted a delay, obtained terms of peace; but fifteen months later he again challenged the Free State. This time victory lay more decisively with the Republic, and Moshesh begged the British to assume sovereignty and extend him their protection. The request was granted, and the Free State was in part deprived of what it had a strong title to regard as the legitimate fruits of victory in a war which it had not sought. Basutoland became a British Protectorate in 1869. While the Basuto war was in progress a discovery was made which was vitally to affect the attitude of the British Government towards South Africa. First a few stray diamonds and then, in 1869, a very magnificent stone were found. The war was hardly over when digging for diamonds began in earnest. The diamond fields were on the west of the two republics, on lands which no one had

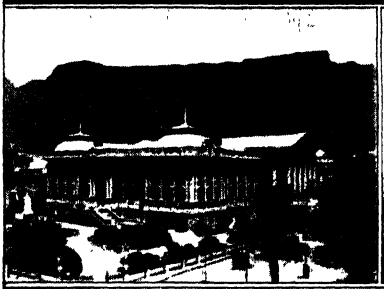


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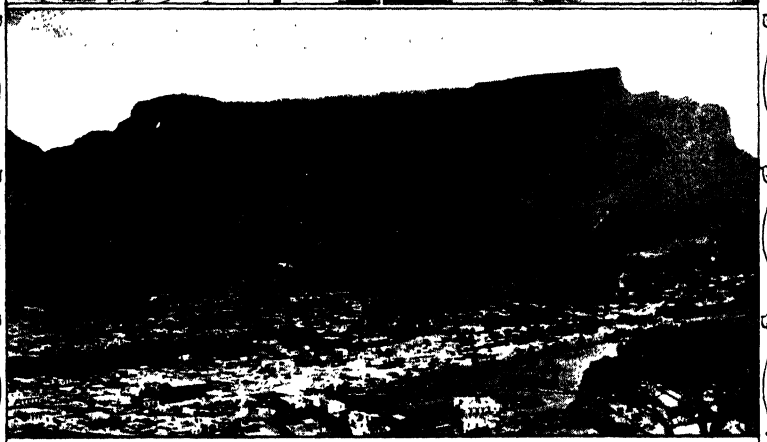
THE EARLY DIAMOND MINES OF KIMBERLEY

In 1869 diamonds began to be found in lands claimed by the Griquas, who sold them to Great Britain, though the Orange Free State had the legal title, afterwards recognised by compensation. Since that time the mines have become the world's most important diamond supply.









VIEWS OF CAPE TOWN AND ITS OVERSHADOWING MOUNTAIN

Cape Town, the seat of the first European settlement in South Africa, in 1652, has always maintained its supremacy among South African towns and its importance as the seat of British influence. The general views of the town and its harbour, and of Table Mountain, at the top and bottom of the page, give an idea of the beauty of its situation, while the photos of the Houses of Parliament and the General Post Office, on the left and right, indicate the importance of its public buildings.

Photos, N. P. Edwards and Underwood & Underwood, London

hitherto very definitely claimed. The Griqua chief, Nicholas Waterboer, asserting his ownership of the most valuable fields, sold them to the British Government. Waterboer's title was disputed by the Transvaal and by the Free State. The dispute between Waterboer and the Transvaal was referred to the arbitration of the Governor of Natal; and on the evidence laid before him Mr. Keate gave judgment entirely in favour of Waterboer. The Free State, however, declined to recognise an award to which it had not been a party. Great Britain claimed the land by right of purchase. But then, under the British flag, disputes as to title arose, and the courts, after examining all claims, rejected Waterboer's. President Brand appealed to England. British courts had now found that the land claimed by Waterboer had never been his to sell.

Legal Fight for the Diamond Fields

In this dilemma the British Government, deprived of its technical claim, fell back on the principles of high policy, and affirmed that its responsibilities as paramount power in South Africa compelled it to retain the diamond districts in its own hands; but it presently recognised that the Free State, in being thus deprived of territories to which they had a legal title, had a legitimate grievance. Compensation, therefore, was offered, and the republic accepted £90,000. The transaction amounted in effect to this: that the Paramount Power claimed the right of compulsory purchase on its own terms when reasons of state should make such purchase practically necessary. The claim, of course, rests on the principle that the Paramount Power acknowledges obligations to the maintenance of the security of the minor states which make the reservation of corresponding rights imperative. On the other, the Free State would in this case have found the control of the mines and the mining population so serious a task that the bargain was a better one than appears prima facie. In this connection, the Transvaal Republic was in a different position from the Free State. The Keate award had been made on the understanding that the President was authorised to pledge the republic to abide by the award; and the authorities were entitled to regard the question as having been thereby definitely settled. But the Boers repudiated their President's pledge, in consequence of which he resigned. Thus the point remained one as to which it was obviously possible that fresh dispute might arise in the future. It was to become evident, however, that something of more importance was involved for the Paramount Power than the mere possession of the diamond mines, since it thereby secured access to the interior, with possibilities of development which had not hitherto been taken into consideration.

The Free State's Bargain

The development of the diamond industry reacted curiously upon Natal, which now demands our attention. The relations here between the whites and the Bantu natives differed somewhat from the position in other colonies, the whites forming only some eight per cent. of the population; hence the necessity for a strict limitation of the black man's opportunities of acquiring a vote. A degree of representative government had been granted shortly after the recognition of Natal as a separate colony, but responsible government did not arrive till the last decade of the century.

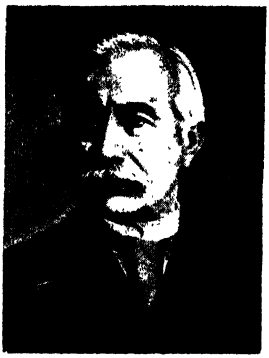
There was one quite necessary restrictive law in Natal—that all Bantu owners of guns should be registered. A portion of the country had been settled by Hlubi tribesmen, who had withdrawn from Zulu territory. Their chief, Langalibalela—or more briefly, Langa—allowed some of his young men to betake themselves to the diamond fields; and they, with the money thus earned, purchased firearms, with which they returned to Langa's country, evading registration. In fact, it became clear that Langa's people were arming surreptitiously. The Government summoned Langa to answer for his people; his replies were evasive; in fact, he was concocting plans for defying the British. An armed force was sent to compel obedience to the Government demands; an advance party narrowly escaped being cut off, and in doing so half a dozen lives were lost.

Diamonds and Zulu Risings

Every European in South Africa knew that nothing but a very convincing demonstration of superior force would prevent a general rising. The Boer Republic promised aid if needed; Natal and Cape Colony were prompt to take decisive measures. Langa hoped to raise the Basutos as allies; but he himself was caught and compelled to surrender, while

his forces were scattered after a hot skirmish, before he had succeeded in effecting his object. He was removed from the colony, after full trial, and detained in a very comfortable captivity for some twelve years, while the Hlubi settlement was broken up, and the land transferred to fresh occupants. All danger of further insurrection was averted. The colonists, however, were —according to the standing rule—irritated by the intervention of the Home Government on behalf of the insurgent tribe.

A source of future difficulties for other parts of South Africa as well as Natal was created by the importation to that colony of coolie labour from India, the Bantu proving themselves wholly impracticable as plantation-workers. The measure was successful enough commercially; but it resulted in the permanent settlement of considerable numbers of Indians, whose presence is now regarded with aversion by the whites—both as an industrial danger, and as complicating the native question. On the other hand, the Imperial Government can hardly approve the exclusion of British subjects, as the Indians are, from free access to British dominions. Some observers are in favour of diverting the immigration, which tends to continue, to the more tropical region, where it would, at any rate, not affect the prospects of the white labourer or tradesman.



SIR BARTLE FRERE
Appointed Governor of the Cape in 1877 and made the scapegoat of the disastrous Zulu War of 1879.
Photo

In 1877 Sir Bartle Frere arrived as Governor of the Cape and High Commissioner, having been appointed by Disraeli's Government with a view to the carrying out of Lord Carnarvon's aims for the unification of South Africa. Native questions, however, demanded his immediate attention. Prompt measures rendered a Kaffir rising abortive; but beyond Natal, still graver dangers threatened from the Zulu power, with its capital at Ulundi. The great military organisation of Chaka had met with a set-back when his successor, Dingan, was overthrown, and his place taken by the comparatively lethargic Panda. But Panda himself had been followed by his son, Cetewayo, who inherited not a few of Chaka's qualities. Under his sway the systematic development of a polity organised exclusively for military purposes was revived. Disagreements between this formidable potentate and the South African Republic threatened to issue in open war. In 1878, Frere as High Commissioner intervened to arbitrate on the points in dispute. But the Zulu menace was found to be so serious that his award, favourable enough to the Zulus, was joined to what was in effect an ultimatum to Cetewayo, requiring not only reparation for injuries of which his people had been guilty, but also the disbanding of his army, and the admission of a British Resident at Ulundi, Cetewayo's capital. The demands passed unheeded. An attack by Cetewayo would almost certainly mean a general Basuto rising in Natal. Sir Bartle Frere judged that the attack must be forestalled. A powerful force was dispatched against the Zulu king, in three divisions. Two advanced, successfully repulsing the forces sent against them, till the fate of the third division compelled them to halt and maintain a defensive attitude. The main body, under Lord Chelmsford, advanced to Isandlhwana, leaving a small band to guard communications at Rorke's Drift. Chelmsford moved with the bulk of his force to attack a Zulu kraal, leaving some 1,300 men, more than half being whites, in an unfortified camp. On that camp suddenly burst the Zulu torrent: 15,000 warriors. They had evaded Lord Chelmsford, and encircled the downward force before the situation was realised. The British were cut to pieces. But for the heroic defence of Rorke's Drift, where six score men under Chard and Bromhead held at bay 4,000 Zulus on that same night, Cetewayo's men would have been into Natal.

Sir Bartle Frere Appointed

Beginning of Zulu War of 1879

For the moment, the invading forces were compelled to mark time; but reinforcements were pushed up. Within six months of Isandlhwana, Lord Chelmsford had shattered Cetewayo's army at Ulundi, and the king was a fugitive. When presently he fell into the hands of the

British, he was detained under surveillance till, in 1883, he was allowed to return to Zululand as a vassal monarch, an experimental form of government in the interval having proved quite unsuccessful. The restoration was contested. On his death next year, his son, Dinizulu secured the succession, with assistance—in return for a cession of territory—from the Transvaal. Continued disorders made annexation imperative in 1887, when the recalcitrance of Dinizulu and other chiefs necessitated his deportation. Subsequently his return was permitted; but the Natal authorities have since obtained evidence on which he has been charged with fomenting fresh disturbances. The issue of his trial is still uncertain at the time of writing.



PAUL KRUGER
Elected with Pretorius and Joubert to the government of the Transvaal Republic at the rebellion of 1880, later made President.

By a common perversion of reasoning processes, it was held that Sir Bartle Frere's policy was wrong because a British force had been cut up. He was recalled in 1881, the victim of wholly unmerited censure; and there was a general reaction in England against the "forward" doctrines of the Beaconsfield Cabinet.

The story of Zululand has carried us out of our chronological course, and we have now to revert to the career of the South African or Transvaal Republic. This had been chequered enough, ever since the recognition in 1852. The Transvaalers were the extremists, the stalwarts among those Boer families which had resented control; they had no disposition to adopt, even among themselves, any government of so carefully organised a type as that of the Free State. Their attitude to the native races was derived from their Old Testament conception of the relations ordained between the children of Japhet and the children of Ham. For some time after 1852 they were broken up into four communities; it was not till 1860 that these managed to unite as a single state with a single President. They found themselves engaged in desultory hostilities now with one great Basuto tribe, now with another, and habitually without funds sufficient for decisive action. These quarrels were in part dealt with by arbitration under the Keate award mentioned already.

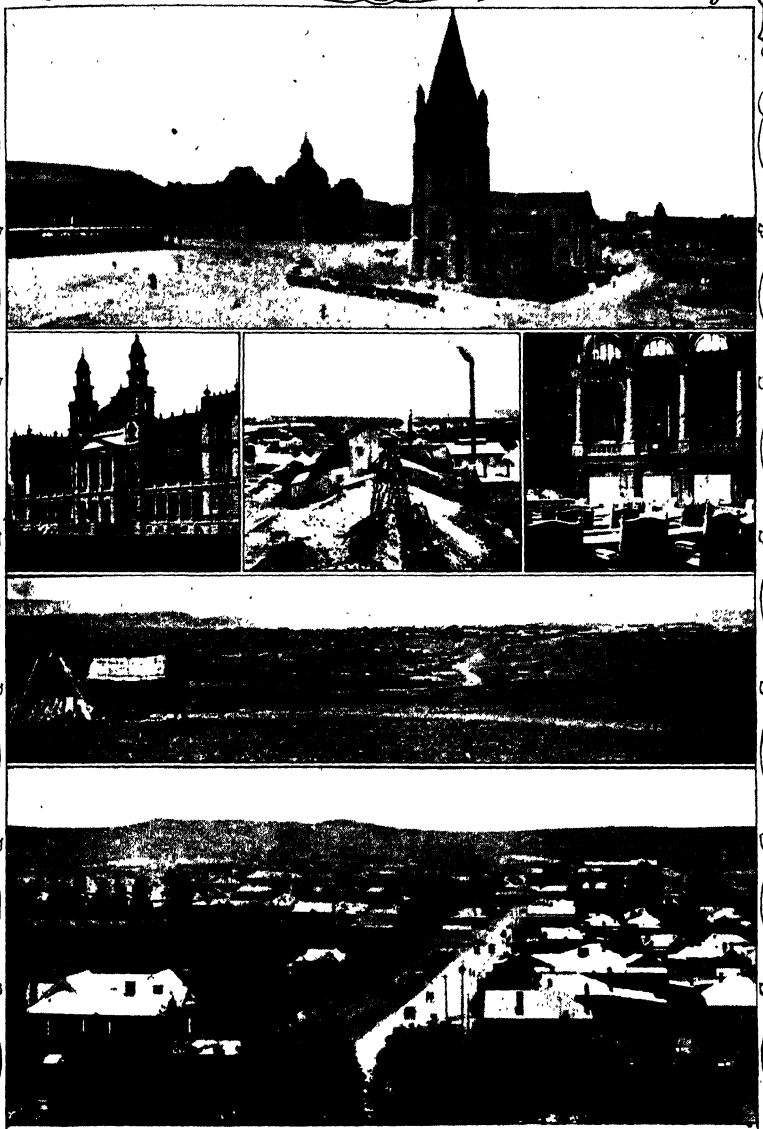


PIET JOUBERT
Commander-in-Chief of the Boer army and Vice-President of the South African Republic, 1896-1900.

Then, under President Burgers, new complications arose with the natives. But a rigid puritanism made the Boers believe that their arms could not prosper under a President who was an avowed Freethinker; and when they took the field, the voice went forth: "To your tents, O Israel," and the burghers departed to their own homes, though they knew well enough how to fight when they had a mind. The situation demanded energetic measures—and money. And they had no money.

On this scene of anarchy appeared Sir Theophilus Shepstone as British Commissioner, with extensive powers from the Government. To him it appeared—though not to the Boers—that they were doomed to destruction at the hands of the Zulus, and much more would be involved in that than their own ruin. Moreover, such residents as were not themselves Boers saw their only refuge from anarchy in a British annexation. No open opposition was offered, and the Transvaal was annexed by proclamation, in April 1877. At the moment, Imperialism, sane or otherwise, was dominant in England. The successful unification of British North America had inspired hopes of an equally successful unification of South Africa, despite the antagonism of the Dutch element within Cape Colony as well as outside it. The annexation of the Transvaal, supposed to have been accomplished with the assent of its inhabitants, was accepted as a step in this desirable direction. The awakening was rude.

Although the new order was accompanied by an access of unwonted prosperity, the Boers sent successive deputations to London to urge the cancellation



PRETORIA AND JOHANNESBURG, CHIEF CITIES OF THE TRANSVAAL

The Transvaal was founded about 1833 by Boers who trekked from British territory on the abolition of slavery. The market square at Pretoria, the capital of the Transvaal, is seen at the top of the page, and the Courts of Justice and the interior of the Legislature immediately below on the left and right. Below, Johannesburg, the goldfield capital, in the early days of the mines, is contrasted with the city of to-day, while above, in the centre, one of the large mine workings is shown.

Photos, N. P. Edwards and Underwood & Underwood, London

of the annexation. Their protests fell on deaf ears. The fall of the Beaconsfield Cabinet gave them new hopes, but Mr. Gladstone declared against a retrocession. Then the burghers bade defiance to Great Britain, elected Kruger, Pretorius, and Joubert to conduct the government, called the old Volksraad together, and, on December 6th, 1880, hoisted again the flag of the South African Republic. On the same day a collision between a party of Boers and the military at Potchefstrom opened hostilities. Four days later a small detachment was attacked, and forced to surrender at Bronkhorst Spruit. Sir George Colley marched from Natal with a force of 1,000 men, but was beaten back with considerable loss at Laing's Nek. On the night of February 26th he occupied the summit of Majuba Hill, commanding the Nek; but a small party of Boer volunteers climbed the hill, the Regulars were seized with panic, and Sir George himself was killed. Although a large force was by this time collected under Sir Evelyn Wood, orders had been sent from England in accordance with which first an armistice was arranged, and then a peace, restoring in terms not too free from ambiguity the independence of the South African Republic under British suzerainty. The retrocession has been the subject of stormy controversy; but when it is treated as a party question in England it is as well to remember that if Gladstone was the prime mover, the most trusted and brilliant leaders of advanced Imperialism at the present day were at least consenting parties. The impression had suddenly become dominant that Great Britain had arrogantly and without sufficient consideration annexed a free state; that the state was justified in taking arms in defence of its liberty; and that justice forbade the obviously mightier Power to penalise the smaller one for its courage. Where the discrepancy between the resources of the two nations was so enormous, the giant could surely afford to be magnanimous to the pygmy, and any well-conducted pygmy would recognise the generosity with which it had been treated. Such at least was the hypothesis which obtained from the British nation a somewhat dubious assent to the action of Ministers. Unhappily, events showed that the pygmy had not taken a correct view of the giant's conduct. The mass of the Boer population, as distinct from a very few intelligent men among the leaders, attributed the British action to a despicable pusillanimity; and contempt proved an unsatisfactory basis for the new and pleasanter relations which it had been hoped to establish. But for the time at least the truth was not realised at Westminster; and when, in 1884, a deputation arrived in London to procure modifications in the Convention of 1881, a revised Convention



SIR GEORGE COLLEY
Whose force was defeated by the Boers in 1880 at Laing's Nek and Majuba, where he was killed.
Photo Maull & Fox



THE FATAL HILL ON THE BATTLEFIELD OF MAJUBA



KHAMA
The enlightened native chief of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

was conceded, of which the wording was so careless as to leave it open to question whether any tangible suzerainty was left to the British at all.

About the same time the inaction of the British and Cape Governments enabled Germany to establish a protectorate in south-west Africa. Now, however, a reaction set in; the disposition to concede every demand was giving way to an inclination to extend the area of British activity, of which the first fruits were the Bechuanaland settlement. This great district, lying on the west of the Transvaal, formed the highway into the interior. In this field the great explorer, Dr. Livingstone, had laboured as a missionary, and had successfully foiled the efforts of the Boers to bring it under their sway. Here for some years past there had been much unrest and internal discussion between the tribes, which began to call in to their support the aid of groups of white adventurers. As a natural result it soon became evident that the adventurers would practically partition Bechuanaland among themselves. The apparent inertness of the British Government led the Transvaal President, Paul Kruger, to proclaim the protectorate of the South African Republic over the disturbed districts in September, 1884. But the districts were under the general authority of the High Commissioner, though the first efforts to bring them into order had been only tentative in character and ineffective in result. The Imperial Government declined to recognise the validity of Kruger's proclamation, and a force was sent up to Bechuanaland under Sir Charles Warren. The adventurers, who had constituted themselves into the so-called Republics of Goschen and Stellaland, found themselves manœuvered out of any possibility of resistance; they were removed, the natives reinstated on the soil, and Bechuanaland was organised as a Crown Colony, the more remote territory, under its particularly enlightened chief Khama, forming a protectorate.

There now ensued a period of expansion. Already in the Transvaal discoveries of gold were being made which were entirely to transform the character of that republic—a subject to which we shall shortly revert. Beyond

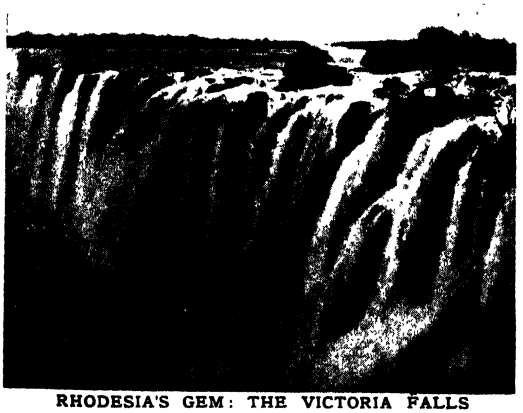


THE PRINCIPAL STREET IN BULUWAYO, CAPITAL OF RHODESIA



Russell

CECIL RHODES
As a young politician of the Cape, he dreamed the vast dreams out of which grew Rhodesia.

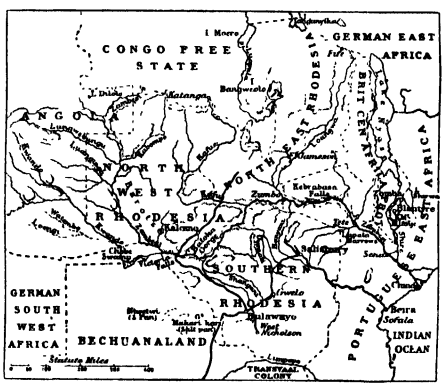


RHODESIA'S GEM: THE VICTORIA FALLS

Bechuanaland and on the north of the Transvaal were established the Matabele under Lobengula, with his headquarters at Buluwayo, with the peaceful Mashona beyond, up to the Zambesi.

In Cape Colony, Cecil Rhodes, a young Englishman who had already achieved political prominence, was dreaming vast dreams, and watching with an exceedingly practical eye for stepping-stones to their realisation. The Germans from the west were beginning to turn acquisitive glances towards the unappropriated lands. From Lobengula Rhodes obtained mining concessions; by patient organisation he bought out or absorbed rival syndicates, whose aims were limited to a desire for gold-mines. The High Commissioner was induced to declare Matabeleland under British protection; and, in 1889, Rhodes's company obtained a charter from the British Government which placed in its hands the administration of the territory up to and beyond the Zambesi -- to be known afterwards as Rhodesia. It was not long then before the Chartered Company extended its administrative sphere across the Zambesi, and included therein Barotseland. Meanwhile, on the south and west of the great Lake Nyassa, British settlements, primarily of a missionary character, had been taking root for some years past. Now the definite organisation of a British protectorate in those regions was resolved on. Negotiations with the native chiefs were conducted through agents, of whom the most notable was Sir Harry Johnston, and extended its control as far north as Lake Tanganyika; and the whole of the territory north of the Zambesi up to that lake and west of what was recognised as Portuguese was divided between the Chartered Company and the Imperial British Central Africa (or Nyassaland) Protectorate.

South of the Zambesi the Chartered Company had a more serious task in some respects than on the north, for there the territory included Matabeleland, where Lobengula ruled those warlike tribes who had been the terror of their more peaceful neighbours further south, till the advance of the Boers had driven them over the Limpopo. The Matabele in their present quarters had been in the habit of raiding their neighbours as of old—neighbours whom they had dispossessed and robbed. After the coming of the British, Lobengula was to all appearance friendly. But he fell a victim to the delusion that because the British displayed no violence, they too might be bullied and defied. In 1893 he dropped the mask. Careful inquiry subsequently proved that the company had no alternative except war or evacuation. They chose war. The military Matabele were crushed by the company's administrative chief, Dr. Jameson, and the peaceful Mashonas were relieved from an intolerable tyranny. Buluwayo — the name meaning the place of killing — became the capital of Rhodesia. It must be borne in mind that the Matabele were not the old possessors of the soil, but a conquering horde which had only recently taken possession.



MAP OF THE BASIN OF THE ZAMBESI

Hitherto we have found the British colonisation in South Africa always in some sort taking the form of expansion from the Cape. But the general scramble in the 'eighties among the European Powers for African territory led to the establishment of another British protectorate in equatorial regions, which are included in our South African division. We have already seen that affairs in Zanzibar brought about a critical partition of that state and of its hinterland as "spheres of influence" mainly between Britain and Germany. British East Africa lies north of German East Africa. In 1888 administrative control over what was so far recognised as the definitely British sphere was placed in the hands of the Chartered British East Africa Company—that is, from Mombasa inland to the Victoria Nyanza. On the west of this lay the kingdom of Uganda, under King Mwanga, which was declared a British protectorate in 1895 and reorganised in 1901.

BRITISH AND DUTCH IN SOUTH AFRICA III



BY ARTHUR D. INNES

THE WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION

THE NEW CONDITIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

WHILE the British dominion was expanding northward and setting a girdle round the two Boer states, so that all prospect of their extending their territory inland or acquiring an oceanic outlet disappeared, the Orange Free State continued to prosper on its own lines, and to present to the world something of the character of a model republic. Prosperity in the shape of material wealth was also descending upon the sister state; but there her best friends could not admire the system of government.

As a simple community of farmers the people of the Transvaal had excited in England a certain sympathy—with an element of patronage about it—resulting in the Conventions of 1881 and 1884. But just after the latter it was realised that in parts of the Transvaal territory there were rich gold-mines. The usual influx of settlers in the gold districts followed. The town of Johannesburg grew up, and its population was mostly British—politically, if not racially. The Uitlanders were soon, in numbers, a formidably large proportion of the white men in the territories of the republic. The simple farmers turned the new state of affairs to account. They taxed the mining industry to its utmost capacity; they required the Uitlanders to hold themselves liable to military service; the once empty coffers of the state treasury were comfortably filled. But the Uitlanders were as firmly barred from citizen rights as the aliens whom an ancient Greek city admitted within its gates. Years had to pass before naturalisation was granted, and the community from which the state drew nearly all its wealth was in effect refused any voice in the control of its expenditure, and any share in the administration.

Birth of the Gold City of Johannesburg

Now, the government was not without a certain excuse for this attitude. If full citizenship had been placed within easy grasp of the Uitlanders, there was reason to fear that their numbers would soon enable them to become the controlling political factor. The Boers saw no sufficient reason for allowing themselves to be politically swamped in their own territory. The Uitlanders might come into the country if they chose to accept the conditions; if not they might stay away. The Transvaal wished to remain isolated, and carried the principle to such a pitch that the cost of importing foreign goods by what was virtually the State railway became prohibitive, and even the Cape Dutch took to sending their merchandise by waggons across the drifts or fords on the frontier, instead of by rail. When the President proposed to go the length of closing the drifts, he found that his isolation from even Dutch sympathy, as well as from foreign intercourse, would be more dangerously complete than he had expected. That attempt was a failure.

Isolating the Transvaal

Granted the existence of excuse for this policy, the grievance of the Uitlanders must equally be admitted. Civilised nations do not treat industries established by aliens within their boundaries as inexhaustible fountains of taxation; and they permit the alien himself to acquire citizenship on reasonable terms. That is, if we use the term civilised in the European sense. Non-European states which adopt such an attitude are apt to find the wall of isolation forcibly broken through, if the incentive is strong enough. Englishmen conceived that they had a right to expect from a White State the normal conduct of a White State; all the more when Great Britain claimed a suzerainty, however ill-defined, over the state in question. Least of all did it seem tolerable that a state which would not have been in existence at all but for the British reverence for the conception of freedom should treat free Britons as a subject population.

Grievance of the Uitlanders

To reconcile such irreconcilables was a sufficiently difficult problem; but the difficulty did not end even here. In some form or other a South Africa united under one flag, and under free governments, was the ideal of every far-seeing statesman, however remote its realisation might be. To that end Cecil Rhodes, now Premier at the Cape, had been working with promise of success. The race antagonism of British and Dutch in that colony was already becoming mitigated, and yielding to the idea of a South African patriotism. It did not seem vain to hope that the enlightened Government of the Orange Free State would shake off the prejudices

Ideal South Africa

secure public sympathy for unofficial intervention on their behalf. A Transvaal Government reorganised, with the rule of the stalwarts at an end, would simplify the whole situation. Rhodes and his administrator in Rhodesia, Dr. Jameson, lent themselves to the scheme; but to meet with success, absolute unanimity was necessary, every detail must be agreed upon. But there were hitches. Before the hitches were removed, the official administrator of Rhodesia made a dash for Johannesburg at the head of a troop of mounted police on December 30th, 1895. It was the wrong moment for the Uitlanders; as things stood, an attempt at insurrection would only have made



THE AMAZING BLUNDER: DR. JAMESON'S RAIDERS CAPTIVES OF THE BOERS

The extraordinary action of Dr. Jameson, whose portrait is inset in the above picture, in making a dash for Johannesburg in 1895 alienated official sympathy from the Uitlanders, who had genuine grievances against the Transvaal.

created in the past, and fall in with the ideal. But while the northern republic maintained its attitude of dogged, obstinate antagonism, it was not merely a passive obstacle, but served to quicken the race-hostility outside its own borders.

The action of the Transvaal Government in the affair of the drifts had gone far to alienate even Dutch sentiment, when an amazing blunder turned the tables. The Uitlanders in Johannesburg were meditating the feasibility of bringing about a revolution by some means more active than constitutional agitation. To that end they would need outside help. Their case seemed strong enough to matters worse. The raiders found themselves in a trap and had to surrender.

Nothing could better have served the purposes of the Transvaal President; from being in a distinctly critical position he had suddenly become complete master of the situation. The official position of Dr. Jameson could not be ignored, nor was it possible to deny that Mr. Rhodes was more or less implicated in the plot. The home authorities repudiated any suggestion of complicity; but the official inquiry which followed gave a certain speciousness to the allegation that there was more behind. The Uitlanders had

The Tables Turned

gone quite far enough to warrant any Government in turning a deaf ear to their appeals. Mr. Kruger's position had been rendered technically impregnable, while a situation that was practically intolerable was prolonged. Perhaps from the British point of view the most serious result was the revulsion of Dutch feeling in favour of the attitude of the republic.



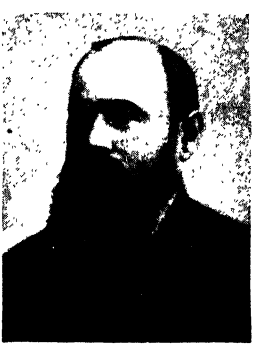
Barnett

LORD MILNER
Who was sent out to Cape Colony in 1897 as High Commissioner.

Instead of the pressure on the Uitlanders being relaxed, it was intensified; to all protests the raid was a sufficient answer. The President began to act as if the conventions had established the republic as a sovereign state. The imputation to the British Government of sinister designs, against which precautions were warranted, was made plausible by the fiasco of the raid inquiry. Sir Alfred Milner, sent out as High Commissioner in 1897, came very definitely to the conclusion that if Great Britain was to remain a power in South Africa she must assert her title resolutely, and bring pressure to bear for the remedying of grievances. The very question of suzerainty under the 1884 Convention was disputed. The Colonial Office expressed itself vigorously; the President was immovable, and the Free State, under a new President, Steyn, gave him moral support and the promise of material assistance. Before, as well as since, the raid, the Transvaal had been arming. Now British troops began to concentrate. Negotiations failed to produce any basis for agreement. Then the President sent an ultimatum on October 9th, 1899, demanding an undertaking to withdraw the British forces within forty-eight hours. On October 12th the Boer commandos were over the frontier, and war had begun. In England and among the British at the Cape the conviction had gained ground that President Kruger was actuated by something more than the determination to preserve the independence of the Transvaal. There is no doubt that in certain quarters among the Dutch of South Africa the idea had taken root that a Dutch ascendency might replace that of the British. It is not to be supposed that intelligent Dutchmen imagined that they could overthrow the British supremacy single-handed. If any such plot had been formulated at all, it rested on the expectation that Britain would find her powers so fettered by European complications that the obvious odds in her favour would be made nugatory. Nor is it, in fact, clear that such an ambition was widespread, or was anything more than the dream of a few politicians. But as the enormous expenditure of the republic on the secret accumulation of munitions of war for some years past came to be revealed, Englishmen refused to credit that these had been dictated by considerations merely of self-defence against hypothetical British aggression. It was believed that Kruger had deliberately sought occasion to fling down the gage of combat at a moment which he regarded as favourable. The great bulk of the population was satisfied that no diplomacy, no concessions which could be made with honour, would have averted the war; nor did the vigorous protests of a minority affect the practical unanimity with which the challenge was accepted and the struggle fought out to the end.

The Boer War Declared

Dream of a Dutch Ascendency



PRESIDENT STEYN
President of the Orange Free State, who supported President Kruger at the declaration of war in 1899.

No less doggedly did the Boers set about their task, whether with the more ambitious aim attributed to them, or with merely a stern determination to fight to the last for the independence which, since the use they made of the concessions after Majuba, they could hope to preserve only by decisive victory. There could be no more similar experiments in magnanimity. The British Government and the British nation entered upon the war under an extraordinary misconception of the nature

of the problem before them. It was estimated that the whole Boer population capable of bearing arms in the two republics did not exceed 30,000. Obviously, however, the whole adult male population could not take the field, deserting the avocations on which their livelihood depended. Fifty thousand regular troops, then, should have no sort of difficulty in demonstrating that any resistance the farmers could offer must be futile.

For misconception as to the relative value of the burgher troops and British Regulars there was perhaps some excuse, such disasters as those of Laing's Nek and Majuba appearing in the light of accidents. But, in fact, the British had to deal with a people solidly determined to fight to a finish, occupying a huge territory, with a mountainous frontier eminently adapted for defence, and containing large districts peculiarly suited for guerrilla warfare. History has proved repeatedly that the subjugation of such a country is a matter of enormous difficulty if the local levies avoid concentration and refuse pitched battles. Scotland of old had defied England, Switzerland had defied the Empire, Spain had defied Napoleon. The men, moreover, were consummate horse-masters and dead shots. What history taught, expert military advisers on the spot emphasised; but their warning was disregarded. It was, indeed, true that in the impending contest the odds were so overwhelming that if Britain proved determined the Boer resistance must at last fail, if only because the Boer population would be ultimately eliminated. But the British nation conceived that it had only to give a clear demonstration of superior strength, and the affair would be comfortably over.

The Boers, too, had doubtless miscalculated. Majuba had made common a quite erroneous estimate of the British soldiery and of British persistency. Very few realised that the retrocession of the Transvaal had been accepted by the British people in a spirit not of pusillanimity, but of generosity; it was imagined that a few reverses would make the British Government eager to find an excuse for coming to terms. It was believed, too, that other European Powers would intervene, and that no great masses of troops could be spared for South Africa. It was not understood that until England's sea-power can be effectively challenged she has no vulnerable point except India, though she herself is equally



ELANDSLAAGTE, THE SECOND BATTLE OF THE CAMPAIGN FOUGHT FROM LADYSMITH
One of the first objects of the Boer campaign was the investment of Ladysmith, during which Sir George White was forced to fall back on Ladysmith, fighting the battles of Talana Hill, Elandslaagte, and Nicholson's Nek on the way.

unable to attack except by sea. It was imagined, too, that the Dutch south of the Orange River would convert the Cape itself into practically hostile territory. President Kruger had timed his defence skilfully, so that the Boers could immediately assume the offensive while the British forces in South Africa were still wholly inadequate.

Additional forces were, indeed, to be expected very shortly. But at the moment, the regulars in South Africa numbered only about 22,000. Half of them were for political reasons gathered at Ladysmith and Dundee in the north angle of Natal—strategically, about as bad a position as could have been occupied, both sides of the angle being exposed to attack, while Ladysmith, topographically speaking, was peculiarly ill-fitted for defence. On the opposite side of the Free State a small British force held Kimberley, and to the north, on the Transvaal border, Mafeking. Fortunately for the British, Mr. Rhodes quartered himself at Kimberley. Now, until reinforcements arrived, it was impossible for the British to do anything but stand on the defensive; the attack lay with the Boers.

Between Ladysmith on one side, and Kimberley on the other, the Free State ran south into British territory like a half-sausage. Thus, the British had an immense frontier to guard, with their posts hundreds of miles apart; the Boers at the centre could strike on one side at Ladysmith, on the other at Kimberley, or make a direct invasion of Cape Colony southward, and could transfer forces from one to another of these fields of operation with great rapidity, which the British could not. And the Boers could at the moment send to the front two, or perhaps three times as many men as the whole of the British forces. If they had sent merely "containing" forces to keep Ladysmith and Kimberley in check, and had thrown themselves in force into Cape Colony, they would probably have brought the bulk of the Cape Dutch to their standard, and the British would have had to reconquer the whole country, just as with the Ganges Provinces in the Indian Mutiny.

They did not realise their opportunity, however, but expended the whole of their energies in investing the towns of Ladysmith, Kimberley, and Mafeking.



THE TRAGEDY OF THE SPION KOP VICTORY
The Dublin Fusiliers rushing the Boer trenches at Spion Kop, near Ladysmith, on the bitter day when the British won the Kop, did not know it was won, and so lost it.

Sir George White's force at Ladysmith held an advance post at Glencoe, close to Dundee. The campaign opened with an attack at this point. On October 20th was fought the battle of Talana Hill—a British success. But it revealed the fact that the Boer artillery commanded a longer range, and that the Glencoe position would soon be untenable. The only chance was to fall back on Ladysmith before retreat was cut off. The Boers

were multiplying fast. White, from Ladysmith, engaged them in the battle of Elandslaagte, and the difficult march from Dundee was successfully completed on October 26th. On the 30th followed the battle of Ladysmith, terminated by the disaster of Nicholson's Nek. A detachment had been sent to occupy that position. In the night the mules stampeded. On their backs were not only the ammunition but portions of the guns. The artillery was made useless. The force held on, knowing that it was its business to cover White's flank in the impending battle. No help came to it. All through the 30th it was the object of a concentrated attack; finally it found itself with no alternative but surrender. In the main battle, after much hard fighting, White had been obliged to withdraw his troops into Ladysmith, and the investment began. But one touch of good fortune had befallen; a naval detachment with naval guns had been sent up from the coast, and joined the defenders of Ladysmith.

The Siege of Ladysmith

Meanwhile, on the west, large forces were investing Mafeking and Kimberley, since the Boers were possessed with an overmastering desire to capture Cecil Rhodes at all costs. But no invasion of Cape Colony proper was taking place. With November, the reinforcements from home began to assemble, and soon the attack passed from the Boers to the British. As the Boers had divided their attack, so now did the British. Sir Redvers Buller, with the main army was to advance from Natal, and join forces with the Ladysmith garrison; on the west Lord Methuen with a second army was to proceed to the relief of Kimberley. The new troops were strengthened by volunteer detachments which the loyalty of the Colonies had sent to the aid of the mother country. To reach Kimberley and raise the siege, Lord Methuen had first to pass the Orange River and then the Modder, and then fight his way up to the besieger's lines. To reach Ladysmith, Buller had to force his way over the Tugela, and then through a mountainous region eminently adapted for defence. In the former region the Boers had neglected any attempt on the British line of communications. In the latter, they had secured the north bank of the Tugela, and made a belated raid into Natal, but not until the accumulation of troops there had already made the operation ineffective.

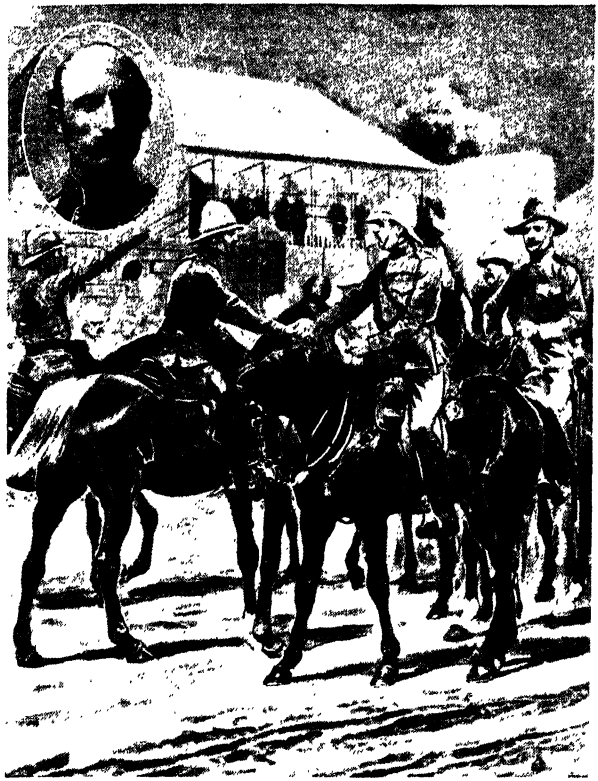
British Advance Begun

The British, holding the passage of the Orange River, made their advance in the middle of November. Between them and the besieging force lay General Cronje.



THE APPARENT RETREAT OVER THE TUGELA

General Buller's last, and successful, move in the campaign for the relief of Ladysmith was a flanking movement which involved re-crossing the Tugela, apparently a retreat, but in reality an enveloping movement which compelled the retreat of the Boers investing Ladysmith. Inset is a portrait of General Buller.



THE RELIEF OF LADYSMITH BY GENERAL BULLER
After a fierce siege of four months, during which the garrison was reduced to sore straits, Ladysmith was relieved by the success of General Buller's flank attack across the Tugela river on the Boer position. This picture shows the meeting of the relievers and the besieged, a photo of Sir George White being inset.

On November 23rd a small Boer force, skilfully entrenched, gave the British a hard task in dislodging them at Belmont. And now Methuen was to face Cronje himself on the Modder. And with Cronje was Delarey. It was not anticipated that material resistance would be offered at the river, and Lord Methuen unexpectedly found himself involved in a very hot struggle to force the passage. But the thing was done at last. Another step had been gained. Cronje, however, had only fallen back to a new and very strong position at Magersfontein. To face that position Methuen made the arrangements on the night of December 10th. The Highland Brigade was to effect a night surprise; but the Boers were prepared for that. At the end of a long march, as the Highlanders were almost on the enemy's lines, though unaware of their extreme proximity, while they were advancing in the close quarter-column formation—deployment can take place only at the last moment in a night attack—suddenly out of the darkness where the Boers lay in perfect cover, belched a devastating storm of fire. Over 600 men fell in some three minutes. The Highlanders broke—no mortal troops could have done otherwise. The moment they reached cover they rallied, but a fresh advance was impossible. With the day came help, and all day the struggle continued; but the Boer position proved impregnable. The repulse was decisive. It is remarkable that of the 1,000 casualties on that day, two-thirds occurred in the few minutes described. Meanwhile, to the south, Boer forces were at last entering Cape Colony in the district where there were many disaffected Dutch. Here, on December 9th, General Gatacre made an unfortunate attempt to take the offensive. Warning reached the Boers of the surprise contemplated. The tables were turned at Stormberg. Half the attacking force was cut off from the rest, and 600 men were obliged to surrender. It was fortunate that the enemy took no further advantage of the victory. The news of Stormberg and Magersfontein opened the "black week." The next news was that of the battle of Colenso, where the Boers held the north bank of the Tugela. The river was to be crossed at two points by Hart's and Hildyard's brigades. The former was led to a loop in the river where it was exposed to a cross fire, and efforts to discover a supposed ford proved fruitless. Hildyard's brigade made its attack at Colenso itself, and made good progress. But the artillery which should have supported it

Tragedy of the Battle of Magersfontein

The Black Week

met with disaster. The guns dashed forward to attack Fort Wylie; but, exposed to the full fury of the rifle-fire from the trenches, men and horses dropped—the guns could neither be withdrawn nor worked. In spite of desperate attempts to recover the guns, in which the only son of Lord Roberts lost his life, they had to be abandoned. The infantry attack, unsupported by artillery, could not be carried through. The first attempt to cross the Tugela had been disastrously repulsed on December 15th. For reasons unexplained, Buller's movement was made two days before the date he had notified to White in Ladysmith, so that nothing was done by way of co-operation in that quarter. On the other hand, White entirely declined to consider Buller's suggestion that he should surrender on the best terms he could get. The British nation was roused only to a sterner resolution by the week of disaster. From every quarter of the empire volunteers flocked to add fresh regiments to the increasing army in South Africa. Roberts and Kitchener, the two generals whose reputation stood highest in the British Army, were given the task of turning the tide of war. But before they arrived on the scene Ladysmith had victoriously repelled a determined attack, and the relieving force had been beaten back a second time. Never has a more splendid display of stubborn valour—on both sides—been made than on January 6th, when the Boers stormed the posts known as Waggon Hill and Cæsar's Camp, and the British hurled them back in rout. Yet hardly less splendid was the conduct of the troops on the bitter day when the British won Spion Kop, did not know that they had won it, and so lost it again.



LORD ROBERTS
Who, with Lord Kitchener, was given the task of turning the tide of the war after the "black week."



CHRISTIAN DE WET
Whose genius for guerrilla warfare was mainly responsible for the long continuance of the struggle.

Two divisions had been added to Buller's army since Colenso. In the third week of January a series of skilfully-designed movements enabled Buller to carry a large part of his force over the river at a point higher up, and the Boers had to re-entrench to face a flank attack. On the 19th and 20th, Sir Charles Warren, who was in command, carried through the next stages of the turning movement. On the night of the 22nd picked regiments climbed Spion Kop. There all day they held their ground under constant fire—waiting for guns. No guns came. Woodgate was shot; Thornycroft was placed in command. Hour by hour the men held on, till it seemed to their commander that before the next morning came there would be no men left to fight or to retire. He gave the order to retreat. It is said that the Boers were actually preparing to retreat themselves when they discovered what was going on. On the next morning Spion Kop was still held by the Boers.

Once again the relief failed, when a new key to the Boer position was found in Vaalkranz. The Boers were beguiled by a feint, and Vaalkranz was carried. Then it was found that the key did not fit the lock, and Vaalkranz was abandoned

And still Ladysmith held out grimly, and far away Kimberley and Mafeking maintained the one a stubborn and the other a light-hearted defiance; and General French in the neighbourhood of Colesberg held the Boers in that region in check, though in the perpetual skirmishes which took place fortune distributed her favours pretty evenly between the combatants.

But by the second week in February the newly-arrived commander-in-chief had his new plan of campaign in order, and new hosts were accumulating on the line of advance to Kimberley. The army had been drawn back south of the Modder. While he kept the Boers alert to resist an advance on the west, General French had been placed in command of a large cavalry force which was to circumvent them on the east. Starting on February 12th. through



CRONJE'S MEN MARCHED AWAY CAPTIVES AFTER THE BATTLE OF PAARDEBERG
The last days of February, 1900, definitely decided the British supremacy in the theatres of war. The Boers investing Ladysmith were ousted from their position, and General Cronje, whose portrait is inset above, entrapped at Paardeberg.

four days of hard riding, here rushing a drift, there sweeping off an outpost, French raced round to Kimberley, meeting with no check which could stay him. On the evening of the 15th his force was encamped triumphantly in the neighbourhood of the beleaguered town, the Boers decamped, and the siege was raised.

Not at such speed could Roberts move the main force, whose extended lines were now intended to encircle Cronje in a net. In that enveloping movement, Cronje saw his doom, and he made a sudden and furious dash to escape before the net closed round him.

He passed the gap behind French, yet not so quickly but that a detachment was able to hang on his rear, and detain his retreat. It sufficed to give French time from Kimberley to head off the course of his march. Cronje was trapped. On February 28th was fought the battle of Paardeberg, one of the hottest encounters in the war, often criticised as a superfluous waste of life, since the doom of the Boer force was already sealed, and was hardly even hastened by that engagement. The next day the British battalions were gathering round the position where he had entrenched—one might say buried—himself. But it was still necessary that he should be crushed before the Boers could gather all their forces to come to his relief. The preparations were carried out steadily and without haste. The movement which was to bring the trenches under an enfilading fire was effected on the night of the 26th. On the 27th Cronje's whole force had no alternative but surrender.

Cronje Trapped at Paardeberg

The March Towards Bloemfontein

Lord Roberts began preparations for the march upon Bloemfontein.

Meanwhile, Buller had made his final and decisive move. This time he was going to try turning the Boer's left flank, which meant first clearing them from the positions they held on the south of the Tugela. The new attack began within forty-eight hours of the relief of Kimberley. On that day the flanking movement was completed. By the 20th the whole south bank was secured. On the 23rd the Irish Brigade did not succeed in capturing Railway Hill, but carried and held the slopes. Then there seemed to be a deadlock, and men saw with bitterness that British troops were passing back over the Tugela. But it was only to carry out a

further enveloping movement. The right wing held its ground, serving as a pivot on which the army swung. The fresh move converted it into the left wing. On the 28th the Boer position was practically carried. The enemy now no longer hoped to prevent the relief of Ladysmith, and were soon in full retreat. The long endurance of the worn-out garrison had found its reward at last.. It may be that the events of those days on the west had drawn off a substantial proportion of the Free Staters to oppose Roberts. In any case, those last days of February definitely established the British supremacy in both the theatres of war.

The Relief of Ladysmith

On March 6th began the advance on Bloemfontein, with an intervening force commanded by Christian De Wet, who now showed his extraordinary genius for exciting envelopment. The Boers never again fought a pitched battle with the main British army, though they fought skilful rearguard actions and harassed the advancing foe, who never got them in his grip. Such actions were those of Poplar's Grove and Driefontein. On March 13th Lord Roberts was in Bloemfontein. There a six weeks' pause was necessary before the advance on the Transvaal and Pretoria could be made in force, while the army suffered severely from an epidemic of typhoid fever. In the interval, the annexation of the Free State was proclaimed—following the example of the Boers, who had formally "annexed" every district which they occupied in force. Before Pretoria itself was reached the sportsmanlike defenders of Mafeking had been relieved by a small detachment, to the natural if somewhat delirious delight of the British public.

The Free State, however, still had an active force in being, while General Botha commanded the Transvaal army which lay in the neighbourhood of Pretoria. By September the old President had finally taken flight, and the British had carried their arms to Komatipoort. Technically, the conquest was completed. Yet the desperate struggle continued for another eighteen months. Nothing short of a European war could have altered the ultimate issue, but as long as it was possible to fight at all, the Boers fought. The English have emerged successfully from innumerable conflicts, simply through the dogged tenacity which refuses to know when it is beaten; the Boers showed the same quality, though with results less fortunate for them.

Fight to the Finish

Hence, on the one hand, the whole period was full of incident. Mobile Boer forces, flashing from point to point, would snap up an outpost here and ambush a convoy there. British garrisons holding remote posts, or small bodies of troops on the march, would find themselves suddenly cut off, and conduct sometimes a brilliant and successful defence for days or weeks till relief arrived, sometimes find themselves forced to surrender because food or water or ammunition had given out. The brilliant dashes of the irrepressible Christian De Wet excited the sporting admiration of the foes, through whose enclosing forces he repeatedly ran the gauntlet, escaping time after time by the skin of his teeth. On the other hand, extended movements swept several bodies of Boers into the British nets. The regrettable frequency of breaches of parole and of abuse of the white flag, coupled with the conduct of the occupants of farms in contravention of what may be called the recognised rules of the game, necessitated a vast amount of destruction which otherwise would also have been against the rules of the game; and led further to the establishment of "concentration camps," in which the families of the Boers were maintained by their adversaries.

The Guerrilla War

But the struggle was vain. Lord Kitchener, left in charge after the departure of Lord Roberts, steadily and persistently perfected the system of blockhouses, which formed a barrier increasingly difficult to penetrate: the lines drew closer and closer. The time approached when the Boers would find themselves pressed into a corner from which there would be no escape, by a force now immensely superior in numbers and in equipment, which had, moreover, thoroughly learnt those conditions of warfare which at the outset had been so completely misapprehended. President Kruger, now in the Hague, still fulminated; but in Africa the facts of the situation became too palpable. At last the Boer leaders made up their minds to recognise that they had fought to a finish and had been beaten. More than once during the eighteen months they had been offered terms, but had refused to treat on any basis save that of recognition

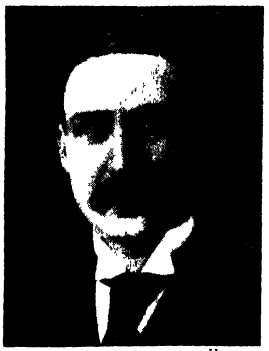
of complete independence for the two republics. Now at length, at the end of March, 1902, they opened negotiations. For two months discussion continued. On the last day of May they signed the treaty which ended the long strife.

The republics lost their independence, or partial independence, and were definitely incorporated in the British Empire. To begin with, they were to be governed as Crown Colonies, an obvious necessity; but, in course of time, it was the desire of the victors that they should receive responsible government on the same basis as the other states comprised in the British dominions. Great Britain was to provide three millions of money to place them once more on a working financial footing; the Dutch language was to be allowed in the schools and law courts. Such were the main provisions of the Peace. The principle was clear. There were two lines open: either the Boers were to be treated as a vanquished but still hostile people, who had brought their own doom on themselves at the cost of an immense expenditure of blood and treasure to the conquerors, and were to be held under; or they were to be offered the right hand of fellowship and something more, on the hypothesis that they would grasp it in a frank and loyal spirit. That there were dangers in this course, risks that loyalty was merely assumed, was obvious; but, on the other hand, it was the one condition without which the concord of the two races in South Africa was clearly impossible. So long as there could be talk of "top-dog" and "bottom-dog" the bottom-dog would eternally seek every occasion to reverse the positions. The bolder course of autonomous government was adopted.

SOUTH AFRICA TO-DAY

SINCE the British Empire at the Present Day will form the subject of detailed treatment in a later volume, we may here confine ourselves to rounding off the narrative of South African history.

Pacification, the calming of the waters which had been so troubled, the harmonising of the races which had been so fiercely at feud, was no easy task. The British population of Cape Colony had suffered heavily, directly and indirectly; and not a little natural animosity was felt towards rebels—those of the Cape Dutch who had taken part with the Boers. There were many outcries—very much in the nature of the Royalist complaints when the Merry Monarch was brought back to England in 1660—that the Act of pacification was one of "Indemnity for the King's enemies and oblivion for the King's friends." Adjustments where generosity in one quarter looks like injustice in another are always peculiarly difficult; but where goodwill subsists at bottom, such heart-burnings gradually lose their bitterness.



Haines

LORD SELBORNE
Who, as High Commissioner for South Africa at the conclusion of war, had the task of pacification.

The work, first in the hands of Sir Alfred Milner as High Commissioner, was entrusted in 1905 to Lord Selborne. The governorship of the Cape was separated from the commissionership, and during the Crown Colony period the control both of the Transvaal and the Orange River Colony was vested in the High Commissioner. The rehabilitation of the country after the damage and losses of the war has offered serious problems. The great common peril to the whites—that of a native rising during the war—had been successfully averted; but in the general disorganisation native labour became much more difficult to obtain, and white labour in the mines is costly. Hence a scheme was carried out for obtaining coolie labour from China, which involved the application of extremely strict regulations and conditions of contract. A storm arose over this question, the argument being, on the one side, that coolie labour was necessary to the development of the industry, and the coolie was better off than in China; while, on the other, it was held that if the mines could only be worked under these conditions—and "free" Chinese labour was an obvious impossibility—it would be better for the community that they should not be

worked at all; although it was not admitted that the exclusion of Chinese labour need, in fact, prevent the mines from being worked.

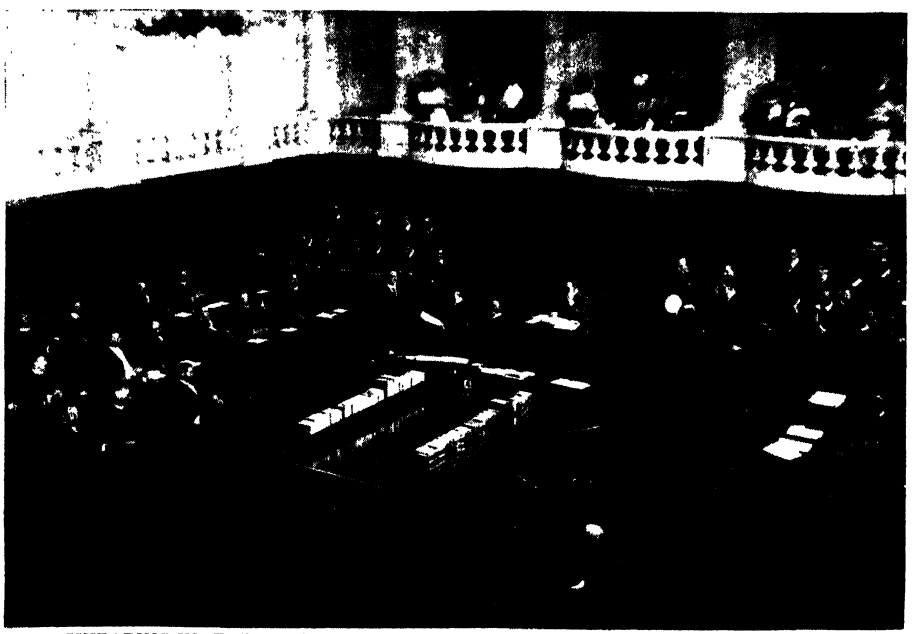
The Chinese Labour Problem

The preponderant sentiment, however, in a short time definitely declared itself against Chinese labour, and steps were taken to bring the system to an end. Again, politics were perpetually complicated by suspicions and accusations of racial or class intrigues to capture the machinery of government in the Cape Colony, and in the two newly-organised states, so soon as representative government should be established; while hot controversy raged as to the wisdom or folly of granting responsible government for some years to come. Nevertheless, the Transvaal received its constitution at the end of 1906, and the Orange River Colony some months later. It is a healthy omen that the opponents of that policy have shown a frank readiness to make the best, instead of the worst, of a situation which they feared; and, on the other hand, there has been no sign that the Dutch element—ably led now in the Transvaal in politics, as formerly in war, by Louis Botha—will use its weight in the political scales in a spirit hostile to the British. In Natal native questions have inevitably a peculiar prominence. Now, as always, there is a section of the British public which is particularly alert to any suggestion of injustice to natives, and ready to demand the interposition of the Home Government; now, as always, the men on the spot claim that such interposition is invariably harmful. In the nature of things, therefore, friction is exceptionally apt to arise in this quarter. Passing northwards, it is to be remarked that the control of the military force in Rhodesia was withdrawn from the Chartered Company after the Jameson Raid, though the general administration of the territories remains in its hands.

Native Question in Natal

By the South African Act, 1909, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State—for the old title of the last named was restored—were constituted the four provinces of the legislative Union of South Africa, provision being made for the possible inclusion of Rhodesia. The Union was inaugurated in 1910—the seat of government being at Pretoria, and of the Union Parliament at Cape Town—with General Louis Botha as Prime Minister.

A. D. INNES



SWEARING-IN THE MINISTERS OF THE TRANSVAAL'S FIRST PARLIAMENT

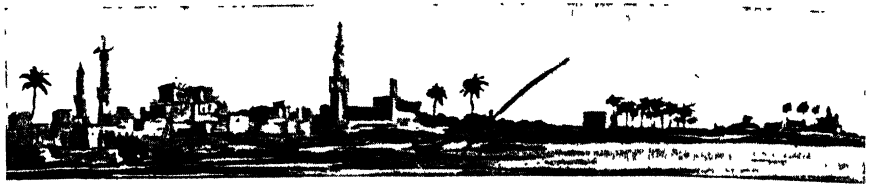


Langfier

RIGHT HON. LOUIS BOTHA, P.C., LL.D.

THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER OF UNITED SOUTH AFRICA

General Botha became Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa at its formation in 1910, and was soon faced with difficulties, not only within his own party, but also on the Rand, where the trade unionists are well organised and aggressive. General Hertzog left the Nationalist party in 1912, protesting against its "Imperialism," and, with a comparatively small following, formed a "Veldt" party; but the secession was not formidable enough to upset the ministry. The labour troubles commenced on the Rand in May, 1913, over the question of the length of the working day, and at the beginning of July the Miners' Association declared a general strike. Riots followed, martial law was proclaimed, and on July 5 the troops who had been called out fired on the strikers in Johannesburg. The total casualties during the few days of tumult amounted to more than 250, including many deaths. For a time sullen peace ensued, but discontent was rife. Early in 1914 a big strike was declared on the State railways, on the ground that the Government, in cutting down expenses, had thrown a large number of men out of work instead of reducing the hours of labour. The strike spread to the mines, and the Government at once declared martial law, mobilised its Burgher forces, arrested all the responsible labour leaders, including Mr. Cresswell, the leader of the Labour party in the Union Parliament, and deported nine of these leaders from South Africa without bringing them to trial for any stated offence. Again a sullen peace followed the disturbances. But the deported trade unionists on their arrival in England were received with every expression of sympathy by their fellow unionists, and a monster demonstration in Hyde Park was held to protest against what was called "the high-handed action" of General Botha. Official remonstrance on the part of the British Government was declared to be impossible, the Union of South Africa enjoying full and complete self-government. For the same reason no official pressure could be brought to bear upon General Botha to procure the return of the deported labour leaders. The fact is, the enormous native population is a serious menace when labour disturbances take place; and this menace largely explains the severity of General Botha's Government in dealing with strikes.



THE NON-BRITISH EUROPEAN NATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

PORTUGAL, BELGIUM, AND GERMANY

UNTIL the last quarter of the nineteenth century the European nations had not started on the scramble for African territory. Only one Power had preceded the Dutch in the attempt to establish permanent stations in the southern half of the continent. Except for the French in Madagascar, the Portuguese efforts alone have a history before 1876. Portugal, however, was taking the lead in maritime exploration as early as the fifteenth century. Before that century closed, 150 years earlier than Riebeek's Dutch settlement at the Cape, Vasco da Gama rounded the southern point of Africa in his search for a new route to India, and failed to secure a footing at Mombasa and at Mozambique.

Portugal First in South Africa

In 1502, however, he was more successful in Sofala; and during the ensuing year several fortified posts were established on the east coast—such stations being of the utmost importance to the Portuguese dominion over the Indian waters. The first fort was planted at Kilwa in 1505. Henceforward the coast was kept under the surveillance of a flying squadron. In the year 1512 the fort at Kilwa was abandoned, and the settlement in Mozambique which had been begun in 1507, now became the chief base of the Portuguese power in East Africa. At the beginning of 1507 the admiral Tristão da Cunha made a punitive expedition against the enemies of the sheikh of Malindi, and at the end of March burnt the town of Brava, which had hitherto been consistently hostile; he made, however, no attempt upon Makdishu. As every fleet sailing to India or Eastern Asia touched at the East African coast, the Portuguese predominance was rapidly assured, to the great advantage of the nation, which drew a considerable income from the coast trade and the gold-mines of Sofala. But at no period was there an absolute cessation of disturbances and struggles, which were especially frequent in the north.

By the end of the sixteenth century the Portuguese were in occupation of several coastal positions from Sofala northward, but had made no attempt to take possession of the interior. Mining operations in search of silver were set on foot, but with disappointing results. The power of Portugal had collapsed with her absorption by Spain, and was not recovered with her independence in the middle of the seventeenth century. She found herself unable to overcome the Arab resistance; she was driven from Maskat, and then from Zanzibar, and in the eighteenth century retained only a somewhat vague command of the coast from Cape Delgado on the north to Lorenço Marquez on the south.

In the meanwhile, a somewhat similar fate had attended the Portuguese efforts at colonisation on the west coast. Portuguese influence was early established in the Congo kingdom, where the native monarchs adopted Christianity, were baptised with Portuguese names, and in other matters sought to imitate the Portuguese example. Towards the end of the sixteenth century a Portuguese station was secured in Angola, which developed into the city of São Paulo, and some unsuccessful attempts were made to penetrate into the interior and to reach the settlements on the east coast. But in the disastrous period of her subjection to Spain, Portugal could do little beyond maintaining her ground against hostile native rulers. And when emancipated Holland attacked her as a member of the Spanish empire, her chances of effectively extending diminion practically disappeared, and she retained her ascendency in Angola

Dark Days of Portugal in Africa

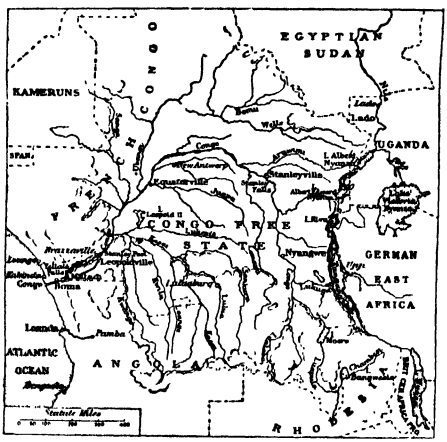
only with great difficulty. It was not till near the close of the eighteenth century that Portuguese colonial activity revived in Africa; even then it was doomed to receive an early check from the cruel burden thrown upon Portugal during the Napoleonic wars. After that troublous time, however, she gradually extended her dominion and the sphere of her influence from Angola. Both in that province and on the east coast administration progressed, though few will question that the rigid enforcement of economic isolation was a serious drawback to commercial development. Later jealousies arose over the prospect of the British dominion extending itself into Central Africa, and permanently separating the eastern Portuguese dominion from the western; also over British claims to rights in Delagoa Bay, the southern limit of Portuguese East Africa.

The latter question was settled by the arbitration of Marshal McMahon, at the time President of the French Republic. His award was wholly in favour of the Portuguese claims; but British interests had been safeguarded as against rival Powers by a preliminary convention securing a right of pre-emption to whichever party should be defeated in the arbitration. The Central African question was settled by an altogether distinct agreement on the delimitation of the respective spheres of influence of the two Powers, which has been productive of a satisfactorily harmonious spirit between them—viewed not without some acrimony by a rival colonising Power. This agreement took final form in the convention of 1891.

Progress in Portuguese East Africa

Angola is fairly entitled to be called prosperous, while the commercial prospects of the eastern colony have been distinctly improved by the activity and enterprise of the British in Rhodesia. In the last quarter of the nineteenth century Central Africa began to engage the serious attention of the European Powers. The history of the Congo State begins on September 15th, 1876, with the foundation by King Leopold II. of Belgium of the "Association Africaine Internationale." Its chief objects were the exploration of Central Africa, the civilisation of the natives, and the suppression of the slave trade; the foundation of permanent settlements was therefore an essential part of its policy. Meanwhile the Congo problem had been solved by H. M. Stanley. Not content with the accomplishment of purely scientific achievements, the great explorer saw plainly that the Congo river offered the only possible route by which a large part of Africa could be opened up without loss of time and with resources comparatively scanty. Full of bold schemes, he returned to Europe in August, 1877, and gained a friendly reception from the new company and King Leopold. The company determined to work the recently discovered district for itself.

Foundation of the Congo State



MAP OF THE BASIN OF THE CONGO

It was high time. France, in the person of the Count Pierre Savorgnan de Brazza, had already seized a part of Congoland. On November 25th, 1878, Stanley founded the branch company in Brussels, "Comité d'Etudes du Haut-Congo," returned to the Congo in 1879, founded the settlement of Vivi, and began to make a road from the river's mouth to Stanley Pool, or Leopoldville, in 1882. He also concluded many conventions with the negro chiefs, thus forestalling De Brazza, who had founded or was preparing to found the stations of Franceville, Brazzaville, and Poste de l'Alima between 1880 and 1881. Meanwhile Portugal, supported by Great Britain, with whom she made a convention on February 26th, 1884, laid claims to the territory at the mouth of the Congo, which were vigorously resisted by most of the other states. With the object of relieving this state of tension, Germany invited the Powers to a conference.

The practical result was the recognition of the Congo Free State under the sovereignty of the King of the Belgians, the theory being that the administration was to be cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitanism did not prevail for long; by degrees, all the official posts were absorbed by Belgians. In the last decade of the century a sharp conflict with the Arabs terminated with the total expulsion of the Arab power from the Congo territory. The effective conversion of what had been intended to be a state under international management into a private estate of the Belgian king proved by no means satisfactory to other Powers. The trade of the Upper Congo regions, instead of being kept open, was virtually made a Belgian monopoly. Very evil reports were made by Protestant missionaries of various nationalities as to the malpractices, the oppression, and the violence of the administration. British feelings were further outraged by the quasi-judicial murder of a trader, Mr. Stokes, without trial, on a charge of supplying the Arabs with powder, and by the repeated acquittals of the official who sentenced him.

Belgian King's Oppression of the Congo

The stories of administrative atrocities were virtually confirmed in all their ugliest features by the official report made at the instance of the British Government by the British Consul, Mr. Casement. Hence a continuous agitation was maintained, more especially in Great Britain, for a vigorous intervention, while the late King of the Belgians emulated the example of the Sublime Porte when the concert of Europe started the tune of Armenian or other atrocities. There were indications at length that the patience of at least one Power was nearly exhausted. A solution has perhaps been found by the transfer of the sovereignty—and the responsibility—to the Belgian nation from the Belgian monarch, a process arranged by the Treaty of Cession of 1908.

Germany in South Africa

The history of the German colonies in Southern Africa begins officially on April 24th, 1884, when Prince Bismarck proclaimed a German protectorate in South-west Africa. On August 7th of the same year the German flag was hoisted in Angra Pequena, and at other points of the coast shortly afterward. By slow degrees, the British Government was induced to recognise the German protectorate. Great Britain retained possession of Walfish Bay and the adjacent territory, and also of the islands on the coast, to which she had priority of claim. Namaland and Damaraland were gradually brought under German supremacy, a process which ultimately led to a definite arrangement with Great Britain on July 1st, 1890. By the terms of this agreement, the lower course of the Orange River was to be the southern boundary of the German territory, the eastern boundary was the twentieth degree of longitude east (of Greenwich), but from the twenty-second degree of latitude south the frontier was to extend to the twenty-first degree of longitude east. On the north a small strip of German territory was to run as far as the Zambesi.

The compact with Portugal of December 30th, 1886, determined the Lower Cunene as the northern frontier, and thus placed Ovamboland under German protection. German South-west Africa is undoubtedly the most important German acquisition in Africa, and the only one which is capable of being gradually transformed into an entirely German district. The Herero, however, continue to be restive, and assured tranquillity in the German colony appears still somewhat remote. The existence of a German sphere of ascendency in East Africa originated with the "German Colonisation Company," which was founded on April 3rd, 1884.

German East Africa

It conceived the idea of sending an expedition into the hinterland of the Zanzibar coast, acquiring territory there, and awaiting the further results of its action. Karl Peters, who had started the company, and was the leader of the little expedition, concluded a number of treaties in November, 1884, with different chieftains in Usagara, Nguru, etc., which were officially confirmed on February 27th, 1885. At the same time the company obtained an imperial charter. Seyyid Bargash, sultan of Zanzibar, endeavoured to put legal obstacles in the way of the settlement, and to assert his rights to the hinterland of the coast by the despatch of troops to that district—action which was attributed in Germany to British intrigue.

When Germany vigorously rejected these claims, the French Government declared their intention of abstaining from any interference. On August 13th, 1885, the parties interested came to a temporary understanding. By the agreement between

Great Britain and Germany of October 29th, 1886, the coast remained the property of the sultan; but the harbours of Dar es Salaam and Pangani were to be at the disposal of the German East African Company, which was formed on September 7th, 1885.

The company at once set to work, extended its territory further inland, began experimental plantations, and founded stations. When the custom-houses of the coast were leased to the company on April 8th, 1888, and a permanent income was thus definitely assured, it appeared as if no obstacle now remained to check the course of a sound development.

Unfortunately the actual resources of the company were totally inadequate to meet the claims upon them, or to provide against the dangers of the situation. The whole of the Arab power raised the standard of opposition. The occupation of the coast settlements had dealt the slave trade a deadly blow, and had thereby destroyed the second chief source of Arab wealth—the plantations, which were worked by means of the cheap labour brought down from the interior. Utter ruin was now threatening the once prosperous Arabs of the coast. Their profession of slave-hunters and slave-traders had made them fierce and lawless, and inspired them with a passionate hatred of foreigners.

Ruin of the Slave-Traders

The most formidable opponent of the Germans was the Arab Bushiri, who had stirred up the revolt in Pangani, and from this point guided the movements upon the coast. Moreover, he found allies in the Masiti and advanced with them against Bagamoyo from the south-west. He was defeated, however, and ultimately captured and executed in December, 1889. The administration has certainly been painfully lacking in efficiency. Notwithstanding this, the capital Dar es Salaam has developed satisfactorily, and plantations of considerable extent have been made in the Tanga hinterland, which has been partly opened up by a railway.

Zanzibar Under British Control

The final delimitation of the colony was under the Anglo-German convention of July 1st, 1890, whereby Zanzibar was placed under the British protectorate, an agreement which dealt a heavy blow to the development of the German protectorate district, and, according to German views, was extravagantly favourable to Great Britain. The coast from Umba to Rovuma was left entirely to Germany; the sultan Seyyid Ali of Zanzibar received the sum of four millions of marks as compensation. Of late years the colony has developed fairly satisfactorily in spite of bad harvests.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ
A. D. INNES



Edwards

ANTANANARIVO, THE CAPITAL OF THE ISLAND KINGDOM OF MADAGASCAR
Inset is a view of the palace where the Hova queens of Madagascar reigned before it became a French colony.



MADAGASCAR AND THE MASCARENES

By Dr. Heinrich Schurtz

MADAGASCAR, with the Mascarenes, must be associated with Africa, though ethnologically its connection is much closer with Malaysia. Its dark-skinned inhabitants, like its fauna, seem much more closely related to the Melanesians than to the negroes, though it is impossible to say positively that they are not of African origin. The Malays were clearly brought to Madagascar by more than one of those marvellous migrations which have become of paramount importance for the history of Indonesia and Oceania. Certain similarities favour the view that Sumatra was the point from which the colonisation of Madagascar started. The date of the most important immigrations cannot be satisfactorily determined, but, considering the comparatively high culture of the immigrants, we should not venture to place the beginning of the migration in a very remote age. The immigrants brought with them the art of iron-working, but do not seem to have been acquainted with cattle-breeding, since the Hova word for ox is borrowed from the East African Swahili language. They were not unfamiliar with the loom, but apparently employed it to weave palm fibre, not cotton. Their social divisions were hereditary nobles, or Andrianes, free men, and slaves.

Madagascar's Connection With Malaysia

Since, on the arrival of the Europeans, the Mascarenes, which lie to the east of Madagascar, were found uninhabited, these migrations could not have reached Madagascar through these islands. It is possible that the seafaring Malays, who by piracy and trade commanded the shores of the Indian Ocean before the Christian era and until the beginning of the Hindu trading expeditions to Malacca and Java, may have reached the coasts of Madagascar in this way from the north, and founded settlements there in course of time. All connection with their eastern home was then abandoned, and the settlers on Madagascar continued to develop independently of the mother country, but not without experiencing in a considerable degree the influence of Africa. Among the Hovas, who must be regarded as the latest immigrants, the legend is still current that their forefathers came from a distant island on a marvellous road of lotus leaves to the coasts of Madagascar; and that then, to escape the malarial fever, they penetrated far into the hill country. The legend says nothing of any aboriginal inhabitants.

The most pure-blooded Malays are the Hovas, who live in the central province of Imerina, and number at present about a million souls. The Betsileo, some 1,200,000 strong, who inhabit the hill country south of Imerina, seem to be more contaminated by negro blood. The Betsimisaraka, on the east coast, are more nearly allied to the negroes than to the Malays. Besides the light-complexioned races of Madagascar and the remnants of an undersized primitive people there are also, especially on the coasts and in the south, dark inhabitants of a negro type, although at present no hard and fast line can be drawn between the races.

The negritian portion of the Malagasy population speaks Malay dialects, and must have been long subject to a distinct Malay influence. The main body of the dark population, whose most important branch are the Sakalavas, inhabit the west coast of the island opposite Africa, which points to an African origin for them. On the other hand, their skill as navigators has its parallels in Melanesia, but not in Africa. The Arabs made their influence felt on the coasts of Madagascar at a comparatively early period, possibly long before the growth of Islam, and evidently owing to the vicinity of the gold-mines of Sofala.

Influence of the Arabs in Madagascar

The name Madagascar is first mentioned by Marco Polo, who derived exact information about the island from the

Arabian navigators, and heard in this connection of a gigantic bird, the roc. The fabulously exaggerated account may refer to those gigantic ostrich-like birds which clearly inhabited Madagascar down to historical times.

The religious controversies after Mahomet led to further Arabian immigrations, principally of sectaries, such as the Zeidites, a branch of the house of Ali, who may have partly come to Madagascar at the close of the eighth century; also about the same time a number of Ishmaelites immigrated. We know in any case that Sunnite and Shiite Persians emigrated to East Africa. Descendants of all these immigrants can still be identified in Madagascar.

The Portuguese, after the circumnavigation of South Africa, reached Madagascar also. The first of them to do so was Fernando Soarez, on February 1st, 1506, St. Laurence's day, from which circumstance the island received the name of San Lourenço. It was repeatedly visited by Portuguese afterward, but no permanent settlements were founded. The Dutch also soon abandoned their attempts at colonisation, which were made in the years 1595–1598.



QUEEN RANAVALONA III
Deposed by the French, who made Madagascar first a French protectorate, and then

At the end of the sixteenth century, as an indirect consequence of Arabian influence, the great Sakalvan kingdom of Menabe arose, which, in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, planted many offshoots, especially Iboina. The real founder of the power of Menabe was Andriandahifotch, who died in 1680. These conditions were first changed by the appearance of the Hovas, a genuine Malay people, in the heart of the island. The eighteenth century

Rise of the Malay Hovas

saw the completion of the national union of the Hovas, who gradually realised their own strength and became a menace to the surrounding tribes. King Andrianimpoina began the first campaigns against the Betsileo, who lived in the south. His son Radama I. (1810–1828) continued the operations with still more success, became master of the greater part of the northern highlands, and pressed on to the east coast, where he made a treaty with the British. Provided with firearms by the latter, he then commenced war on the Sakalvas, compelled them to recognise his suzerainty, nominally at least, and proceeded to assert his claim to the dominion over the whole of Madagascar, a claim which was still absolutely opposed to the actual state of

France Casts Envious Eyes on Madagascar

affairs. The sovereignty of the Hovas was never really acknowledged in the south and south-west districts of Madagascar. Radama soon quarrelled with the European Power which had long cast envious eyes on Madagascar—that is, France. The early French settlement, Fort Dauphin, had been founded in the year 1642, on the south-east coast of the island. An attempt of Colbert to form an immense colonial empire out of Madagascar and the surrounding islands, and to raise the necessary funds by founding an East India Company in 1664, seemed to promise success at first, but in consequence of the arrogant behaviour of the governor, La Haye, it ended with the massacre of all the French settlers and the destruction of Fort Dauphin in the year 1672. All plans for the time being were thus stopped. In 1750 the island of Sainte Marie was acquired, and the ruined Fort Dauphin regarrisoned in 1768. Soon afterward Count Benjowski appeared as French governor of the possessions in Madagascar. He was an enterprising but untrustworthy character, who obtained from some chiefs on the coast the concession of the entire island, and, when he laid down his office, regarded himself as owner of Madagascar, which he repeatedly but vainly offered to the French Government.

The wish to occupy the island could not fail to clash unpleasantly with the budding hopes of the Hovas for the overlordship. Under the reign of Queen Ranavalona matters came to open hostilities, which did not end gloriously for the French. Fortunately for France, the queen, who conquered parts of the south-east of the island, roused Great Britain—whose competition in the island had made itself felt by the occupation of Tamatave, in 1810—also against her by her passionate

hatred of foreigners and by her expulsion of the English missionaries in 1835. In the years 1838–1841 the French occupied some more points on the north-west coast, particularly the island Nossi Bé, and in this way consolidated their influence among the Sakalavas. But for the time being there was no idea of a decisive and consistent policy.

A Feeble Copy of New Japan

The intolerable misgovernment of Queen Ranavalona finally forced the Hovas themselves to seek help from without. Once more the French and British began to intrigue one against the other, and dangerous complications had already arisen when the sudden death of the queen, in 1861, and the accession of Radama II., who was friendly to France, completely changed the aspect of affairs. An age of reforms then set in, which presents a feeble counterpart to the similar and almost contemporary process in Japan. Even when Radama had been murdered, on May 12, by the reactionary party, reforms were continued by his widow and successor, Rasoaherina. The real power lay, however, in the hands of her husband, Rainitaiarivoy, the first Minister, a member of the Hova family Rainiharo, which founded a sort of palace government. The "reforms" gradually assumed a character which was very serious for France.

When Rasoaherina died, on April 1st, 1868, Ranavalona II. mounted the throne. On February 21st, 1869, she, together with her husband, again, of course, the chief Minister, adopted Christianity, and joined the Anglican Church, which had been in the meanwhile extending its influence among the Hovas, and now acquired complete ascendency. The news of the French defeats in the war of 1870–1871 naturally caused a further diminution of the influence of France in Madagascar.

France Asserts Her Claims

The pretensions of the Hovas finally compelled the French Government, after long and unprofitable negotiations, to assert by force of arms their claims to Madagascar, which was more and more inclining to the side of Great Britain. On June 13th, 1883, Tamatave, on the east coast, was occupied. The death of the reigning queen, on July 13th, and the accession of Ranavalona III. Manyuake were followed by an abortive French expedition into the interior. But a treaty favourable to the French was concluded on December 17th, 1885. By this treaty Madagascar became a French protectorate; a resident-general was placed in the capital, Antananarivo, to control the foreign relations of the state. This treaty was not, however, regarded very seriously by the Hovas until, in 1895, a new expedition, starting from the north-west coast, under Lieutenant-General Duchesne, took the capital on September 30th, after a singularly feeble resistance on the part of the Hovas, and then asserted the French protectorate by force of arms.

Madagascar was declared a French colony on August 6th, 1896. Rainilairivony, the husband of the queen, was banished to Algiers; she herself was left for a time in possession of her title, but in 1897 she, too, was deposed and brought to Réunion. In this way the kingdom of the Hovas has been brought under French influence; but the island as a whole has yet to be subdued. Under the rule of France the trade of Madagascar has greatly improved, and a preferential tariff has succeeded in checking the British imports in favour of the French; the exports, of which the most important articles are gold, vanilla, and indiarubber, are now sent chiefly to France.

The French in the Mascarenes

The history of the French claims on Madagascar is closely connected with the fact that on the Mascarenes, in Mauritius and Réunion, French colonies were founded and plantations opened, with considerable success. The islands when discovered by the Portuguese Pero Mascarenhas in 1505 were totally uninhabited. Mauritius was for some time in possession of the Dutch (1640–1712), and was colonised in 1715 by the French, who had held settlements since 1646 on Réunion. Between 1734 and 1746 Bourdonnais, whom we have already met in India, was French governor here. For seventy years its position as a naval station made it a thorn in the side of the British on Indian waters. The introduction of the remunerative industry of coffee-planting increased the prosperity and the population of the Mascarenes during the course of the eighteenth century; afterwards sugar-growing was extensively introduced.

HEINRICH SCHURTZ

END OF VOLUME VI.

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